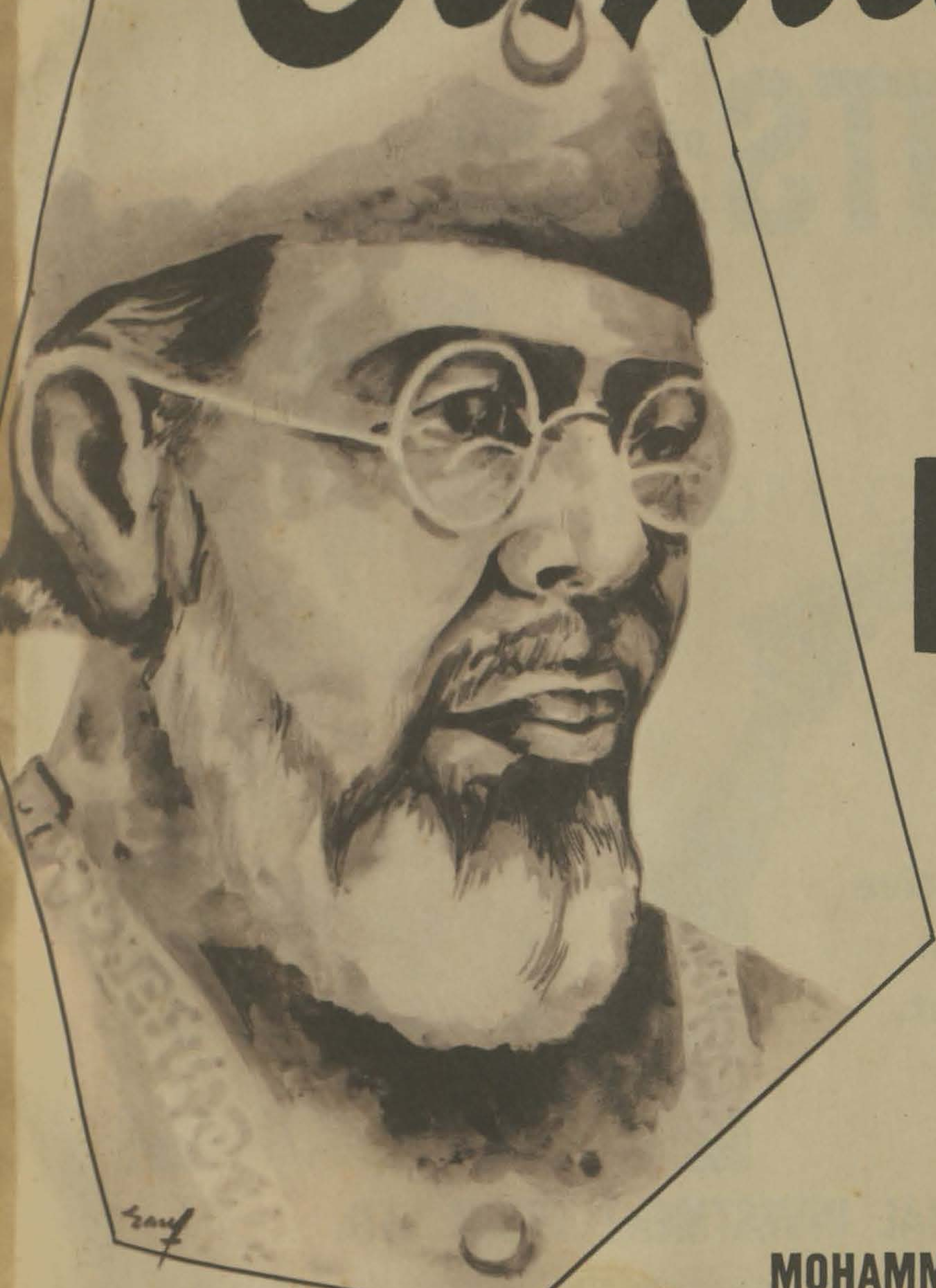
SELECTIONS FROM

MOULANA MOHAMMED ALI'S

Comrade



THE ONLY ACKNOWLEDGE HERO WHO SIMULTANIOUSLY FOUGHT BRITISHERS FOR INDIA. CONGRESS FOR MUSLIMS & WILLINGLY COURTED DEATH FOR TRUTH

Selected and Compiled by

Syed Rais Ahmad Jafri (Nadvi)

MOHAMMAD ALI ACADEMY

89. TAGORE PARK LAHORE

SELECTION'S FROM COMRADE

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EDITED AND COMPILED BY

RAIS AHMAD JAFRI NADVI

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MOHAMMAD ALI ACADEMY
LAHORE

First Edition 1965

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TO

MY WIFE

(AFTAB BEGUM JAFRI)

THE FORTRESS AGAINST

ALL ATTACKS DIRECTED

AT MY WOUNDED HEART

BY FRIEND AND FOE

FOREWORD

After the partition of the subcontinent, it was in 1960 that I could go to India. I paid a visit to Bombay where I had passed good fifteen years of my life, most of this under the affectionate care of Maulana Shaukat Ali. It was he who had 'dragged' me from the Jami'ah Milliyah, Delhi, to Bombay, and put on my shoulders the onerous duties of editorship of the *Daily Khilafat*, then the most popular and widely circulated Urdu newspaper of India. Khilafat House was the first place in Bombay which I visited. This was the rendezvous during the lifetime of Shaukat Ali, where matters concerning the present and future of the nation and country were discussed and decided, where Gandhiji, Jawahar Lal and Malviyaji bended their knees, and life in which was once visible with all its charm and attractions. It now presented a deserted spectacle and I felt like asking the inmates :

غزالاں تم تو واقف ہو کہو مجنوں کے مرنے کی
دیوانہ مر گیا آخر کو ویرانے پہ کیا گذری

But no, there is another madman—Zahid Shaukat Ali—who is yet maintaining his father's tradition.

From Bombay, through Lucknow and Khairabad, I arrived at Delhi. Here, one day, Maulana Hifzur Rahman, now of blessed memory, Chief of the Jami'atul 'Ulema-i-Hind, invited me to tea, much to my own inner desire. Before partition, in spite of my disapproval of and disagreement with his line of thought and political creed, I was ever an admirer of his character and sincerity of purpose. After a brief general chat, the Maulana abruptly said in a serious tone : 'Jafri Sahib, you have written a good number of books and I have read with interest every book that fell to my hands. Now, write a book at my request.' Unable to comprehend what the Maulana had in his mind, I submitted, 'It would be a pleasure to do so, but please let me have the details.' By this time, the Maulana was evidently more serious. He said, 'I wish you to write a book giving details of the contribution of the Muslims to India's freedom movement. It is not that the part the Muslims have played in this struggle is being ignored by other peoples of India which is painful, but rather that the Muslims themselves are becoming forgetful of their Elders' great achievements.

The proposal was quite appropriate but, placed as I was, it was not so easy a task to be undertaken by me. Hesitatingly, I said, 'This has been

the very desire of my own since long, but it requires weeklong stays at Calcutta, Patna, Lucknow, Deoband, Rampur, Dehli, Bombay and some other towns to collect the necessary material.' The Maulana promptly said, 'I take the entire responsibility of meeting the requirements of your stay at different places in India as long as you may wish.' Before I could say anything, the Maulana, as if reading my mind, again said, 'It would please me much if this book were published in India, and in this connection I am prepared to do everything possible, but if you think otherwise, you are at full liberty to take your writing to Pakistan for publication there ; no obligation except that you do write the book at your earliest.

This gesture of the Maulana impressed me much and I held out a solemn promise to him.

On my return to Pakistan, my own circumstances so entangled me that I forgot all about the work. But in spite of this, the Maulana's request kept on haunting my mind, till his soul departed for the eternal abode.

After taking stock of my own situation, I arrived at the conclusion that, devoid of all material resources as I am, I could only bring out those priceless and rare writings which were with me. 'Ali Bradran' (Urdu) was the first of the series, and this selection from the *Comrade* is the second.

One may well pose the question : why Mohammad Ali first ? The answer is quite evident. Not only the Muslim nation, but India as a whole owes a great debt of gratitude to Mohammad Ali. It was he who inspired the Hindus with the passion for freedom, who transformed the complacent group of the Congressites into a thundering organisation, who clothed a South African agitator, Gandhi, in the holy robes of a Mahatma and crowned him with leadership, and who made Jawahar Lal Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee during his presidentship. He was the first political leader of India who was tried for sedition and who openly planned to make the Britons quit India. He made the Congress a forum for a united Hindustani Nation. He shook the Muslims, awakened them and told them that they had within them the grandeur of a storm. This spirit turned the Muslims into a storm, before which the British imperialism seemed tottering. He made the 'Ulema come out of their dens and take sincere part in politics. He produced a new group of self-sacrificing, sincere and brave leaders and national workers and electrified the Muslims to fight for freedom. He shunned high positions and ignored lucrative offers of service. On the other hand, he remained interned for five long years at Mehrauli, Lansdowne and Chhindwara, passed his two-year term in Karachi Jail as an ordinary prisoner. After Jamaluddin Afghani, it fell to his lot to vociferate pan-Islamism. He was perturbed at every mishap in any corner of the Muslim world. Just as he bore the brunt of struggle at home, he fought for the Turks and the Arabs.

He was ever ready to cross swords with anybody for the glory and sanctity of Islam. He challenged Sultan Ibn Sa'ud at the Islamic Conference, reprimanded Lloyd George at 10 Downing Street, openly criticised Kemal Ataturk at Ankara, and disapproved Shah Feisal I of Iraq in his face for his alliance with imperialistic powers.

Of course, he made Congress what it was not before, raised Gandhi to the position of a Mahatma and got him accepted as the spirit behind Hindu-Muslim unity, but never, never was he prepared to compromise on the issue of the identity of the Muslim nation. When he saw that the Hindu majority was bent upon merging the Muslim minority within them, he did not hesitate for a moment to fight with Gandhi and other great leaders of the Congress.

Sirat-i-Mohammad Ali was my first book published in 1932. How it came to be written has been described in my note on Tuzuk-i-Mohammad Ali. It was the time when I was yet under study at the Jami'ah Milliyah Islamiyah. It the opinion of Qazi Wali Mohammad, Chief Secretary of Bhopal State, the book deserved to be prescribed as a textbook for Colleges—much to my encourgement.

A few years after the publication of this book, I went to Bombay to take editorial responsibilities of the *Daily Khilafat*, which position I held till the death of Maulana Shaukat Ali. Then I joined *Daily Hindustan* and *Daily Inqilab*. Till partition I was at Bombay and I had no mind to migrate to Pakistan. Mr. Murarji Desai, then Home Minister of Bombay, later Chief Minister of Bombay, and still later Finance Minister of India, one day asked me, evidently annoyed on my pre-partition writings, 'Well, there is your Pakistan ; why don't you go there ?' I said, 'I belong to India where I am and I have no desire to leave it.' 'If that is so, why did you spend the whole force of your pen in favour of Pakistan ?' I answered that it was my national duty to support the Muslims' right of self-determination and that was no crime. We sided with and fully supported all Muslim nations in times of their tribulation, and stood for their justified rights. The British never asked us to go to Tripoli, or to Turkey, or to Iraq, or to Iran. 'Why do you, then,' I asked Desai, 'ask me to go to Pakistan ?' The occasion was a meeting of the Press Committee which was attended by the late Syed Abdullah of *Bombay Chronicle*, Sir Francis Lowe, Editor, *Times of India*, and the Hindu Editor of *Janam Bhoomi* (a Gujerati paper) whose name I do not now recollect. Mr. Desai's participation in the meeting was unexpected ; he had taken the chair. Even on my explanation, he was adamant and in decided tone said again, 'You have no room to stay in India ; even now you do not hold yourself in check.'

This was too shocking for me and I, therefore, with due humility, asked the nature of my doings that warranted this opinion of his. On this, out of the three papers lying before Desai, he picked up one and pointed out to my editorial note in it. In this note I had compared the general amnesty granted by the greatest man ever, the Holy Prophet of

Islam, on the conquest of Mecca to the very people who had made him flee from his native town, with conditions in India where, for example, Sirdar Patel taunted Ch. Khaliquzzaman on his owing allegiance to India's tricolour flag at the time of Partition, that he could not believe one could withdraw from one's political creed with a sincere change of heart within twenty-four hours. I further said that that was how the new rulers of India who had just got power behaved. On one side they demanded allegiance from us and, when it was offered, they did not feel inclined to accept our sincerity. They seemed to forget that it was we who ruled over this country for over a thousand years with full sense of justice repeatedly forgiving the great rebels, treating everybody at par without any distinction of caste or creed. This policy of the Muslim rule so impressed the rulers of native states in India that they felt proud in entering into matrimonial alliances with the Muslims.

Mr. Murarji Desai had English translation of this note in his hand and one could read his inner thoughts from his face. Quite agitated, he blurted out, 'You mention matrimonial alliances. Well, the future will never have it. This has been the main thorn and, if continued, will be disastrous for the two communities. You have been criticising Sirdar Patel which our Government cannot put up with.'

'But, sir,' I humbly submitted, 'Sirdar Patel is a senior Minister and he can, not only defend his position, but can even take me to task. Why should you plead his case?'

'Sirdar Patel,' retorted Mr. Murarji, 'is the hero of the greatest nationality of India. To say something against him tantamounts to creating bad blood between Hindus and Muslims. I cannot permit of this.'

Could I say anything in reply? I had to leave for Pakistan.

Since the partition to date, dozens of books have been written and published on the freedom movement of India by writers like Mr. Menon. These books have been widely circulated in India and abroad. Historians and journalists of other countries are basing their writings on these books which, quite naturally, give only one side of the picture, that it was on account of the struggle and sacrifices of Gandhiji, Moti Lal, Jawahar Lal, Patel and other Hindu leaders alone that India won her freedom. In the absence of the other side of the picture, the world takes this as gospel truth. Why should this other aspect of Indian history remain obscure ?

Maulana Mohammad Ali and Kanwar Fateh Singh, heir apparent of Baroda, had been class-fellows in London. They had deep and sincere mutual relations. The result was that Mohammad Ali was fixed up as a high official in the State and was soon to be raised to the ministerial chair. But Mohammad Ali had a sensitive heart. The wretched condition of India and the backwardness of the Muslims had a very serious effect upon him. Even during his service in the State, he used to contribute articles to different English newspapers under assumed names. But for how long? His conscience would not

allow this. This was not what he thought was necessary for his country and people. He resigned his post and, ignoring his bright service prospects, entered the thorny field of journalism. Calcutta was then, in 1911, the capital of India; from there he started his *Comrade*. It was not long before *Comrade* won its place in Indian journalism. Its style, interesting, well-argued, informative and forceful articles, its journalistic standard, its 'serene sharpness' and 'sharp serenity,' besides its different features, thought-provoking and catering to all classes of readers—all this was quite a fare to raise *Comrade* soon to a status which even the old-established papers could not achieve. It worked as a spell on the Indian intelligentsia so much so that, although they were not happy over its piercing criticism, even the official circles eagerly studied it for their mental satiety. Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India, and his lady were both regular subscribers to the *Comrade* and the eagerness with which they awaited its arrival can be realised from the fact that they would make inquiries if it ever was late in arriving at the Viceregal Lodge. *Comrade* files used to be taken by retired Secretaries of the Government of India back to England as gifts for their friends, journalists and editors of renown.

The *Comrade* served both India and the Muslim nation, maintaining a high journalistic standard. It aroused national sentiments in its readers and at the same time prepared the Muslims to sacrifice their all for Islam. The services of the *Comrade* are as all-pronged as of any political or religious institution. In fact, *Comrade* was not a paper, it was a great institution itself.

Our new generation can have self-confidence and self-pride only if they keep alive to their past and are fully aware of the achievements of their Elders.

It is with a view to keeping the past alive that I have, in spite of my limited resources, undertaken this heavy task:

ہے آرزو کہ کاکل پر خم کو دیکھیے
اس حوصلہ کو دیکھیے اور ہم کو دیکھیے

In this connection, the first hurdle that cropped up was the unavailability of the files of the *Comrade*. I had to go from library to library in their quest; a hint from someone took me abegging from this door to that, but, alas! it was all a pious hope.

My persistent efforts, however, bore fruit and the files of the *Comrade* fell into my hands from a quarter which I least expected to yield them; the will found the way. This hurdle removed, I immediately set myself to the work of selection and editing. The result of my labour is now before the reader.

This selection from the *Comrade* offers a very interesting and instructive phase of the history of India, Indian Muslims and the world of Islam and, I believe, the future historian will find it of interest and use to him.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is only with the grace of God that a man like me, who has access neither to the rich nor to the official high-ups except his own stamina to work and ambitions, could carry such a huge task to a successful end. This has confirmed me in the belief that, though a man may be repeatedly disappointed by his own kind, that is not so with God. He does not deny His favours even to those who do not believe in Him, then why should He have disappointed one who desired to bring to limelight the work of one of His own soldiers who had all his life fought an all-pronged battle for His cause :

توحید تو یه هے که خدا حشر میں که دے
یه بنده دو عالم سے خفا میرے لیے هے

Who can deny that Mohammad Ali died with his boots on in the way of his Lord?

Grumbling is not my habit, nor have I to complain against anybody :

سفینه جب که کنارے په آ لگا غالب
خدا سے کیا ستم و جور ناخدا کہیے

but this does surprise me, as others, that, in spite of huge funds allocated for such work by my dear friend and brother, Abdul Wahid Khan, on his leaving the Provincial Cabinet for the Central, and in spite of the presence of my old Bombay friend and my kind Karachi well-wisher, Shaikh Mohammad Ikram, at the head of the Evacuee Trust, nothing substantial has yet come out; not to my knowledge at least:

کون سے شہر میں هوتا هے ، کدهر هوتا هے

I avail of this opportunity to express my gratitude to the following gentlemen who have throughout the preparation of this work practically and whole-heartedly collaborated with me and shared my worries.

Justice Khamisani.—In this respect I place Justice Khamisani at the top. He is a friend as well as a brother to me, more a brother than a friend. He has always been a ray of hope in my distressed moments. His wise counsel and encouragement have ever pushed me on.

Justice Sardar Iqbal.—He is also one of my few well-wishers. He not only appreciates my work, but also encourages me and oftentimes actively co-operates with me. His 'face is the index of the man in him.' He is a blessing in disguise for me. He has high feelings for his nation, for his country and for humanity at large. He wishes to cry out :

درد جس دل میں هو میں اس کی دوا بن جاؤں

Mr. Absar Qarni.—He is a graduate from Aligarh, a prominent I.C.S. man. He opted for Pakistan at the time of partition. Here he has shouldered some very high official responsibilities quite successfully.

هم جس زمیں پہ رہے انسان بن کے رہے

He has the knack of solving hard and complicated financial problems, is highly principalled, with a deep sense of duty.

My acquaintance with Mr. Qarni dates far back to prepartition days. He possesses exceptional capabilities and, more than that, he is all candidness and ever-sacrificing. During my long relation with him, he has impressed me by his affection, nobility and geniality.

Mr. Mumtaz Hasan.—Occupied as he is in heavy official responsibilities, it is his unique achievement that he has devoted himself fully to the progress and advancement of literature.

He has a heart full of noble feelings for the 'people of the pen.' He is pained at their lot. The way he has done and is doing service to the Urdu language, sometimes openly and sometimes remaining behind the veil, is peculiarly his own. He cherishes no appreciation or praise, but believes in silent solid work. Who knows the birth of how many learned institutions and the flourishing of how many literary movements are due to his personal attention? He spends most of his leisure hours in these literary activities which he has voluntarily adopted.

It is my personal experience that in difficulties confronting me in execution of a hard task, just the mental vision of his smiling face often has, as if, lightened my work.

Mr. Abdul Wahid Khan.—He is a Life Member of the Mohammad Ali Academy. His political acumen and literary taste beggar no description. His sincerity of purpose is universally acknowledged and so is his belief in action, solid action, not mere words.

But few know that he is a sincere friend and very humane and that too in spite of his official position as a Central Minister! In this, I believe, even his antagonists too will bear me out.

Mr. Manzoor Qadir.—Need I say that he is an acknowledged expert on law and the most successful Barrister of Pakistan ? He was Pakistan's Foreign Minister during the Martial Law regime and won international recognition for his intelligence and wisdom. The drafting of the present Constitution of Pakistan is his achievement. He is very broadminded and receivescriticism with open heart. No doubt, he is the big son of a big father.

Mohammad Ali Academy has the honour of his life membership. He is not only deeply interested in the Academy's aims and objects but is sympathetically disposed towards it. I am really greatly indebted to him.

Mr. Nizam-ud-Din Nu'mani.—He hails from Panipat and is the son of a great man who took active part in the Khilafat Movement, ignoring the warning and intimidation of the Commissioner. Mr. Nu'mani is a Liaison Officer in the Pakistan Western Railway. By nature, God-fearing, noble-spirited, full of national sentiments, he is all nobility and sincerity. He is also a Life Member of the Academy and is ever ready to take active part in any work of national importance.

Syed Munir Husain Sahib.—He has a 'ripe' old head on young shoulders. Once Deputy Commissioner at Karachi, he is now Information Secretary to the West Pakistan Government. His high official position has not 'turned' his head; rather he is a charming symbol of sociability, manliness and nobility of character. His sight reminds one of a saying of the Prophet:

الله جميل و يحب الجمال

He is sympathetically disposed towards me and my work and, as far as possible, actively helps me.

Mr. Mohammad Ashraf Darr.—One of my old friends, he knows how to maintain friendship. Well-principalled, of good taste, good-natured and a symbol of sincerity, he has ever been available to me in any task where his co-operation was needed and that too in spite of his own multifarious and heavy responsibilities.

But for his active co-operation, sincere advice and friendly support, it would not have been possible for me to present this *Selection* in the garb and style that it now has, and so soon.

Mr. Wahhab.—He is a young friend of mine, full of sincerity and affection. He has, I acknowledge, helped me a lot in my work in connection with this *Selection.* His part in the work has been very important.

Mr. Khalid Mahmud.—Similarly, I owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Mahmud of (*Daily Kohistan*) who has played a very important, selfless role in this work.

In the end, I have to thank all my colleagues who worked with me day and night in bringing this *Selection* out. Mr. Siddiqi, my Nadvi friend, Mr. Ikramullah Sapra of Kailayanwala and Mr. Abdul Wahid need special mention in this regard.

ورق تمام ہوا اور مدح باقی ہے
سفینہ چاہیے اس بحر بیکراں کے لیے

Rais Ahmad Jafri

1 January 1965



Zafar Ahmad Faruqi
Secretary,
(Muhammad Ali Academy)

Rais Ahmad Jafri



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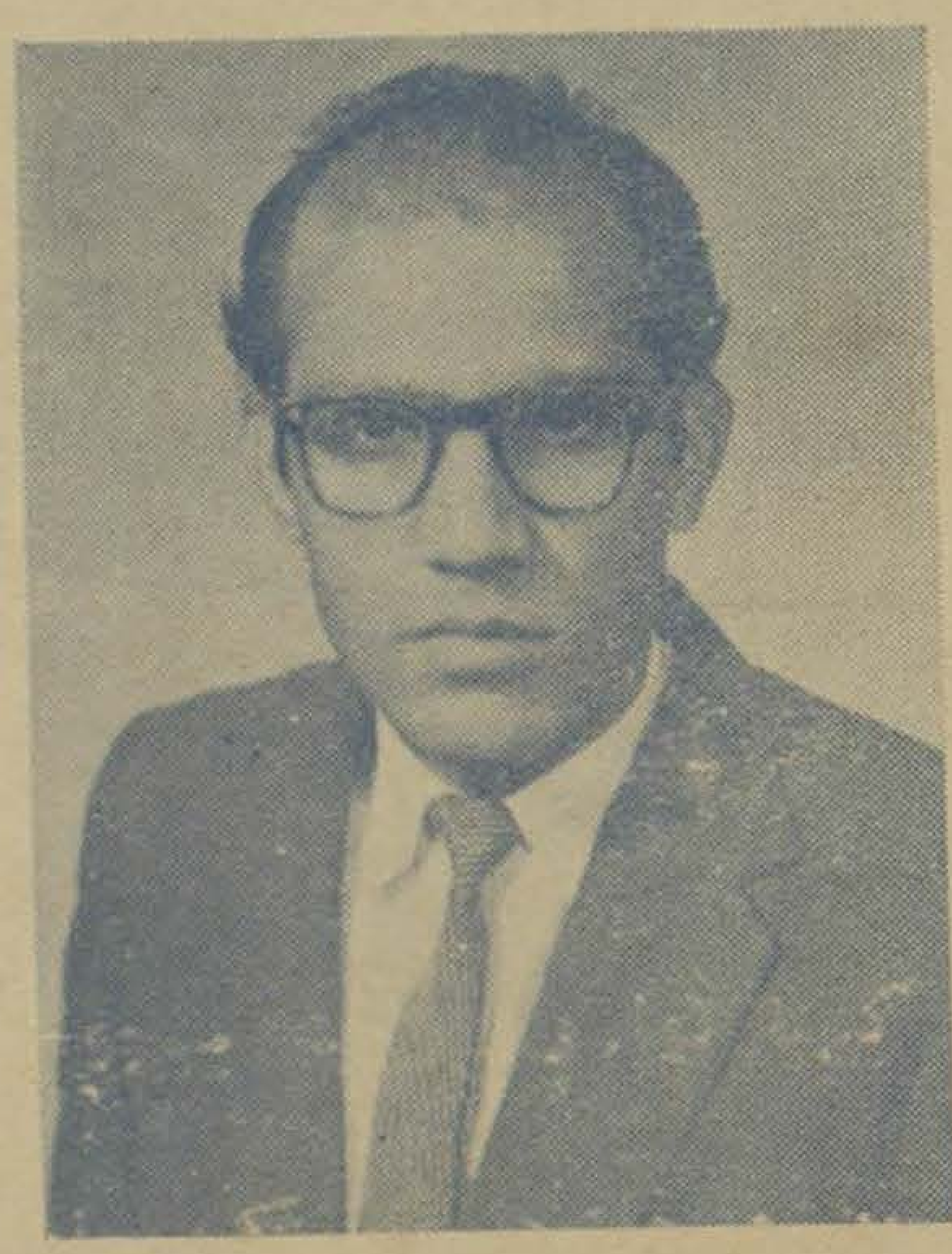
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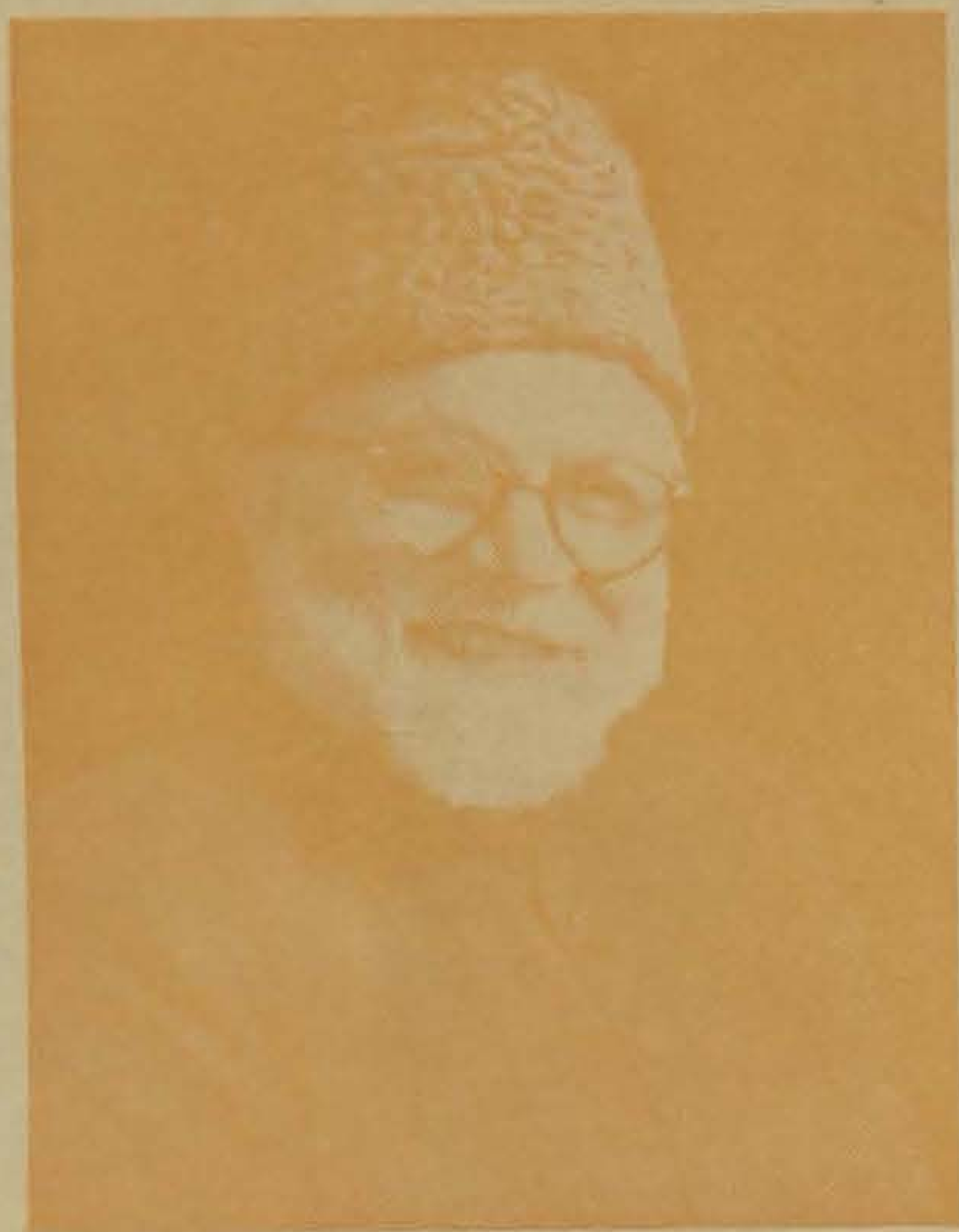


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APPRECIATION

A Letter from Mr. Justice Ilahi Bakhsh Khamisani,
Judge, High Court, Karachi

Dated the 4th September, 1964

My dear brother :

I am deeply grateful to you for very kindly sending me a copy of "Ali Bratheran." What surprised me to notice in it was the exaggerated part attributed to me conducive to its publication. My contribution was quite insignificant and yet you have extolled me to skies. If what you have written about me had been written by anyone else, I should have considered it to be a pure act of sycophancy but I know that you are incapable of it. I have thought over it and I can only discern in what you have written about me a cry of a frustrated man. I know that you stood as a rock against the onslaughts of the Congress against Muslim League in Bombay. I also know about your heroic acts of bold and fearless journalism that you performed as the Chief Editor of 'Khilafat' and other papers. I also know about how Mr. Morarji Desai treatedyou after Partition and how your externment from Bombay, nay from India, took place. Considering the meritorious services you had rendered to the Muslim League and the part you had played in the achievement of long cherished desire of Quaid-e-Azam of getting separate land for Musalmans, you rightly expected treatment of a hero to be given to you. On coming to Pakistan you found this to be your wishful thinking. To your great dismay, you found the nation to be oblivious of what you had done. In fact you found yourself alone and disregarded. You wanted to eke out your subsistence from the little money that you had brought from India but you were robbed of that too. You wrote numerous books, some of which are master pieces in Urdu literature but the publishers, taking advantage of your stringent monetary circumstances, purchased them for a song and turned you away on a pittance of remuneration, In consequence you became a heart patient. Constant

worry of supporting you wife and small children has turned you into a permanent invalid. Under these circumstances you thought too much of the little encouragement I gave you and spontaneously burst out in undeserved praises for me. You know more than myself that the nation has always treated men of your calibre and character like this. How can you be an exception ? One thing, however, is certain that the posterity will immortalise you. I for one will always prefer a position of perpetual glory than the life of ephemeral ease before death.

May I tell you that what I did was not with a view to obliging you. I had in fact goaded you in bringing out "All Bratheran" number because I always considered Ali Brothers to be those pillars on which Quaid-e-Azam built the broadb-ased and strong edifice of Pakistan. It will not be exaggeration on my part if I say that they were the originators of Independence Movement in India. They were solely responsible for resuscitating the dead and dormant desire in Indians to rise in revolt against Britishers. Above everything else they were the real Muslims and had given up their honoured position in Congress when they found that the interests of Mussalmans in the hands of Hindus were in jeopardy. All persuasions from Congress were set at naught by them and nothing could bring about a change in their mind in severing from the right path. They sacrificed their life ease and comfort and took a to life which was fraught with perils and hardships. They went to jail and faced trials which entailed punishment of death. They willingly courted death and in fact died in the pursuit for truth and righteousness.

What had been tormenting me was that the nation had forgotten them. They had receded so much in oblivion as if they never existed. Although I don't believe in living in the past, yet I firmly believe in the nation being reminded of the past so as to rekindle in them the spirit of patriotism. It was purely from this point of view that I had requested you to publish "Ali Bratheran." The idea underlyingw as to pay homage to those great heroes as well as to resuscitate them and bring them before the nation in their true perspective.

May I now make bold again to remind you that 'Comrade' reflected the real personality of the Maulana. Will you, 'therefore, be good enough to consider to publish 'Comrade number on the next death anniversary of Mr. Mohammad Ali. By publishing 'Comrade' number, you will be able to bring before the world how Mr.

Mohammad Ali gradually and systematically but boldly simultaneously fought Britlshers for India, for Muslims and how he willingly courted death for truth and righteousness. You will also bring to the notice of the nation that Pakistan is a product of innumerable sacrifices made by innumerable people like Ali Brothers whohave also given their blood and life for its achievement. You will also tell your nation that Pakistan which has not been an easy achievement has to be made strong so as to be made a country for a living nation.

Yours brotherly,

(I. B. Khamisani)

To

Rais Ahmad Jafri Sahib

Khairpur House

Quetta

مال ھے نایاب پر گاھک ھیں اکثر بے خبر
شہر میں کھولی ھے حالی نے دکاں سب سے الگ

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Glimpses of Mohammad Ali's Life



وے لوگ تُو نے ایک ہی شوخی میں کھو دیئے
ڈُھونڈا تھا آسماں نے جنہیں خاک چھان کے

TUZUK-I-MOHAMMAD ALI

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

ہزاروں سال نرگس اپنی بے نوری پہ روتی ھے
بڑی مشکل سے ھوتا ھے چمن میں دیدہ ور پیدا

EDITOR'S NOTE

Maulana Mohammad Ali breathed his last on 4 January 1931 at London.

In April 1931, the Jami'ah Milliah Islamiyah, Delhi, most appropriately decided to bring out a detailed, complete and authentic biography of the Maulana. In view of its relationship with the Maulana, the Jami'ah was the only institution fit to take up the task. It was founded by him and he was its first Shaikh (Rector) ; and it was he who persuaded Dr. Zakir Husain to join the Jami'ah, where service terms and conditions of life stood no comparison with those that he enjoyed at the Aligarh Muslim Univeraity which he left for the Jami'ah. Now, Dr. Zakir Husain was the Shaikh at the Jami'ah as the Maulana's successor. Who could there be more fit for the work than Dr. Zakir Husain, devoted as he deeply was to the Maulana.

When we reached the Dehli railway station to receive Begum Mohammad Ali on her return from London after the death of the Maulana and to share her grief, a sturdy, handsome young man, clad in khaddar, was in the lead. The train arrived and soon we caught sight of the grief-stricken face of the Begum ; this young man could not stop big drops of tears flowing down his cheeks. This was Dr. Zakir Husain, our dear Shaikh al-Jami'ah, a sincere devotee of Maulana Mohammad Ali.

Dr. Zakir Husain conveyed to the Begum the desire of the Jami'ah to bring out a biography of the Maulana. She was so responsive that on the very next day she sent in two large boxes containing letters of Gandhi, Moti Lal, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Maulana Abdul Bari, Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, the Agha Khan, the Nawab of Chhattari, Sir Fazal-i-Husain and others ; some important papers ; published and unpublished articles for *Hamdard* and *Comrade* ; a large bundle of correspondence with the Nawab of Rampur ; complete files of *Hamdard*, *Comrade* and *Young India* ; some issues of the late Sayyid Husain's *Independent*. Also found in this huge lot was the manuscript of an incomplete book written by the Maulana entitled : *Islam : Kingdom of God*.

All this material was handed over by Dr. Zakir Husain to the late Mr. Shafiqur Rahman Qidwai. Mr. Qidwai was my teacher as well as tutor. Aware of my unlimited devotion to the Maulana, he passed on the material to me. On my request, Mr. Qidwai

allotted to me a spacious room in the Jami'ah premises which, then, were situated in Qarol Bagh. The College closed at 1 p.m., after which till 9 in the night, I used to bury myself deep in this 'heap of wisdom.' I sorted out all the letters and put them in different files. Similarly, I opend files for the articles, organised the disarranged sheets of the incomplete manuscript of *Islam: Kingdom of God* and got it typed.

My door now bore a plaque: 'Mohmmad Ali Museum.' On my request, Begum Mohammad Ali very kindly made over to me the Maulana's over-garment, staff, glasses, cap, pillow, bed-sheet and some other articles he had in daily use. I put all of them too on a proper display.

Soon one day, Mr. Qidwai stole a glance at the 'Museum.' He was so fascinated that he rushed back and brought in Dr. Zakir Husain. He, too, much appreciated the display and instantaneously that 'Council of the Big Two' made a decision that the biography of the Maulana should be written by me. Dr. Zakir Husain has the knack of getting work from others; however serious and hard a task may be, he makes his suggestion in such a light but decisive way that one has only to yield. Quite innocently, he said to me, 'In about a week's time, there will be summer vacation. Don't go home this summer, but avail of these three months in this quiet and solitary atmosphere and go on with the work. We shall be keeping Irshad informed about you telegraphically from time to time.' I could hardly afford to decline.

Mohammad Ali Hostel wore a deserted look. I was the only boarder. This small period of three months was very usefully utilised. I kept myself busy day and night without any disturbance, and the work which, normally, would take me more than two years to accomplish, was brought to an end within this short period.

The first query that Dr. Zakir Husain put to me when I presented myself to him on the reopening of the Jami'ah after the vacation, was 'How is the work progressing? How much have you finished?' My reply was solidly material; I submitted to him the finished manuscript of *Sirat-i-Mohammad Ali*. He was very happy. The book was published by Maktabah-i-Jami'ah and has been well received.

In the meanwhile, Maulana Shaukat Ali took me from Delhi to Bombay and entrusted editorship of the *Daily Khilafat* to me. Before leaving for Bombay, I gave charge of the 'Mohammad Ali Museum' to Mr. Qidwai. The typescript of *Islam: Kingdom of God* was among the articles on display in the 'Museum.'

The communal disturbances of 1947 did not spare even the Jami'ah. Its bookshop was looted and books shown fire to. The 'Mohammad Ali Museum' was also devastated, but, fortunately, some articles of the Museum were spared the ravages, among them the typescript of *Islam: Kingdom of God*, which later was

delivered to Mr. Afzal Iqbal by my teacher, Professor Mohammad Mujib. This was edited by Mr. Iqbal and has already been published under the title : *My Life—AFragment.*

To enable young readers of this 'Selection' from *Comrade* know something about the Maulana, nothing would better serve than a digest of *Islam: Kingdom of God,* which, in the words of Mr. Afzal Iqbal, he started as 'the life of the Prophet and ended with his own !'. The digest follows.

1

TUZUK-I-MOHAMMAD ALI

Born in a fairly prosperous and cultured Indian Muslim family in the Rampur State, in the last quarter of the last century, I naturally received some instruction in the faith of Islam. Like other children of my own age and position, I learnt, when still very young, to read the Qur'an in Arabic, without, of course, understanding a word of what it meant, and I memorised, without any perceptible effort, a dozen of the shortest *Surahs* or Chapters for reciting later on in the daily prayers. I did not need any text books to learn the simple ritual of the Muslims' prayers, or the method of making the formally prescribed ablutions as a preliminary to the offering of prayers, for the frequent sight of my old teacher, my elder brothers and cousins, and others in the mosque in our street, and, in fact, of my mother and other ladies of the family and members of our household was sufficient for a general guidance. Though elementary text-books abound, they are referred to only in case of doubt even by the young, or just to memorise a few Arabic texts that form part of the daily prayers, but are not taken from the Qur'an itself.

I read with my old red-bearded pedagogue, who was innocent of all knowledge of mathematics, history and geography, not to mention natural science, half a dozen or more textbooks in Persian, like the *Gulistan* and *Bustan* of Sa'di ; the letters of Aurangzib, Nizami's *Sikandar Namah* or Epic about Alexander's conquest of Persia ; Firdausi's more famous *Shah Namah*, and some prose works composed in less intelligible and more ornate thought not more graceful Persian than Sa'di's, such as Zahuri's *Sih Nasr* or that delightful but malicious lampoon of Ni'mat Khan-i-Ali on Aurangzib and his conquest of the Shi'ah kingdom of the Deccan. But these were purely cultural and literary, not religious studies. It is true one learnt a great deal of the ideals of Muslim life and even of Muslim religion in the text-books in Persian in use in these *Maktabs* (private schools) and *Madrassahs* (public schools) and particularly from books on *Akhlaq* or good morals and manners. But they did not directly aim at religious instruction, and, in fact, one or two of

the books so often taught as good literature in those days were on acount of their unusually erotic by nature, no means fit for the instruction of youth.

As it was, hardly before I had finished a couple of these Persian text-books, I was sent to a school recently founded at Rampur and subsequently to another at Bareilly, some forty miles from my home, to learn English subjects of arithmetic, history and geography. For, unlike most of our cousins whose parents were averse to endangering their salvation by subjecting them to 'the Godless influence of English education,' two of my brothers had already been sent to the school at Bareilly by our mother. She had become a widow at the age of twenty-seven, when cholera had suddenly cut short of our young father's life after a few hours' illness. She refused to remarry and, hiding the anguish of her heart under a light bantering tone, told those who advised her to do so that she had a husband to look after her long enough and now she had herself five husbands and a wife to look after, referring, of course, to her five boys and one girl, the eldest of whom was only thirteen and an invalid, and the youngest of whom, the present writer, was not yet two. Women are generally more religious, or at least more superstitious than men, but our mother, who brought us up without any other assistance, although intensely religious, was remarkably free from prejudice and superstition. When the younger of these two brothers of mine, Shaukat, was selected by her for a course of English education, the uncle who was managing our property refused to sanction an allowance for his school expenses, remarking, in all sincerity, but also with all the bitterness characteristic of the times and more specially of the place, that one 'infidel' was bad enough in a family!' But our mother was determined and secretly pawned some personal jewellery of her own with the help of the maidservant of a Hindu neighbour, who was a banker and packed off the second would-be 'infidel' of the family also to Bareilly, with the assurance that she had enough money in her own hands now to pay for Shaukat's schooling at least for some time to come. When our uncle had been thus outwitted by a resolute woman whose self-reliance throughout a long life of hardships and difficulties had only been equalled by her implicit trust in the bountiful providence of God, he got her trinkets released from pawn and paid for the schooling of both his nephews from the proceeds of our property. And so, when yet another 'infidel' sought perdition, he accepted the inevitable, and I proceeded to Bareilly without any clandestine negotiations of my mother with a pawn-broker's maid. As in so many other things in my life, Shaukat had thus paved the way for me and made it smooth.

Well, 'gentlemen' though we believed ourselves to be, we had nevertheless been impious enough to study English even though we had to leave Rampur for the sake of our education. As for myself, in one of their vacations, my brother Zulfiqar and Shaukat had constituted themselves my pedagogues in English and before long the progressive administrator on whose advice mother had sent my brothers to the Bareilly school had founded a similar school

in Rampur itself. I had studied there for some months, and when I was about to enter my twelfth year, I was permitted to accompany my elder brothers to Bareilly. This departure from the code of Rampur gentility, even if not an approach to 'infidelity' as our uncle had put it, had no doubt an adverse effect on us so far as religious education was concerned.

If my father had been alive, or if my brothers had been older or had all remained at home, I would have had the advantage of getting better acquainted even with Muslim dogmatics, dialectics and of course that portion at least of Muslim jurisprudence which deals with the ritual of worship. A Muslim home has two distinct divisions, the *Mardanah* and the *Zananah*. When our father died, our mother shut up the adjoining new house that father had recently built to receive his friends, for none of us was old enough to need a separate *Mardanah* and some years later she herself moved into it lending the old *Zananah* house to her brothers and his family. And, although a house with us five brothers and two cousins living in the adjoining old *Zananah* house, which they had so long shared with us, was bound to be a noisy place and our boisterousness no doubt made us a tremendous nuisance, still mother preferred that we should be for the greater part of the day under her own eyes. So, instead of allowing us to play with our numerous cousins in their houses all close to our own, and of course in the street which was practically monopolised by us, though legally still a public thoroughfare of the less frequented sort, she should let us invite a whole heap of these cousins to our house and romp all over the place, even though we ruined the terraces and cost mother no end of money in repairing the leaky roofs in the heavy monsoon rains. Nevertheless, there was one place where we could elude her vigilance and yet still be within the bounds. That was the *Mardanah* house of our eldest uncle and the fear that he inspired in all of us was enough to procure us freedom to cross the street and go there whenever we cared. Here there was an endless succession of visitors belonging to all strata of Rampur society. Ours was one of the principal families engaged in administration and, apart from visitors of equal status who came to pay a social call, many others also came in who had any petition to make to the ruler of the State and sought our uncle's intercession or, perhaps, a favour to ask directly from himself. Everyone had an easy access and I cannot think of any place where such a variety of people congregated daily as at my uncle's, specially on Friday mornings, it became all the more 'democratic' —and, I fear, not a less noisy—on account of my uncle's hobby of quail-fighting which attracted quail-trainers or *bater-bazes* of the whole State. Here could be seen in the freest intercourse men in the very humblest ranks of society as well as the haughtiest members of the Rampur nobility and Court. But not being Rohillas, whose tastes were as rule more martial than literary, our uncles used to receive for Rampuris quite an unusual number of visitors from among the scholars and literary men that had found the Nawab's Court their last harbour of refuge when the political storms had destroyed the Courts of

Dehli and Lucknow. It is true that much of their erudite conversation was above the understanding of boys of our age, but it could not fail to rouse a literary curiosity which was stimulated and, to some extent satisfied, in the company of our grown-up cousins As I was the youngest son of the youngest son of my grandfather, some of these cousins were only a few years younger than my own parents. They had their own separate apartments on the ground floor of their father's *Mardanah* where there used to be a similar endless succession of visitors every day. Youth's code of decorum was not so rigorous and the conversation here was more lively than on the upper storey, even if it was not so erudite. When free from our *Maktab* and its red-bearded pedagogue, and fatigued with fairly long intervals of play, we used to drop in and listen with great interest to the animated discussions of our cousins and their friends and visitors and, I I must confess, this experience of my childhood was a liberal education in itself.

And then there was the religious schooling we unconsciously received from our mother. I must rigorously restrain myself, otherwise there is no knowing to what lengths I may not digress when I am on that ever congenial topic—our mother. Suffice it to say that although shewas practically illiterate, as I shall presently explain, I have, in all my experience of men of all sorts of types, come across none that I could call wiser and certainly none that was more truly Godly and spiritual than our mother. Muslim society in India in the days of its decadence had sinned against the light in nothing so much as in condemning womanhood to all but universal ignorance. What used to be the general rule in the best days of Islam had, about this time been whittled down to a few rare exceptions—women who could have intelligently followed the learned conversation of the most erudite scholars and who could partake, after their daily round of domestic duties, joys of literature not unoften in more than one language. They were still taught to read the Qur'an in the original Arabic which they could, of course, understand no more than the majority of men themselves. Some could read Urdu, which was their vernacular, and were thus enabled to read a few religious 'tracts'—for the most part metrical compositions, more legend than literature, supposed to impart good moral instruction. This additional accomplishment, however, was not a part of my mother's literary equipment. But she possessed enough intellectual curiosity not to be satisfied with what little she knew and she possessed a memory that is nothing short of a marvel. My father would often bring into the *Zananah* the book he might be reading and one of these books evidently proved so attractive that he would read it in bed far into the night. It so happened that occasionally he forgot to take it along with him when he went to the *Mardanah* next day and that is how mother was enabled to have *her* innings. A cousin of ours, who was the favourite of both of my parents, and who subsequently becamemy father-in-law [Azmat 'Ali Khan 'Azmat] used to be very often with my father and was very frequently coming to my mother with messages from him in

the course of the day, when father was himself too busy to come, besides paying visits to my mother on his own account. The attractions of the book that sooften formed my father's nocturnal literature impelled my mother to ask this nephew what it was and since it turned out to be a remarkably good romance, mother eagerly asked him to read it to her whenever she could get an opportunity to taste this 'forbidden fruit.' And so astonishingly good was her memory that, although she had heard these portions of the book read out to her only once, and that too fairly rapidly, she could gradually make out the words when she began to glance at the book herself, on occount of the similarity of the *Nast'aliq* script, in which Urdu and Perisan are written, with the *Naskh* script in which Arabic and of course the Qur'an, which she could read, are written. And it was in this manner that our mother learnt to read Urdu, though she cannot *write* it to this day.

However, it was not merely for reading fiction that our mother utilised her ability to read Urdu, acquired in this novel manner. Musalmans have always had a horror of translations of their Holy Writ, for fear of people forming the habit of relying upon man's words rather than on those of God. In India, the Qur'an was printed together with Persian translation and Urdu commentary which was really a very *literal*, though somewhat expanded translation, both being the work of members of the same great family of divines of Delhi [Shah Waliullah's] whose, piety and learning were universally acknowledged in the country. In these days such copies of the Qur'an are to be found in many households and yet I have only too often come across men who could read the Urdu translation with far greater ease than the Arabic original, which, of course, they did not understand and who would yet be content with their unintelligent reading of the Arabic original without any desire to comprehend its meaning by reading the interlinear translation in their own vernacular. But this has never been the case with our mother. On her busiest day she would not neglect to read her Urdu translation along with the word of God in Arabic, though her sight is now very weak, and even her glasses cannot magnify the smaller Urdu print in her old copy of the Qur'an to make them hafl as the larger Arabic print. She has all her life been in great demand on account of the caiptal way she has of retailing stories, and it is not only children that gather round her, for few grown-ups can resist the temptation of spending an evening in this fashion in her company. She has a large repertoire to choose from, and it includes many a story of ancient prophets partly culled from the Qur'an and partly from the legends and folklore of Jews and Arabs which, for all their apocryphal character, serve admirably to point a moral. When, as children, we used to sit round her forming an eager circle of listeners taking in every word of these old-world tales so faithfully and charmingly repeated, she would amplify them with comments of her own in short moral discourses that have lingered in our memories more than the vast majority of lectures of

savants and sermons of preachers. But far the more important lesson for her children was contained in the rigorously ascetic character of life which she maintained ever since her widowhood at that early age, but which at the same time never robbed her of the least iota of her geniality and the joy of living so that, except for her very simple fare and her still simpler dress and her occupying herself needlessly with the drudgeries less than with the superintendence of her large household, one would have thought that she was the merriest of merry widows. These lessons were of inestimable to us later on in the battle of life, which the circumstances of our family had made more than ordinarily hard to wage. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that all this moral and spiritual training that we received from our mother, however high its practical value, left us still very ignorant about the details of Islamic faith and its history. And then on top of all this came the migration to a school where we were to receive the new Godless education of the West without so much as a mention of Allah and His Prophet, and His Holy Book.

If at home our cousins had held animated discussions about religion and dogma which we could no longer attend, we had here in the boarding house of our school still more animated discussions that centred round natural science and philosophy, even if our pretentious scientists and philosophers had only the most elementary and superficial ideas on the subjects in debate. In this particular school, however, the Musalmans were in a minority, but it was an assertive, not to say aggressive, minority, with the result that in spite of all the destruction wrought in old-world ideas by this onset of our Western education, we were unconsciously impelled to maintain the old pride of faith for all our pleasant relations with the majority of our school-fellows who were Hindus.

I was not long at this school for, as soon as Shaukat had matriculated, we both joined our brother Zulfiqar who had left the Bareilly school a couple of years earlier and had subsequently gone to Aligarh after matriculating. This was the well-known and in a way notorious, institution founded on the models of English public schools and residential colleges some ten or twelve years previously by the ‘ Naturee ’ Musalman, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, K.C.S.I.

We used to have a long vacation of two months or more once a year, when we used to go home and have perfect leisure to listen to the lively discussions in the circle of our cousins. In fact, we could now take a modest share in them occasionally, for the higher status that English education had given us made up for the disparity in our ages.

Aligarh presented one bright spot and I must not omit to mention it. This was no other than a college professor of rare charms and of an entirely new literary outlook whom Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had been able to attract to Aligarh. He was Shibli Nu‘mani, Professor of Arabic and Pesian, an ardent lover of poetry and of Islamic history. Besides some exquisite verses in Persian, he has left several biographical and historical works as monuments of research and scholarship. The last

of these, which promises also to be the greatest, is the 'Life of the Prophet' in several volumes. Of these, so far only two have been published by his literary executors, but he had managed to complete it just before his greatly mourned and wholly unexpected death. His ordinary daily lectures at Aligarh on Persian and Arabic were most attractive but, unfortunately for me, he had retired from the college before I matriculated from the school attached to it, and so I could not attend them. Nevertheless, I was fortunate enough, although still a schoolboy, to attend his all too brief lectures to the undergraduates on the Qur'an.

I used to accompany my two elder brothers from the dining hall after breakfast and when they noticed my eagerness to listen to Shibli, they mentioned it to him, since he had already had occasion to know of my existence. When I had first come to Aligarh from the school at Bareilly I knew no Arabic at all, but one day I startled my brother Shaukat by translating to him with astonishing accuracy some Arabic verses that he was reciting. He asked me how I knew these verses and even their meaning, when I explained that I had happened to read them in Shibli's life of the Abbaside Khalifa al-Mamun, which was among my brother's books and that I had found the translation also there. As he learns that I had made no effort to memorise them, but that they had remained impressed in my memory on account of their affecting pathos and simplicity he was sufficiently interetsed in this explanation to mention it to Shibli himself. But the Professor was incredulous and had his curiosity still further aroused by learning that at the immature age of eleven I dabbled in Urdu verse as well. So he arranged to take me by surprise and one day I found myself in his college room being examined in the contents of his book *al-Mamun*. I had hurriedly read that book only once, just to pass the time, when my brothers were attending their lectures and I had not yet been admitted into the collegiate school, but I think the result of this test of memory proved satisfactory. Then I was given an Urdu verse for composing a *ghazal* in that metre with that rhyme. I fear I could not claim burial in the 'Poet's Corner' on the strength of those verses nor were they such that to-day I 'would not willingly let die.' But what I composed certainly passed the test of prosody and I was amply rewarded for my success in Shibli's searching examination by being invited to dine with him one evening along with my own brothers. Evidently, finding now that I was more complimentary to his erudition and eloquence than I had been to his preprandial conversation earlier and I had been listening to his lectures from behind a door, he graciously invited me to come inside, and thereafter I had the exquisite elation of sitting in the Principal's Hall attending Shibli's lectures on the Qur'an with all the dignity of a quasi-'undergrad.'

This was how I first made the acquaintance of the meaning of the Qur'an. And yet, alas, it was doomed to be of short duration for only a few months later my class was accommodated in the school building and the distance between that and the college

building where Shibli lectured made it impossible for me to reach the former in proper time for my school work if I attended Shibli's lectures as well. And, if I am not mistaken, Shibli himseif did not continue these discourses of his very long. These all too brief half hours have, however, lingered in my memory all these years. When the Government honoured me with a nomination on a committee that was to frame a scheme for a new type of a local and residential university at Dacca and in particular prescribe a degree course of 'Islamic Studies' in consideration of very large Muslim population in Eastern Bengal, I requested the committee to beg the learned Shibli that he might assist us with his views. To this he readily consented, and when he came to Dacca, I recalled those half-hour lectures of his on the Qur'an. He was pleased to note that I still remembered them, and one result of those lectures of his, I had listened to so many years ago, was the very disappointing 'scratch-crew' of Maulanas, old style as well as new, that formed the 'Islamic Studies' Sub-Committee, decided to include in the syllabus of these studies *Tarjumat-ul-Qur'an*. This translalation of the Qur'an was to be distinct from *Tafsir* or exegesis, which, in the ordinary Arabic *Madrassahs*, is too full of grammar and dogmatics and other dry-as-dust details, and never seems to proceed beyond a third of the entire Qur'an even in a career of ten or fifteen years. In the Jami'ah Milliyah Islamiah or the National Muslim University that rose out of what I must still regard as the ashes of the 'Proposed Muslim University' at Aligarh and of which I was the first Rector, *Shaikh-ul-Jami'ah*, I saw to it from the first day that these discourses of Shibli were revived, and our day began with a full hour devoted to the rapid exegesis of the Qur'an, though alas, there was no Shibli any longer to discourse on the Holy Text.

After eight years at Aligarh, four in the school and the remaining four in the college, I obtained my B.A. degree from the Government University of Allahabad. As my success in the examination proved far better than my deserts, it induced my brother Shaukat to try his hand at a miracle and somehow procure sufficient funds to send me to Oxford. Being senior to me by the somewhat large margin of six years and having been the captain of the famous Cricket XI of the Aligarh College, besides being the secretary of the College Union and many other things which made him a very big 'boss' indeed, he had not condescended to take much notice of an inconsequential schoolboy like me. This was in spite of the fact that I earned regularly every year a small scholarship as one of the best boys in my class, and thereby helped him to dress as a smart cricket captain at Aligarh should, for which even our joint pocket money, which of course he pocketed for both of us, did not apparently suffice. And on the few occasions on which he did take notice of his little brother, it must be confessed that the little brother ardently prayed for perfectly uninterrupted obscurity, for these were the occasions when some of my schoolmates complained to him of my militancy and I became in my turn the object of even more militant attentions from

my 'big brother.' Colonel Wedgwood, M.P., has conveyed a very correct impression of his bulk by describing him in an English Review as ' seven feet by five ' and, although he did not in those days break the scales as he did in the gaol on our imprisonment, he turned them at a heavy enough weight as my tingling ears, when he had soundly boxed them, could honestly testify. He was indeed my 'big brother ' in every sense of the word, and I agreed with Sa'di, that wise man of the East, who said, 'Be a dog but do not be a younger brother.' My unexpected success in the examination for my degree, however, arrested his attention and being then in a superior grade of the service of Government he set about to make ample amends to me for his past neglect. Ordinarily, I would have, in all likelihood, secured a nomination from my college for the post of Subordinate Magistrate or Land Revenue Collector in some district in my province at the ripe age of about twenty and would have begun to earn a modest salary not much less than my brother's, reaching after some fifteen years, according to the scale of promotion then current, a figure which used to form the initial salary of an Indian Civilian. But my brother had now far higher aspirations for me, and I have not yet met his equal in planning greatly and, what is more, also executing greatly. As I said, the raising of funds sufficient to cover the cost of my education in England was nothing short of a miracle and, unlike most miracles in this unbelieving age, he certainly managed to come off. So, before the proverbial nine days of wonder were over, I was on the high seas in the Indian Ocean in the teeth of a raging monsoon, bound for England.

And what chance was there for me to learn anything more about my religion, while at Oxford? In addition to studying for my 'Schools,' I had to commence like a schoolboy once more the study of Latin, to be able to translate in a few months 'unseen' passages from Tacitus and Cicero in my preliminary examination—which was an almost hopeless task. And then there were half a dozen additional subjects of the most miscellaneous character that one had to take up for the Indian Civil Service competition, if one happened to be neither a classical nor a mathematical scholar. To cut the story short, I had at Oxford, where I took an honours degree in Modern History, an excellent opportunity of acquainting myself with a portion of the history of my coreligionists as the period of general history that I selected for my ' School' covered the rise and growth of the Muslim power and included most of the earlier Crusades. But of the religion that had proved the sword and buckler of these Muslims of an older day, I could learn nothing further at Oxford. While awaiting the result of my Indian degree examination, I had been greatly attracted by a new translation of the Qur'an into good easily intelligible Urdu, that my brother had procured for his wife and himself; and I had had a copy of it sent on to me at Oxford. Fired by my own religious zeal and financed by the affections of a generous brother, I had the Qur'an bound most sumptuously in calf by the bookbinder of the Bodleian, and

it looked superb on the otherwise meagerly furnished bookshelf in my college [Lincoln College, Oxford] room. But alas, for the inconsistency of human nature, the best bound books are not those that are oftenest read, and the Qur'an which I had so eagerly sent for from home remained far too often mere ornament of my book-shelf. Of course, I occasionally read it and its fascination was such that, once I took it up, I could not be induced to close it for some hours. But I must confess with shame that the one book I should have studied above all others was not taken up as often as it should have been, and, though I was now supposed to have 'completed' my education, I realised later that, in fact, I had not even begun it.

2

After four years I returned to India after taking my degree, though not as a member of the much-coveted Indian Civil Service, thanks to an English spring and a young man's more or less foolish fancy. I had now a specious enough excuse for not pursuing any religious studies in the strenuous life that one must lead who aspires to distinction in the Public Service under a watchful and critical administrator like the Gaekwar of Baroda. I joined His Highness' service, some time after resigning my appointment as the Chief Educational Officer in my own State of Rampur, where, too, love of my house and of its lovable people had given to my desire of distinction an added impetus and kept me fully engaged in the work of my department.

Towards the end of 1910, I left Baroda and set up as a journalist at Calcutta with a weekly newspaper of my own. This was a rather serious departure to make, specially for one who had given, in Bacon's expressive phrase, so many hostages to fortune in the shape of wife and children. I had achieved, if I may say so, a fair degree of success in my work as a Baroda official, and could only relinquish it by disguising my departure as two years' 'leave without pay.' When no further disguise was possible, and I placed my resignation in the hands of the Gaekwar, I found him most unwilling to accept it and, in the last resort, prepared to extend my leave. All this was no doubt flattering enough to my vanity, and an ample recompense for some strenuous work which had cost me my unusually robust health, but I felt that thenceforward my work lay in another direction. While still in the Baroda service I had to decline offers of administrative posts of greater responsibility than my Baroda office in two other States and my final refusla

of yet a third similar offer, still more tempting, was sent as soon as, the first issue of the *Comrade* was out. By this change I had to give up an assured, if modest, income and the prospects of all future advance and, like a plunger, stake all the money I could gather from any quarter practically on one throw of the die as an editor-poprietor and subsequently as that unholy but costly trinity—an editor-proprietor cum printer.

And yet I did all this not so much because journalism had ever attracted me. What is more, I had not, even for a brief space, served my apprenticeship in a profession that is as exacting as any other, beyond writing occasionally for the *Times of India*, of Bombay, to which Mr. Lovat Fraser had first invited me to contribute. The reason which so irresistibly impelled me to take up journalism was that the affairs of my community just at that juncture made it the only avenue through which I could hope to reach a place in which I could prove of any appreciable use to it, while still earning a livelihood. But even now it was not a religious call that dictated this sudden and, as it proved, momentous change from the career in which I had comfortably settled down. It was more the secular affairs of my community that seemed to require this alteration in my plans. I was particularly anxious to help it to understand that, while endeavouring to satisfy the pressing needs of the present which may inevitably bring it now and then into conflict with other elements in the body politic, it should never lose sight of the prospects of the future when, ultimately, all communal interests had to be adjusted in order to harmonise with the paramount interests of India. I had long been convinced that here in this country of millions of human beings, intensely attached to religion and yet infinitely split up into communites, sects and denominations, Providence had created for us the mission of solving a unique problem and working out a new synthesis. It was nothing less than a federation of faiths. The lines of cleavage were too deeply marked to permit unity other than federal and yet the cleavage was not territoral or racial in character but religious, and I had been dreaming for some time dreams of a 'United Faith of India. The '*Comrade*—'comrade of all and partisan of none' —was to be the organ that was to voice views, and prepare the Musalmans to make their proper contribution to territorial patriotism without abating a jot of the fervour of their extraterritorial sympathies which is the quintessence of Islam.

But things did not proceed quite as I had so optimistically planned. 1911, when I made my first bow in front of the journalistic footlights, proved a fateful year for Muslim countries. The new governments of Turkey, Persia and Morocco, all began to meet with squalls in their initial voyage of reform and progress, and these squalls soon developed into regular storms. In India too, the year did not end before the eventful announcement by the King in person at his Coronation Durbar at Delhi of a radical modification of the partition of Bengal, which had no doubt improved the depressed condition of the large Muslim majority in Eastern Bengal whose support the officials had

enlisted on their side and which two successive governments in England and India had declared to be a 'settled fact.' Thus it was that the Musalmans felt them selves to be betrayed both in India and abroad and, in being their spokesman, I soon lost grace with the official world. Up to the last I entertained the hope that things would ultimately right themselves. But this did not, and the year ended even worse than it began. It was destined to be followed by a still sadder experience in the autumn of 1912, when I had migrated to Delhi with the Government of India.

My feelings during the disastrous war in the Balkans were at one time so overpowering that I must confess I even contemplated suicide. Paradoxical as it no doubt appears, even that act of moral cowardice needs some courage and I very often wonder whether I could have mustered enough of it to take the final plunge on that fateful night. The latest message of Reuter that had reached me was that the Bulgarians were only twenty-five miles from the walls of Constantinople—from Constantinople, a name that had for five centuries been sacred to every Muslim as the centre of his highest hopes. This is the first time that I have made this confession of what I must call my weakness, except for a hasty outburst in the course of animated but friendly discussion when I blurted out something about the mental torture of that night to the editor of an English newspaper in India. A month or two later what was my shock when I discovered a reference to it in the columns of the *London Times*, pointing a moral and adorning the tale of one of its Indian correspondents. But, fortunately, my identity was sufficiently covered by my Alma Mater, for I think I appeared only as 'A Graduate of an English University'. To Greturn to that autumn night in 1921, I was saved a trial of my courage as well as cowardice by the unexpected appearance of a Muslim friend who had graduated from Oxford not long before and was on this occasion accompanied by an English fellow-graduate of that university who was his guest and had expressed a desire to see an Indian *nautch*.

The attitude of England towards the enemies of Turkey, Persia and Morocco had begun to alienate the sympathies of Indian Musalmans ever since 1911. In 1913 I was precipitated into open conflict with the official world when they declared the forfeiture of a pamphlet I had received along with several other Indian Musalmans from Turkey, appealing to England for Christian succour against the Balkan Allies whose Macedonian atrocities were therein depicted. I could not tamely submit to this and tried conclusions with Government by carrying up for the first time to the High Court of Calcutta the Indian journalists' grievances against that hateful and hasty piece of legislation, the Indian Press Act of 1910, which I only learnt in prison has now at last been repealed. While this litigation was going on, the fatal developments following on the demolition of part of a small mosque at Cawnpore embittered Indian Muslim feelings still more, and I had to proceed to England to appeal to the Home Government and persuade it to alter a policy, Indian as well as foreign, that seemed to

bear no good to anybody, and was sure to alienate still further the Musalman subjects of His Majesty. In this I partly succeeded, but within a year of it events of far greater magnitude occurred in which the entire world was involved. The War and events leading to the participation of Turkey not on the same side as England undid all the good that we had expected to follow the friendly deputation of the Indian Musalmans whichwe had taken to wait on Lord Hardinge earlier in the year and which had been received by that Viceroy with every show of goodwill.

From November 1914 to the time of my conviction and sentence of imprisonment at Karachi, seven years later, almost to a day, Government and I have not been able to see things eye to eye. The result was that once more, through the instrumentality of the Press Act, mv press was forced to suspend its activities on the very day that war was declared by England against Turkey, and when, at Russia's obvious pressure, the plans to partition Turkey among the Allies were complete and it was settled that Constantnople, the seat of the Khilafat, was at long last to become Tsargrad, in fulfilment of the ambition of Peter the Great, and when early in the summer of 1915 the forces of General Sir tan Hamilton were ready to land on Ihe Gallipoli Peninsula, preparatory to the forcing of the Dardanelles, and the occupation of Constantinople was expected at an early date, I was ordered to be interned under the Defence of India Act. My brother Shaukat who had up to that time never taken any part in politics and had, in fact, just retired with an extraordinary pension after seventeen years spent in the public service was also interned.

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3

Under the Press Act, publishers of newspapers and periodicals and keepers of printing presses had to posit with Government security for good behaviour. But Indian Musalmans, whose politics had long been preponderatingly favourable to Government and in fact but too often savoured of sycophancy according to the more forward sister communities in India, were believed to be fairly innocuous when I commenced my journalistic career in 1911, and my British printers were accordingly exempted from the deposit of a security. When I migrated to Delhi about two years later, and had to become the keeper of a press myself in the new-old capital of India that lacked the printing facilities of Calcutta, I was already something of a suspect and I had to see several high officials before I was exempted from this deposit. The

ground officially assigned for this great favour was that I had been similarly treated in Calcutta two years ago and had in the meantime served a period of apprenticeship in 'respectability'! But, alas, I could not long rely on that 'respectability' for I had been the recipient, as I have already mentioned, of a pamphlet from Turkey regarding the atrocities of the Balkan Allies in Macedonia. It was an appeal to Christians and in particular to Englishmen, the old Allies of Crimea and friends of the Congress at Berlin. It bore the title 'Come over into Macedonia and help us,' which the Christian reader will readily recognise as a quotation from the Acts of the Apostles, and reminiscent of the entry of Christianity into Europe, through the energy and ardour of St. Paul, the 'apostle of the gentiles.' Like me, Lord Lamington who had but lately been the Governor of Bombay, had received that morning an appeal to which Sir Adam Block, an Englishman and President of the Commission of Ottoman Debt, had contributed a foreword in support, and the ex-Governor of Bombay had been so greatly affected by its perusal that he had based on this pamphlet a smaller tract intended for broadcast distribution, and this tract bore on it the sign of the cross in red. When even such a publication was declared forfeited under the Press Act by one local Government in India after another following the lead of the Government of India itself which was the local Government for the Imperial Enclave at Delhi, I had, as I have stated, petitioned the High Court of Calcutta to set aside the order of Bengal Government, the object in in selecting that tribunal being to appeal to a judicial body as independent of the executive as one could expect to find in this country. As Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the Chief Justice, said in his masterly judgment, I lost my book, but I retained my reputation, and, what I valued still more, I gained a judgment which tore up the Press Act, the authors and sponsors of which had thus been pilloried for the first time in a Court of Law in India. An English barrister of great eminence, the brilliant and generous-hearted Eardley Norton had accepted my brief without accepting any fee, while an Indian politician whose 'sweet reasonableness' before long made him a counsellor and adviser of the highest British officials India and England, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, had been my 'honorary' solicitor.

The sequel of this case was that the Magistrate of Delhi demanded an immediate deposit of the maximum amount of security from the keeper of my press, and the fact that I was then absent in Calcutta made no difference to him. My lawyers at Delhi, not desiring to close the printing press and stop all my journalistic activities, deposited the amount entirely on their own responsibility and, a year later, on the very day that England declared war on Turkey, that security was declared forfeited, and another five times as heavy was demanded, together with the entire plant of the printing press, worth about half a lakh of rupees, which would be declared forfeited, for the second offence along with the additional monetary security. This was because of an article provoked by a 'leader' of the *London Times* on 'The

Choice of the Turks,' which had appeared more than a month previously, and I may add that once more my generous friend, Mr. Norton, had agreed to appear for me in the Calcutta High Court, though, as it turned out, he was unavoidably detained that day in a murder case in which he had already been appearing, which went beyond the week in which it was expected to be decided. Sir Lawrence Jenkins and his brother judges threw out the case, as Lord Sinha had predicted, on the ground that they had no jurisdiction, for this time the Government of Bengal had taken care not to declare the forfeiture of the offending issue of the *Comrade*. In fact, the Police Commissioner of Calcutta had returned to me the copy that I had surrendered for confiscation, even though the Government of India had declared its forfeiture 'wherever found.' Lord Sinha had, however, advised me to take the case to the Chief Court at Lahore which exercised jurisdiction over the Imperial Capital, although it was itself dependent on the local Government of the Punjab. He naively declared that I was certain to lose it at Lahore but equally certain to win the appeal to the Privy Council. Whatever the offending article may have done to offend the Government or the successive Governments in England, it had not the least reference or relevance to 'the Government by law established in British India' which it was declared to have had a 'tendency to bring into hatred or contempt,' even though it openly preached loyalty to it with earnestness and sustained vigour. Several papers in England, including the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Telegraph*, in fact published very favourable reviews of that article about the very time that my press was forced to close down for publishing it and the *New Statesman* vigorously took up my cause when the astounding news reached it that it was precisely for publishing this article which it had favourably noticed some weeks earlier that I had been made to suffer such a heavy loss.

To return to my story, two parts of Lord Sinha's prophecy were fulfilled to the letter inasmuch as the Calcutta High Court did not entertain my application and the Lahore Chief Court decided against me in a judgment characteristic of that handmaiden of the executive. But, alas, before I could reach the portals of the Privy Council and test the last and more hopeful part of Lord Sinha's prophecy, another door was closed on me, the door of internment under the Defence of India Act.

The *Comrade* could not, therefore, reappear unless I chose to risk the loss of ten thousand rupees and a fifty thousand rupees worth of printing press, which I would have been most foolish to do. It would have been only throwing good money after bad, and in fact there was no longer much work for a journal conducted in the language of India's rulers and designed to act as an intermediary between them and the people of India. It was an expensive publication because it had to worm its way into official circles when a less pleasing appearance would have given it an immediate *darwaza-band* (literally, door closed) that far-franker Anglo-Indian expression which does service in India for the conventional 'lie' of 'not at home.' Care had also to be taken to interlard matters of the most

vital interest to the India of the Indians with lighter reading in the form of verse, short stories and humour, not that Indians did not in course of time come to appreciate these features which were unusual in Indian journalism. But if the *Comrade* had been meant only for them, many of these could have been dispensed with and the paper and printing would have been less expensive. Thus, the cost would have been greatly reduced, enabling me to make possible a corresponding reduction in the subscription which was unusually high for an Indian weekly review. For a poor community the educated Indians who were in the main Musalmans had made an unexpectedly generous response and the circulation had increased fivefold in less than four years. Fresh subscribers were still enlisting, but, alas, the old ones were falling into hopeless arrears, a habit with which Indian journalists are not unfamiliar. And as the *Comrade* had practically no 'ads' it had from the first been a drain onmy resources and on the resources of those who had generously come to my assistance soon after my journalistic *debut*. However reluctant I was to say 'Good-bye' or at least *au revoir* to my *Comrade* for four of the most strenuous years of my life, the cessation of its publication meant financial relief.

But I was far from having said farewell to journalism itself. The *Comrade* was only a part of my scheme as a journalist and would-be publisher and when I had followed the Government of India to Delhi and, in the absence of printing facilities in the new capital, had been forced to become my own printer, I had found that to be the proper moment for enlarging the sphere of my work by publishing a daily newspaper in Urdu, the vernacular of so large a part of the Indian population and specially of the Musalmans. As the printing machines needed for the *Comrade* would have remained idle for four days or more in the week, and as I was anxious to be rid of dependence upon the vagaries of the calligraphists employed for lithography in Indian printing presses, I had decided to use type, but having long ago sickened of this ugly 'compromise' and finally despairing of *Nasta'-liq* type, I had ordered pure *Naskh* type from Beirut. For up-to-date journalism lithography could never do, but it was no easy matter from the *Nasta'liq* script and to familiarise them with the *Naskh*. However, the commotion caused by the sudden outbreak of the Balkan War in the autumn of 1912 when I transferred myself to Delhi and intended to issue my Urdu daily paper, provided the best possible chance for the success of this new departure, for I had gathered together a very competent staff of sub-editors for the *Hamdard* and was frequently receiving direct messages from Turkey through the assistance of my friend, Dr. Ansari, M.D., M.S., who had organised, in conjunction with myself, and taken over to the famous Tehatalja lines and to Chanak in the Dardannelles an All-India Medical Mission. But the Beirut firm inordinately delayed the despatch of the type, and when it arrived it was insufficient and badly assorted for the purposes of 'copy' in the Urdu language. A second supply was ordered and was

again delayed so that the first issue of the *Hamdard* could not appear for some eight months after the scheduled time. With a large staff of journalists whom I had already engaged living in enforced idleness for such a long period and expecting to commence work any day, and a printing press which had no work to do during the better part of the week, what I must have suffered in pocket can easily be understood to have been considerable. But what I suffered in mental worry and chagrin was felt as a far severer strain.

When at long last the *Hamdard* was issued, the Balkan War was all but over, and a newspaper printed from movable types in an unfamiliar script could not ride, as it were, on the crest of a wave. Its circulation did not increase as rapidly as one would have expected, even after making all allowances for the fact that sensationalism was strictly a taboo, and the leader-writers who were inclined to follow the prevailing fashion of sprinkling red pepper with a rather lavish hand were never allowed to forget that the new publication had its own traditions to establish. But I lost my faith neither in my own ideals nor in my people's ultimate appreciation of them, even though I was far from making the two ends meet financially. On top of all this came yet another trouble with the new type. Even with a circulation much smaller than I had expected it began to show very early traces that it would not wear well. Within a year it required to be replaced and I was certainly not prepared to depend once more on our Beirut suppliers who had caused me so much loss and worry. I had already made an attempt to prepare matrices for a type foundry of our own, but now my friends advised me to 'cut my losses' on printing from movable type and to have my paper lithographed in the familiar *Nasta'liq* script. I had refused to listen to them in the autumn of 1912 when they advised me not to wait for the Beirut type but to issue the *Hamdard* immediately on the outbreak of the Balkan War as an ordinary lithographed paper and, while saving myself the losses I was incurring with an idle editorial staff, give to the people a newspaper that they badly wanted. Now they pressed the point once more and urged me to profit from a year's experience of a paper appearing in an unpopular script. I could not, of course, make the printing press pay if it printed only the *Comrade* and was compelled to add to my other worries, those of a job printer and even then, through inexperience and in fact want of interest in the business, failed to prevent heavy financial loss. But three machines were purchased for lithographing the *Hamdard* and so true was the forecast of these advisers of mine that the circulation of the *Hamdard* in its new script began to go up by leaps and bounds. Two months later, the European War broke out, and for once luck seemed to favour me, though I would far rather have had my bad luck as before than make money out of such excitement as a war breeds. But that I was not destined to do for long after all. For, as I have said, immediately on the outbreak of War between the Allies and Turkey, the security deposited for my printing press was declared forfeited on account of an article that had appeared in the *Comrade*.

That article had been written under the stress of a great crisis, while I was still bedridden owing to diabetic trouble which had necessiated some six weeks previously a surgeon's attention to an abscess under a toe nail. I had sat up for forty hours to write twenty fateful columns, forgoing sleep and rest and almost all food, except some very strong coffee, which I seldom used to take, and I had corrected the proofs in a moving train, while on my way to Rampur to bury a dearly-beloved cousin, the husband of my only sister, who had died suddenly. Another leading article had already been set in type for that issue of the *Comrade*, but the issue was delayed so that this article could be substituted and reach England and Turkey in time to prevent, if it possibly could, the out breakof hostilities to which the *Times*' leading article seemed to be driving the old Allies of Crimea. It was not unoften that the leader-writers of the *Hamdard* 'lifted' a leading article of mine or my dearly-lamented friend and sub-editor, the late Ghulam Husain, and made it serve the purpose of a leader or two in the Urdu stable companion of the *Comrade* and here was material enough to last them a whole week or more. But just as one of my most brilliant sub-editors was dressing up a portion of the 'Choice of the Turks' in its oriental garb for the *Hamdard* came the peremptory order that it was wholly taboo.

The *Hamdard* was intended to educate the people whereas the *Comrade* had to be their spokesman as well, and to act as a medium between them and their rulers, and I was anxious to exclude from the former all exciting topics such as could not be avoided from the latter in the heat of advocacy. More than one potest and appeal reached me from the sub-editors of the *Hamdard* but I was adamant and the readers of the *Hamdard* were not permitted to overhear what passed between the *Comrade* and the government in power in England. And yet when the security of the press was declared forfeited, the unoffending *Hamdard* had to close its doors as well. It was pointed out to the magistrate that the machines which had printed the offending article of the *Comrade* did not and in fact could not lithograph the *Hamdard* for which other machines had been purchased months ago and used ever since. But he was inexorable and the letter of the law was thrown in my face by his pointing out that the *Hamdard* machines too were covered by the same security. Since I had decided not to issue the *Comrade* again as long as the War lasted, and Government was not in a mood to listen patiently to the advocacy of such causes as I had espoused, it was decided to set up another printing press for lithographing the *Hamdard* and pay the maximum initial security of two thousand rupees for it. All this took time and what with the purchasing of new plant and the payment of a large staff of editors, translators, calligraphists and lithographers, while the new press was being set up, I exhausted all the subscription that had poured in so generously and was in addition considerably out of pocket.

The worry and the additional work and constant travelling involved in the Press Act litigation at Calcutta and then at Lahore had played havoc

with my health and my doctors cheerfully guaranteed my death within an easily measurable distance of time if I did not take the 'long leave' which had long been overdue, so that some three months after the revival of the *Hamdard* I handed over charge of the paper to my sub-editor and of the management to my brother Shaukat and left for Rampur. Soon after my arrival the Inspector-General of Police of the United Provinces, which was ruled over by Lord Meston, once on the friendliest terms with me, but who had been, since the Cawnpore Mosque trouble about two years ago, openly hostile, followed me to my haven of refuge and arranged with H.H. the Nawab of Rampur for my 'internment' there. However, as the excessive heat injured my health still further, His Highness permitted me to go to the hills, and just when on our way there I arrived at Delhi in company with my medical adviser and friend, Dr. Ansari, who was going to share a house with me at Mussoorie, came the Delhi Government's order of internment. It was extended even to my brother Shaukat, whose only offence, apart from his strenuous work for the pilgrims, had so far been his management of my financial affairs during the previous month in my absence from Delhi and his successful advocacy which procured the cancellation of the order of internment wrung out of His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.

The Imperial Enclave did not extend outside the city of Delhi beyond the limits of the police station of Mehrauli. There are still some houses in Mehrauli, but hardly one is habitable, for they are the relics of the last days of Muslim rule when brick had replaced stone even for royal palaces and pleasure-resorts and the aftermath of the Mutiny, even where it left any heirs to reclaim the property of their ancestors, left them in no condition to maintain the luxury of a suburban retreat. Practically, the only house kept in any kind of repair was secured for us from the scion of a well-known Mughal family as a loan for a month after which we hoped to secure something else. But if there was a scarcity of habitation for the living, there was none of it for the dead. Mehrauli is one vast graveyard and for miles around the eye sees nothing but graves, graves, graves. It was in this extensive 'God's Acre' that we were left to study at leisure God's Book that we had so long neglected, and to rediscover the ever-living truth in this grave of empires.

The Government had perhaps also had time to realise that we might just as well have been left at Delhi, for just when we were looking out for another house to which to shift after our first month of internment, came an order warning us to be ready within a few hours to proceed to an unknown destination with an escort of Delhi police. We had hardly done packing a few things for the mysterious journey when a European police officer motored up with his men with a view to escorting us to the confines of the small Imperial Enclave. But the parting from little Mehrauli was no less affecting. We had gone to the little 'Auliya Masjid' and offered our *Duganah* of prayers and then returned to the *Dargah* through the bazaar where all the shop keepers were anxious to offer us some mark or other of their affection

and sympathy. But one incident of Mehrauli we can never forget. Soon after the receipt of the Government of India's orders regarding our transfer to another place and before the police escort arrived, we received a visit from the officer in charge of the Mehrauli police station who had only just come to hear of our expected departure for an unknown destination. Hitherto he had never visited us after the initial visit he had paid us to make our acquaintance, and he now explained that he had purposely avoided us, because he had feared we would have suspected him of spying on us. And now he brought out a Colt's revolver and a purse containg Rs. 200 which he offered to us, remarking that neither this money nor the price he had paid for the revolver when he had bought it formed any part of his police earnings, legitiate or otherwise and, with tears in his eyes, he begged us to accept these which were all he had at the time out of the proceeds of his private property. We found it difficult to assure him that we had no need of any assistance as we had ample funds which, in order to convince him, we showed to him and that we placed our trust in Providence much more than in pistols and revolvers. Few incidents in our lives have touched us more deeply than this and, knowing the risks to which a recital of it would obviously expose him, I would not have dreamt of publishing it. But our young friend, who was of a princely family, has now found a better world than our own in which only the fear of God counts with mankind.

One of our greatest troubles on this occasion concerned mother's insistence on accompanying us, and it was with the greatest difficulty that we had succeeded at last in sending her to Delhi after convincing her of the futility of further stay with us when the police officer who had brought the orders intimating our transfer could give her no assurance that the police escort would permit her to accompany us on our mysterious journey. Great, indeed, was our surprise when just as our motor car began to move to find another car puffing and snorting and tearing towards us at a pace that seemed impossible and was certainly very risky for a ramshackle thing like it. It stopped near our car and out of it came mother who had, on reaching Delhi, managed to send a friend of ours who was our legal adviser to the Chief Commissioner to press him not to withhold his consent to her accompanying us. The Chief Commissioner had said that he had received no instructions on the subject and could not prevent her following us, but, as for her accompanying us, he pointed out the obvious difficulty of making any arrangements for a purdah lady in the only car he had available which the police escort must of course share with us. Perhaps he believed that this would be an insurmountable difficulty, and had not specified any other objection. But evidently he had reckoned without a woman who was as resolute as she was resourceful, and mother brushed aside his objection by saying that if the police did not mind her, she certainly would not mind them, most of whom would be younger than her own sons, and some perhaps young enough to be her grand-

children. The Chief Commissioner consented, but the odds were that she could not go more than a mile or two in the fastest of carriages before we were whisked off in the police car. The local car repairer had, however, this ramshackle affair in his shop and agreed to hire it out, but guaranteed nothing beyond that. In fact, he seemed to be inclined to guarantee a breakdown or two before they had left Delhi half a dozen miles behind. Fortune, however, favours the brave, and mother won the esteem of our escort in reaching us just in the nick of time with the requisite permission from the Chif Commissioner which they found to be in order. Contrary to our expectation, we were taken through Delhi itself to a small wayside station on the opposite bank of the river and there took the train which brought hundreds of Delhi men who had seen our car rush through Delhi and took the next train on the off chance of being able to see us. As soon as we had left the limits of the Imperial Enclave, the escorting officer served on us fresh orders which imformed us that we were to proceed to Lansdowne, a small hill station not far from Mussoorie which had no civil population but quartered a garrison of 8th Gurkhas and 39th Garhwal Rifles. Additional restrictions were imposed on our freedom, such as a censorship over our correspondence and stoppage of all writing for the press.

As a matter of fact, about the same time the poor inoffensive *Hamdard* of the tone of which the Chief Commissioner himself had expressed warm approval some time ago, and which had never offended against the Press Act, was singled out for a unique precensorship. A highly paid Indian official, who was, however, entirely innocent of all knowledge of journalism, had been brought over from the Punjab to act as Censor and he had commenced his new career by rejecting such a large proportion of 'Copy' that for two or three days no issue of the *Hamdard* could appear at all, and even after that, when the Chief Commissioner had been appealed to by the sub-editors in charge, the daily issues contained several columns of blank space, in spite of the fact that much more copy used to be submitted for approval every day than what would have sufficed for a sigle issue.

Unlike Regulation III of 1918 which made it a statutory requirement to pay to a person on whose liberty restrictions were imposed by the executive an allowance for himself and his family suitable for a man of his rank and position, the Defence of India Act had left the detenus entirely unprovided for and both my brother and I had asked for the grant of internment allowance when we were first interned. But our requests were repeatedly 'turned down' and we had finally given up asking for it. Now, however, the Government came forward, presumably knowing what was soon to follow, with the offer of allowances, which nevertheless were so meagre that the amount fixed for the subsistence of us two and of our families hardly exceeded half the salary of the Censor imported from the Punjab. We were each allowed Rs. 250 a month which comes to less than £ 4 a week that I used to pay to my London typist. Consequently, before many months were over we had to depend upon such

subsistence allowances as Government had granted and it was just as well that my brother had not refused the hundred rupees a month that he had got as the price of his liberty, though, in any case, we could not make the two ends meet without other resources. Bit by bit we sold off all our landed property of which our mother would not sell an acre during our minority, and we now recalled the grim humour of the contrast that the property earned by the grandfather for assisting the British during the disastrous days of the Mutiny was lost by the grandsons sixty years later, when they were made 'prisoners of peace,' presumably to prevent their assisting the enemies of British.

But in spite of the turmoil of war with which the rest of the world was resounding, we found in our deserted hill, where a garrison used to be quartered, a 'peace that passes understanding,' and we were content with our losses, whether of liberty or otherwise, because they brought us the leisure that we needed for a study of our faith. When war that brought all the trouble on us was about to be declared on Turkey, my wife had suddenly been taken ill and an unsuspected heart trouble made her condition so critical that from the very first moment that medical aid had been called, it was not considered possible to leave her for a minute without a doctor in attendance. For three whole nights and the intervening days she had been unconscious and her life hung from a slender thread. But as she had not shown the slightest symptom of improvement, despair had begun to settle down on all and, noticing my own condition, the doctors on the third night had insisted on my entire exclusion from the sick chamber to offer me a little change from my restless condition. As the night wore away and the dawn began to streak the East with the first faint glimmer, my mother who had sat up with the doctor and the nurses asked the doctor if I could not now be asked to come down, to have a last look at my dying wife and, realising the hopelessness of the situation, he consented. Curiously enough, before I had been many minutes in the sick room she stirred and was helped by the doctor to sit up in the bed to ease her breathing, when she began to regain consciousness and for the first time, since she had had the attack, recognised my friend the doctor and blushingly expressed her astonishment in finding herself in his arms. Her recovery was a very slow affair, but, thank God, the crisis was over and had passed away as unexpectedly as it had come and her life was thenceforward no longer in danger. An hour or two later I was rung up by a Member of the Government of India with whom I had for years had the most intimate relations and he asked me about the condition of my wife. When I communicated my happy news to him, he said he had some painful news to communicate, which, however, he had obtained the Viceroy's consent to withhold for a day or two if things did not improve with regard to the health of my wife. And he told me that the secruity of my press was to be declared forfeited, which he knew meant the closure of my press and perhaps the end of my career as a journalist altogether. In all conscience, his

news was bad enough, but with the glad tidings that my eyes had communicated to me when my wife woke up to receive a shock in her modesty in finding herself in the arms of my friend the doctor, who cared for the Press Act and its forfeiture of securities, for the closure of printing presses and the end of journalistic careers. All that I knew at the time was that I had found a wife that I had all but lost. And now when some eight months later I found myself in a deserted garrison station on a remote hill without friends and companions, without the daily work of my profession, and the wages that it brought me, with my letters to my wife and her letters to me passing through the hands of a stranger and a foreigner and undergoing his scrutiny, I could, after reading the Qur'an in the undisturbed calm of my sequestered retreat, truly say that a compensating Providence had seen to it that in losing almost all else I should at long last find life rich in content and purposeful, the real thing for the first time and no sham or simulacrum.

Lansdowne was not only off the beaten track, inaccessible like most hill stations by railway and connected with a small branch line which terminated some twenty-five miles away from it at the foot of the hills, but had no civil population at all. And when we were removed to it, even the military were conspicuous by their absence in Europe. Only skeleton depots were kept for purposes of receiving back the wholly disabled from the war, and arranging for the pensions, and enlisting fresh recruits to fill the terrible gaps, and hurriedly training them to become cannon fodder, in their turn. The officers' bungalows were, with the exception of ten or a dozen, all untenanted and one of these just above the mess of the 2/8th Gurkhas and the Brigade office had been rented for us by Government, from the widow of a captain, who had gone back to England.

The Musalman servants of the few remaining officers used to see us every Friday at the service in the mosque and had evidently come to know all about us before we had been a fortnight at Lansdowne. Learning that we were among the founders of the 'Servants of Ka'bah' Society and that my brother was its secretary, they began to come to us for enlistment as members, and, although my brother had never dreamed of conducting any propaganda in such a place, he could not of course, refuse to enlist such men as came of their own accord to be enrolled as 'Servants of Ka'bah', and to obtain the familiar little badge of the 'Servants' which they openly wore on all occasions. Lord Meston seemed to have been greatly perturbed at this and had orders served on us to desist from such conduct, but my brother wrote back that, although he had not made any efforts to enlist such Musalmans as there were in the place, he could not refuse those who offered themselves for enlistment, and since it was a purely religious matter he could not even give an assurance that he would not conduct a propaganda for the purpose if he felt inclined to do so. There was no further development, for this was just towards the end of our stay at this beautiful, quite hill station, the approach of winter

making it necessary for Government to transfer us to the plains, the warmer provinces. 'The world was all before them where to choose our place of rest,' and this time they hit upon Chhindwara in the Central Provinces. It was, before we came, a dead-and-alive little place without any taint of politics and free from all religious fervour and, though served by a small metre-gauge branch line, was so remote from every place, and sequestered in such a backwood of Gondwana—the country of the aboriginal Gonds—that few visitors from the outside too could be expected, specially as now additional restrictions were imposed on our freedom even in the matter of receiving visitors. But whether it did or did not suit an over-anxious Government, or furtive political propagandists whose hearts were set on lighting a fiery cross in India it was, like Lansdowne the exact spot on earth to which two men anxious to explore the mysteries of their faith and in search of a sylvan solitude could have if they had the freest of free choices betaken themselves. Both at Lansdowne, where we stayed only five months of the summer and autumn, and at Chhindwara, where we passed three and a half years, we had enough leisure and undisturbed peace and quiet to read the Qur'an and thoroughly soak ourselves in that perennial fountain of Truth that the gathering dust of thirteen centuries has not been able to choke or dry.

4

For the first time in my life I read the Qur'an through in an intelligent and compre hending manner. Neither my brother nor I had been able to acquire any real proficiency in Arabic, for we had both commenced our study of it in a school where it was only the 'second language.' But the late Maulvi Nazir Ahmad had utilised his leisure on retirement from Public Service to translate the Qur'an into Urdu. Whatever his own convictions, he had, unlike his friend Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, done nothing to offend the most rigid orthodoxy in translating the Qur'an, while some of his marginal explanatory notes were the despair of the rationalist. But he made an entirely new departure in not being so literal as to offend against the Urdu idiom and for the first time Indian Musalmans had a translation which was not only readable, but a pleasure to read, except, for an occasional colloqualism hardly in keeping with the Divine Scripture. This translation had soon achieved popularity and it was this which had been sent to me to Oxford at my request. It was with the help of this that both my brother and I com-

menced our first regular study of the Qur'an and the amount of Arabic we knew was enough to make our daily readings of absorbing interest.

This wonderful book is full of repetitions in spite of being but a small volume, abrupt in its transitions from topic to topic, and I can well understand that Europeans who read it in translations, more or less out of curiosity, and are able to go through it in a few days, so often pronounce it to be incoherent and disjointed. But they do not realise that it was not revealed as a complete volume all at once, but piecemeal and in the course of no less than twentythree years of the Prophet's mission. Moreover, they do not realise that even God's Word, when it appears in human language, has to take on the characteristics of the particular language in which it makes its appearance and those who are familiar with the Arabic language and Arab literature know that jerkiness is characteristic of both. In fact, it is characterstic of the very mentality of the people whose thought flits from topic to topic with breathless rapidity. Ideas do not continue to glow with a steady light but seem to flash dazzlingly, as it were, through the gloom from time to time. Even in long poems, the same idea hardly runs through more than a few couplets and this peculiarity has made the *Ghazal* the favourite metric form in which the metre and the rhyme in the first and second verses and then only in the even verses fourth, sixth, eighth, and so on are the only marks of continuity, while the topic of each couplet is distinct and unconnected with the rest. Apart from this jerky abruptness, characteristic of all Arabic literature, for each fragment of the Qur'an that was revealed from time to time, the circumstance in which it was revealed and which in fact necessitated the revelation, supplied a relevance and a context, which are not to be found in the text itself. Moreover, it was not a book that was meant to be read as most Europeans read it to-day, sitting comfortably in an armchair with their critical faculties specially stimulated ready to carp and cavil on the least provocation, not altogether unlike a porcupine bristling with quills. It was not revealed for the Arabs as 'literature' designed only to please, though it was admitted by the most inveterate enemies of the Prophet to be superior to any existing literature in the language of which they were so proud that they called the rest of mankind that did not speak it '*Ajami* or dumb. The Qur'anic revelations made the poetic competitions at the fairs of Ukaz and Majannah a mockery by comparison and the Seven Hanging or Golden Poems suspended in the Holy of Holies, the Ka'bah, were removed after the Qur'an had struck the Arab poets dumb with admiration and to this day it is acknowledged by Arabic-speaking Christian and Jew as well as Muslim as the standard of literary expression. And yet, as I have said, it was not its literary excellence that had the chief significance for those for whom it was revealed in this fragmentary fashion. To them it was Holy Writ, God's Commandment, the Law and the Ethics according to which they had to shape their lives, and a score of years was none too long a time in which they had to learn the lessons it had come to teach them. Our

little boys in India memorise the whole book in a few years even though they do not understand a word of Arabic. The Arabs had prodigious memories and the manner in which a large body of ancient Arabic poetry and the genealogy and the traditions of the race had been preserved in an age that was practically innocent of all knowledge of the art of writing bear ample testimony to it. And yet such a devoted Muslim as 'Umar, the faithful companion of the Prophet, who became his second Khalipha or successor, took no less than eight years to memorise the second chapter alone. This was because the first Muslims fully understood that it was no use carrying any part of the Qur'an in their heads unless they could carry it in their hearts as well, and translate it into action in their everyday life.

When the Commandments were being revealed piecemeal they were engraved, as it were, on the tablets of the Muslims' memories because of the incidents connected with their revelation. A blind man pleads his disability when all Muslims were called upon to bear arms in defence of their faith ; a group of men, through sheer procrastination, tarried behind so long, when the Prophet marched out with the Muslims on an expedition, that they could not catch him up, and became defaulters in their duty as Muslims ; or a woman states before the Prophet the pitiable case of her daughters whom Arab custom had totally disinherited while distant relations were succeeding to the estate of their deceased father ; or maybe her own no less pitiable case when in a fit of anger her irascible old husband, with whom she bore up unselfishly partly for his own sake and partly for little children, had used words which, according to Arab custom, had the effect of a declaration of permanent separation not amounting to divorce. Hostile critics have characterised this as hand-to-mouth legislations, but they have wholly missed the object which would have been defeated if an artificial code of laws, like the 'Priestly Code' promulgated after the Babylonian exile by Ezra among the Jews had descended all at once upon the Arabs, many of them uncouth warriors or, worse still, barbarian nomads of the desert. A Pallas Athene rising ready armed from the head of Zeus would have altogether bewildered such worshippers. Finally, for the Prophet himself, these revelations coming as they did from time to time provided a Prophet's sustenance, the spiritual food that strengthened his heart and supplied the neccessary stimulus throughout a long and arduous mission. And this piecemeal revelation fully served its threefold purpose. At the most trying moments in his prophetic career it comforted and consoled him, and at no time did it take on a surer tone in predicting ultimate triumph than when, to all outward appearances, the Prophet's condition was hopeless. As for the infidels, unrelaxing repetition and reiteration wore down their prejudice and hostility and truth at last triumphed and falsehood finally vanished from Arabia.

As for the believers, whether Arabs like Abu Bakr, 'Uthman or 'Ali, from the Quryash of Mecca, or the two Sa'ds from the Ansar of Medina, of the tribes of Aus and

Khazraj, or Ethiopian slaves like Bilal, the Muezzin of Islam, or 'Ajamis like Salman the Persian, Greek slaves like Suhayl, they formed like the Israelites, but without their exclusiveness, a 'Servant People,' whom the Lord had chosen to propagate the last of His Gospels. They constituted, so to speak, the spearhead of Islam, and history bears ample testimony to the fact that the penetration of the spear was instantaneous. The 'Flaming Onset' of Islam has had no parallel in the record of human progress. Even those who affect to minimise the value and misunderstand the real significance of this rapid success, by asserting that it was only the success of the sword, have got to answer the searching question: 'What was it that gave to that sword so keen an edge?' But, fortunately, we have the most copious records of the 'Companions' for our 'Acts of the Apostles,' and these 'Acts' are no idealised version of a Luke but plain, unvarnished history. For the purposes of scrutinising and authenticating the Traditions of the Prophet, which constitute, after the Qur'an, the most important basis of Muslim Law, civil as well as canon, a science of 'National Biography,' so to speak, came into being and the huge corpus that includes the biographical notices of no less than 1,300 'companions' which resulted from the loving labour of succeeding generations, show us, as nothing else can, what a revolution in moral and manners and, in fact, in all departments of that complex synthesis we call life, had been brought about by the teaching of the 'most successful Prophet. To deal only with one aspect of it, and by no means an unimportont aspect, for 'greater thing can no man do than lay down his life for his friends' when the first call to arms was sounded to meet at Badr the Quraysh assailants who would not leave in peace even at Medina refugees whom they had driven out from Mecca after thirteen years of the most cruel and ceaseless persecution, and the Prophet was anxious to learn what response would be made to such a trying call, Miqdad gave expression to the sentiment of the 'Servant People' that the Lord had chosen for His service and said, 'O Prophet of God ! we are not like unto the Israelites who said to Moses, when he wanted them to march onward to the conquest of the Promised Land, "Go thou and thy Lord and fight, we sit here." ' And when in the following year the Meccans returned to avenge the defeat at Badr and the Prophet was encompassed on all sides by assailants at Uhud where victory had, through the indiscipline of a few Muslim archers, been turned almost into defeat, it was not only men that sacrificed their own lives to save his but women also rushed into the breach at the imminent risk of death. There was none to deny him in the hour of peril three times before cock-crow. It was on this firm rock that the church of Islam was first erected, and if it has endured through so many and such strange vicissitudes, it was because truth had trickled down on the early Muslims drop by drop and soaked them through and through. Throughout the day the 'companions' used to be in attendance on him, some to jot down on paper and skins, on tablets and bones and palm branches shorn of leaves, the Word of God as the official scribes of the 'Illiterate

Prophet' the moment he recovered from the trance-like condition in which he used to receive the revelation, and others to memorise it for their own use both as lessons for their lives and for liturgical purposes. Those whom business did not permit to be in attendance every day and who did not lead the ascetic lives of the 'Companions of the Suffa (or Platform)' which enabled them with the help of the ever-ready hospitality of their coreligionists to remain constantly within the Mosque of the Prophet, paired with others and thus arranged with them to be in attendance by turns. Thus, not a syllable of the Holy Writ was lost or confounded with human utterance and the chief topic of conversation among the thousands at Medina used to be the day's revelation, which, along with the explanatory comments of the Prophet, were treasured in the most retentive of memories. They loved to read and to recite over and over again the portions of the Qur'an already revealed and men like 'Abdullah the son of Amr bin al-'As, conqueror of Egypt, would go through the whole of it in the course of each day and not be content with it. But the Prophet, knowing the Divine purpose, insisted on a less rapid reading so that what was read could be easily assimilated. It was this kind of teaching which produced the first evangelists of Islam, men of whom the Qur'an only too truly says: 'Ye are the best community that hath been raised up unto mankind. Ye enjoin the right and ye forbid the wrong and ye believe in Allah' (iii. 109).

But when they had won Divine approval by the 'Pledge under the Tree,' in the great crisis of the Hudaibiya pilgrimage and had sworn, whilst themselves almost unarmed, to avenge the rumoured death of their envoy, 'Uthman, regardless of the tremendous odds against them which could not be contemplated but with utter hopelessness, the Qur'an also describes how gradual was the growth of such valiant and noble characters. Citing earlier Scriptures it compares these men to 'the seedling that putteth forth its sprout, then strengtheneth it so it growth stout, then straighteneth itself upon its stem, rejoicing the husbandman that He may enrage the unbelievers through them' (xlviii. 29).

When we commenced our study of the Qur'an we wisely decided to read only a little every day, so that it took us no less than eight or nine months to finish our first reading of it and, although I am now able to obtain equal pleasure in reading four or five times as much in the same space of time, I still prefer to keep up the old rate of progress and to supplement the knowledge I have already acquired with additional information to be obtained from commentaries. In reading so little every day the repetitions do not produce the same effect as they are apt to do if one reads the whole book, say, in seven days, which many Muslims do to this day, and in still less time as is customary with them, when they fast in the month of Ramazan, and no part of the freshness of the Qur'an is thus lost. A classic has been well described as literature which reveals a fresh charm every time it is read and one is never tired of reverting to it. Judged by this standard, the Qur'an

is the greatest classic for the charms it reveals seem to be inexhaustible. How often have we not felt as if the passages we happened to be reading on a particular day were revealed only that instant in response to our own prayer or to settle some point about which we happened to be undecided and uneasy. My brother would call out to me from his room and recite to me a verse, or I would do the same to him pointing out how apposite it was to the question we happened to be debating only a little before. And these 'coincidences' were of such frequent occurrence that by degrees a habit of expectancy was formed, and we began to expect all unconsciously a response from the day's reading of the Qur'an to unexpressed references to Heaven!

To us, therefore, who read such small portions of the Qur'an every-day, even when for the first time we had abundant leisure, it never seemed to lack freshness, and its repetitions and the variety of ways in which its main theme was presented to us day after day, as it had been presented to the Arabs thirteen centuries ago, only served to enable us to learn a much-needed lesson that we were apt to forget and even ignore in the distractions of the world. Ever since, this book which so many European critics pronounce to be incoherent, disjointed and dull, has had the invariable effect of intoxicating us, with its simple grandeur, its intense directness and its incessant flow of motive power for the manifold activities of life.

And long before I had read it through, Eureka! I had found a new meaning in life and in this world and an entirely new significance in Islam. I had been familiar enough with the main tenets of Islam, but they had been little more than a bundle of doctrines and commandments each for a particular department of life or situation, though, of course, I had looked upon them as superior to the dogmas and ethical codes of other faiths. Now, however, they acquired a new coherence and, as it were, fell suddenly into place, creating an effect of unity such as I had never realised before. They were no longer a bundle of doctrines but a single Divine purpose running through all creation from the remote genesis of the world to the very minute of our present existence. But it was not a 'far-off Divine event,' nor had we to wait for the advent of a Messiah and the realisation of a millennium when God's kingdom was to come. It had *already* come. Nay, there never was a time when it was not there. This was God's kingdom and *every* man was a 'Servant of the Lord' and His Anointed brought into the world for one human function—the service of his Maker and the fulfilment of His Divine purpose. Nothing stood apart; nothing was alien; nothing could exist for itself unrelated to others. The entire universe was one. The unity of the Creator postulated the unity of His Creation and all was one vast theocracy with Allah for its King and man for his earthly vicegerent. Man, made in the image of his Maker, was not the sport of chance and slave of destiny, but master of his fate. Of all His creatures in the world, we know man alone had been endowed by the Creator with a will of his own, and was to that extent responsible for his

actions and fit to be God's deputy or agent on earth. But, nevertheless, man made a voluntary and complete surrender of himself and became the rightless slave of his Creator, or rejecting the purpose for which he was created, he chose to surrender himself to another master than God, what the Qur'an calls Taghut or Satan, whether that other master was an earthly potentate, a father, mother, or wife, or one's own low desires. The keyword of the Qur'an was 'serve' and while man was free to serve whom he would, his inborn inherent faith, the nature with which his Creator had endowed him at his creation, told him that he was to serve none but the One God, the Creator, Sustainer, and Developer of all creation, and this 'revelation' of his own soul, supported by the testimony of all Nature, was finally confirmed by the teaching of those whom God had given a more acute intuition, the prophets on whom had descended a yet more impressive revelation than his own. Once he chose to serve none but God and surrendered himself wholly to his Maker, he could not accept for himself a position of inferiority to any other creature of God. This rightless slave of Allah became free for ever and equal of kings and emperors in the greatest of all republics, and even superior to them if they presumed to resist the will of God, when he had identified his own will with God's. Then as a vicegerent of God he had the full force of the universe at his back, and had the entire omnipotence of his Master at his beck and call. He could now use it whenever and wherever His Divine purpose necessitated its use, though he was no more than a poor, weak biped whenever his own will asserted itself in any other direction and was no longer in opposition to the Divine will.

This was my unique discovery in that small volume revealed more than 1,300 years ago to an Arab of the desert whose name I bore—unique to me even though thousands, tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of other Columbuses had discovered the same New World in each succeeding generation, after the first revelation to the solitary worshipper in the cave of Hira one night towards the end of the month of Ramazan. Nay, the first revelation was in fact far earlier. It was in that infinitely earlier epoch that people call the Genesis when God revealed Himself to the first man. If a savage, removed from some inaccessible recess of Australia or from the heart of the Dark Continent, who had known nothing beyond his own savage horizon, were to be placed all by himself in a boat, and it could drift on endlessly till at last it touched the shores of America, now surpassing in the maturity of its development even the most progressive regions of the Old World, would it not be to this savage rediscoverer of Columbus', find as new a world as ever it had been to Columbus himself four hundred years and more ago? Nay, on the contrary, it would be even newer to him for, while the civilised Spaniard had only discovered an almost empty continent, our savage rediscoverer would discover it with the added richness of a civilisation in full bloom. His would be a double discovery, the discovery

of a civilisation as well as that of a new continent and his astonishment and joy would be twofold. And such was mine. I had discovered God and in discovering Him and His message to mankind I had discovered myself. I had found a new meaning and a hitherto unrealised fullness in life contrasted with which my previous existence which I had thought to be crowded enough for a rather somnolent sub-continent of the East like India, appeared to be empty and barren.

But did I want this New World all to myself to 'corner' it and make it my own particular perquisite and monopoly, a secret pleasure and joy which not a single soul should share with me or as much as dream of? No, a thousand times no, for, however selfish I may still have been in other things—and I lay no claim to more than a very modest amount of altruism—the moment that this eternal Turth had dawned upon me in all its refulgence I was too full of it to keep it to myself, even if I could have desired it. I was literally bursting with my new discovery and felt impelled to shout it to all and sundry, to everyone at home, to the servants, to the passersby on the road, to the very cats and dogs of the place and the trees and shrubs that covered the hillside. Years ago I had read the *Preaching of Islam*,' a work of patient and industrious research by my old tutor at Aligarh, Sir Thomas Arnold. He introduces the theme on which he writes with a quotation from the lecture of Max Muller delivered in Westminster Abbey on the day of intercession for Missions in December 1873, in which Max Muller distinguishes missionary from non-missionary religions and defines a missionary religion as one 'in which the spreading of truth and the conversion of unbelievers are raised to the rank of a sacred duty by the founder or his immediate successors.' He goes on to say, ' It is the spirit of truth in the hearts of believers which cannot rest, unless it manifests itself in thought, word and deed, which is not satisfied till it has carried its message to every soul, till what is believed to be the truth is accepted by all members of the human family.' I remember that when I had first read this passage I had greatly admired the force and nobility of its restrained rhetoric. But now with my own individual experience of the explosive force of Truth it sounded so tame, and, far from appearing rhetorical, it looked as if it was a dull, staid and rather prosaic description of the reality. A man in possession of the secret of Truth, with head and heart at bursting point, with his pulse beating 150 to the minute and his blood tingling in every vein of his body, felt more like a bomb ready to explode and subject to another's will than a human being who could deliberate and decide and control his actions and speech. Yes, he *could* ta.k 'in season and out of season' his new faith, and it did not need any such explanation as Doughty's about the Musalmans, that it is not 'hypocrisy' that makes them talk continually of their religion. Hypocrisy? Why, it should be sheer hypocrisy *not* to talk of it continually! And conversion was not so much felt to be a 'sacred duty,' as an inalienable and indefeasible *right*—nay, a compelling necessity of man's entire being to declare the Truth that all

may share it.

I must, however, confess that the fear of being smitten with religion is even worse than being smitten with love, for no ardent lover could be so eager to recite to any kind of audience his latest sonnet on his mistress's eyebrow than a new convert to any faith is to inflict on all and sundry his latest sermon. Looking back to those green days of my conversion after the few years that have passed and in the light of more settled convictions which still glow, but have no longer the appearance of a bonfire, I can afford to smile, though I am thankful to God, not to laugh at that early enthusiasm of the convert-preacher.

It was about this time that a kind friend sent to us a gift than which nothing could be more acceptable, a copy of the Qur'an for my brother and one for myself, printed most exquisitely from blocks that reproduced in facsimile the elegant *Naskh*, together with an austerely faithful translation in English and copious footnotes based on a close study of commentaries of the Qur'an and of such Biblical literature as could throw light upon the latest Holy Writ. This was the work of my learned namesake, Maulvi Mohammad Ali of Lahore, leader of a fairly numerous religious community, some of whose members were doing missionary work in England and had located their mission at the mosque in woking, Surrey. The translation and the notes which supplied the antidote so greatly needed for the poison squirted in the footnotes of English translators of the Qur'an like Sale, Rodwell and Palmer, the fine printing, both English and Arabic, the India paper and the exquisite binding in green limp morocco with characteristic Oriental *Tughrah* or ornamental calligraphy in gold—all demonstrated the labour of love and devoted zeal that so many willing workers had obviously contributed. This beautiful book acted like the maddening music of the sarod, according to Persian proverb, on the mentally deranged and, in the frame of mind in which I then was, I wrote back to my friend who had sent these copies of the Qur'an that nothing would please me better than to go to Europe as soon as I could get out of the 'bounds' prescribed by my internment and preach to these war maniacs from every park, and at every street corner, if not within the dubious precincts of every public house, about a faith that was meant to silence all this clamour of warring nations in the one unifying peace of Islam. As I shall explain, the theocracy of Islam naturally condemned the narrow prejudices that created nationality and killed humanity, for to God, the Universal King, there could be no distinction of Arab and 'Ajam, of Aryan and Semite, of Anglo-Saxon and Teuton and, from the very outset, I had seen in this terrible war the natural consequence and culmination of nationalism.

About the same time there came to us, separated by a rather distressingly long interval as appeared to me in my greed for more of such exquisite and yet forceful literature, two slim volumes of poetry by my friend, Sir (then Dr.) Mohammad Iqbal, M.A., Ph. D., Barrister-at-Law, to give him his full professional and academic titles. I had known 'Iqbal'—as he was to me and even to hund-

reds of thousands of Muslims in India who did not know him for many years and, latterly, I would inflict my company on him and claim his hospitality whenever business took me to Lahore, where he was earning at the Bar just as much as would suffice to maintain him on a very moderate scale so that he could smoke his *hookah* in peace, study his favourite subjects of literature and philosophy and, above all, galvanise Muslims with his powerful poetry. Others had come to recognise Iqbal's genius years before I had read a single verse of his, but I may claim this much that when once I had come under his spell I made some amends for the time I had lost by reading over and over again everything of his figurative verse that I could secure in the Urdu periodicals and newspapers and by sharing my intense pleasure with the readers of my own newspapers. Ghalib, perhaps our greatest Urdu poet, not excluding the older Mir, to whose genius he himself repeatedly pays homage, had never before been quoted so often in journalism as the readers of the *Comrade* could testify, and now Iqbal, who was perhaps born after Ghalib had died, came to share 'the honours' in the columns of the *Comrade*, and of course of the *Hamdard* to which he several times contributed. He was the poet of Islam's reawakening in India in the twentieth century, and to no man does Muslim India owe a greater debt than to this modest, shy and retiring barrister of the Punjab. His name was a household word throughout the Urdu-speaking Muslim world, and of course I was an ardent admirer and devotee. But if there was one man who not only equalled my enthusiasm for Iqbal, but surpassed it, and that too by a generous margin, it was my brother whose speeches during his propaganda were so full of Iqbal's poetry which he would chant in his ardent love of it, that my ill-suppressed jealousy found a good opportunity of chaffing him, for I used to say that he would whip up the enthusiasm of his audience with his copious quotations from Iqbal when his own laboured and drowsy eloquence could do little more than rouse to a jog-trot. But when he found that this time Iqbal had written verse in Persian which needed a little brushing up of all he and I had learnt of that language in the *Maktab* of our red-bearded pedagogue at Rampur ages ago, he swore with full-throated ease at his favourite. Nevertheless, we started reading his *Asrar-i-Khudi* or 'Secrets of Self-Realisation,' and gradually his anger was appeased for we soon realised that this was even great and more enduring than what Iqbal had so far written and that it made a wider appeal to the Muslim world for which Urdu would not have sufficed. Compared with the molten lava of his Urdu verse this appeared at first to be colder and more 'monumental.' But when once Iqbal had shed the philosophy of the ealier parts, in which he gradually unfolded his theme and familiarised the oriental readers with the new meaning of old terms like *Khudi* and the technique of his philosophy and was no longer a 'Ph.D.' but a poet, was could see that in the veins of the marble too a fiery fluid was flowing. I had already heard him recite fragments of it while it was being written, during my frequent visits to Lahore on account of the

Comrade security case before the Chief Court of the Punjab. But, just as in the case of the Qur'an, here too I had not been able to see the forest, so to speak, for the trees. Now the complete scheme gradually came into view, and I experienced an exquisite thrill of delight when I found that the Poet and Philosopher was, in his own inimitable fashion, giving expression to the self-same basic truth of Islam, which I had in a blundering sort of way discovered for myself. Here let me explain that it was a commonplace of Muslim religious literature that Islam meant submission to God's will and that He was the Supreme Ruler of the universe, but this truth had been allowed by the theologians to sink into the insignificance of a truism, so that we all passed it by, thinking we were fully familiar with it, when, in fact, we were entirely ignorant of its true valuation. It had been allowed to fall out from the foreground. A new stressing, a far greater emphasis, was needed to restore to it its older value. The entire prespective had to be changed before Musalmans could realise the great life purpose and learn to live as true Muslims. This is what I had in my own way by now fully realised and here was Iqbal forcing the door of Muslim mentality, and securing once more an entry into it for the theocracy of Islam. How much such a revaluation was needed can well be understood when I state that in the second volume Iqbal ha d toexplain and almost declared on oath that every word he uttered was based on the Qur'an and was not German philosophy—as the 'Ulema had begun to think! This second little volume, *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* or 'Secrets of Self-Annihilation." provided a broad pathway once the earlier volume had accomplished the laborious pioneer work, and it was now easygoing for the meanest intelligence. Life, according to Iqbal, was a wilderness unless a definite purpose cleared a pathway through it, and man's realisation of his self was the discovery of this life purpose. This was nothing else but the Divine purpose for which theocracy existed on the universe, and once man identified his life purpose with God's purpose running through all his creation, he set to work to demolish all the intervening obstructions. The realisation of the true self and its assertion was the same as the annihitation of the untrue self, and the fretfulness of the life-force with its inevitable militancy emerged into the abiding peace of Islam. In the course of his exposition of Islam's message and the main features of its ethical code, he too had condemned the nationalism which narrowed human sympathies and divided man from man.

To clinch matters, there arrived at our quiet retreat in the Gondwana backwoods a friend who was reading Mr. H. G. Wells' latest novel, *Mr. Britling Sees it Through*, and when he had recovered from the effects of my gushing sermons on Islam, he asked me to read the book he had just finished. I confess I had read little of Wells, but as my friend and comrade in journalism, the late Ghulam Husain, was passionately fond of his writings, I had arranged to meet him when I was in England in 1913, in connection with the Cawnpore Mosque and other affairs to which I have already

referred. I found him on acquaintance most charming and very sympathetic about India and Islam, which no doubt prompted him to extend his hospitality to me during one of his brief visits to his London flat. When in the following year war broke out, I recalled some scraps of conversation at dinner in which I had seemed at the time to detect the usual anti-German feeling of the patriotic Englishmen of those days. Mr. Wells was certainly very furious with Germany in those fateful days when the attitude of England towards the hostilities that had already commenced on the Continent was the subject of universal interest, and I had reproduced in the *Comrade* the whole of his controversy with Vernon Lee in the columns of the *Labour Leader*. So when I took up his latest novel, which seemed to give an exposition of his own psychology during those early years of the war, I found in it little that I could not guess he was bound to write. He is always full of ideas and his phrases, even when they lack polish, have a freshness that always suggests to me bread hot from the baker's shop, so that *Mr. Britling* could not exactly be dull reading. But I often caught myself wondering why he had written this book, and whether it was not itself a series of 'the third leader' of the *Times* of those days of which Wells had made Mr. Britling the author. It was late on the second or third night that I neared the end, and then Mr. Wells startled me with a powerful passage in which I learnt why after all he had written the book. Mr. Britling in the poignancy of his sorrow on the loss of his young son —of course a 'casualty' had suddenly stumbled into religion and discovered God, and to me, who had not been prepared for this by the earlier writings of Mr. Wells, it seemed that he too had just then made this discovery. But I now understood why my friend had asked me to read that book after a series of my lay sermons, because Mr. Wells' God was not only God, but the One and only King ! Mr. Wells was not a patriotic Englishman who must as such hate Germans for he detested such nationalism. He was no doubt a republican but he was not a republican like so many others who find royalty too medieval for these progressive days. He was a republican because he was a believer in theocracy—the most ancient of all forms of government. A few days after this interesting discovery, I read a long review in a newspaper of a later book of his, than the one I had just read, a book called. *The Soul of a Bishop*, and also read that he had written yet another book *God the Invisible King*, and I immediately ordered both, and, in fact, received two copies of the latter, as I had, in my eagerness to obtain it, written for it to two of my friends both of whom managed to procure it for me. The conclusion of *Mr. Britling* and these two books, as I said, clinched the matter finally, and I felt an unconquerable craving to go to Europe and preach Islam to these heathens who had set up races and nationalities and States as idols to worship in the temple that should have been dedicated to the one God, the ruler of an undivided mankind, Who waited for our submission and in return gave us peace. I wanted to go to Europe, not that there was no room

for religious reform in India itself, and in my own community. God knows that there was and still is only too much of it, and if preaching is charity, as it is no doubt, it should by rights begin at home. But on the other side there was to be said that the corruption of the best is the worst, and undoubtedly in a thousand ways Europeans and Americans were immeasurably superior at present to the Asiatics and the Africans. If to their progressiveness, Europe and America could only add that essentially necessary element of all real and enduring progress, a true religious outlook, they could accomplish so much which Asia and Africa could not for a long while yet hope to do. It was indeed a true instinct which made Indian Musalmans rejoice a generation ago at the conversion of an American, Mr. Alexander Russel Webb, and of an English solicitor of Liverpool, Mr. Quilliam, and which made them more recently entertain great hopes of the conversion of large numbers in Japan to Islam. Moreover, the East is sure to benefit greatly from any change in Western mentality that could bring the West to take a greater interest in Esten life adondmes of thought. And what could effect such a change better than an awakening to Islam, and recognising that it was an Arab of the desert as much an Asiatic as hundreds of millions of subjects of Western Powers in the East and hewers of wood and drawers of water for Western nations, that had been chosen by the Ruler and Creator of mankind to convey His last Message to man? It is true that such an Asiatic had been Jesus of Nazareth.

If the West could be brought to study and understand this faith, it would, I felt, be the surest solvent of its race and colour prejudices and East and West would both greatly benefit. As a Muslim, who is plainly told by the Qur'an, what any schoolboy could easily understand, that there is no compulsion in religion, I abhor from the bottom of my heart the cruel futility of forcing convictions down peoples' throats. The thing is absurd and as degrading for humanity as, say, idol-worship. But in the light of modern warfare with unspeakably base and sordid motives that lead to it, I confess I would any day welcome a real-life crusader who would lead Christendom even against my coreligionists. Peter the Hermit, on his ass, blowing the enthusiasm of the superstitious into the white heat of passion by his uncouth oratory, is, by comparison with the sanctimonious war-lords of to-day, a noble figure. They too, occasionally, talk of crusades, but, alas, theirs is a crusade without the cross and instead of Peter the Hermit it is, as a rule, some bloated profiteer safely seated in a Rolls-Royce that to-day leads millions to their death. But religious prejudices exist among his dupes, and he is not loth to fan them into flame. Christendom had given to the Muslim as bad a name as to the dog in the proverb, and even when Christianity as a living faith is on the wane, and can no longer provide Chritendom with sufficient motive power for a crusade, it still adds a peculiar zest to the effort of Christendom when it sets out to kill the Muslims.

But although Christianity is on

the wane and the Church repels today, every good Christian of the old days does not become a profiteer and there are some who have even escaped the epidemic of an earth-grabbing imperialism. It is these men to whom an appeal might, I thought, successfully be made by so rationalistic and natural a faith as Islam, and although even after discarding most of the Church dogma they have not shed all their anti-Islamic prejudices, they are people to whom reason cannot long appeal in vain. The Armageddon, as it was at one time the fashion to call the terrible war in Europe, did not proceed very long before people saw its sheer godlessness. Human sanity was beginning to return at last, and many began to recognise that there was some such thing as a human brotherhood in spite of those contradictions in terms, the 'National Churches' which continued to work as the willing tools of national governments. It seemed to me that long before the West would know the truth about the 'Great Illusion,' which was not war, but the nationalism that was bound to lead to wars, and symptoms of what the nationalists and imperialists called defeatism were not wanting. When towards the close of the war the American President began to assert himself and to voice the opinion of his class of people, a new hope began to dawn. Phrases like 'a peace without victory' began for the first time to lend significance to the cant of an earlier day about 'a war to end all wars,' and I felt that when such a peace came, that would be the psychological moment to go and entreat the West to try and understand the faith that, judged by any standard, has proved undoubtedly the best solvent of race and colour prejudices. Modern Christianity that still laid so much stress on the fatherhood of God had apparently forgotten all about the brotherhood of man, or had come to whittle down its claims by such qualifications as those of that fugitive politician Lord Rosebery who, in my varsity days, had told a British audience that man was no doubt a brother, but not necessarily a citizen! I felt that the least that one could prophesy with safety as one of the consequences of this war would be that the post-war Europe would not be that pre-war Europe, and after the terrible nightmare of this war it could be easily awakened into a recognition of the kingdom of God in which every man would be a brother and a fellow-subject of God, the sole Sovereign of His universe. And I had made a vow to myself that as soon as the war ended and we were once more free, I would go to Europe with this the latest and yet far the oldest Evangel, which God had Himself preached to the primeval man.

But the war went on merrily for some time more and so did our own internment. In fact, the Armistice that put an end to all hostilities still left us the same 'prisoners of peace' as the war had made us. Through Mahatma Gandhi's intervention a committee was appointed by the Viceroy to examine the question of our release but, although it consisted of two Judges of the High Court, one of whom was an Indian [Sir Abdur Rauf of the Punjab Chief Court]—and, incidentally, an ardent political opponent of ours—

there was nothing judicial about the inquiry. At our request it forwarded to us a number of very brief and indefinite statements which were supposed to be the reasons for our internment, but, curiously enough, they did not include the most important and definite statement that had been heard about a great deal during the whole of the previous year, namely, that we had written to His Majesty the late Amir of Afghanistan a letter urging him to attack India which His Majesty had, of course, forwarded to the Government of India with a special envoy and that my brother had written during our internment a letter to our spiritual adviser [Maulvi Abdul Bari Farangi-mahalli] telling him that it was necessary to resort to violence and to organise an armed rebellion against the British government. In the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council, at Simla, in 1917, a Muslim member [Sir Raza Ali] had asked Government with regard to the release of Mrs. Besant and her two fellow-workers and lieutenants from internment and had been informed in terms so general as to appear applicable to us also, that Government contemplated the release of *detenus* if she could be satisfied on certain points. A supplementary question was then asked with regard to our release which elicited the reply that it too was under consideration. And before we could read these proceedings of the Council, the Director of Criminal Intelligence sent from Simla a police officer under him to obtain from us certain undertakings. Immediately after him came the Hon'ble Raja Sahib [Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan] of Mahmudabad, who was also a representative of the Musalmans in the Imperial Legislature and he interviewed us by arrangement with Government. Not aware of the Raja Sahib's intended arrival, we had already given the undertakings required only after altering the form slightly in two places, with a view to preventing any inference even by implcation of any impropriety in our conduct in the past and to saefguard our religious freedom. The Raja Sahib felt completely assured by what transpired at the interview and wired to Simla that he was satisfied. Soon after Mrs. Besant and her companions were released but no orders were received with regard to us, though we were flooded with telegrams from all parts of India congratulating us on our release, or anxiously inquiring if we too had been released. When our release was still delayed, a question was asked by the same member in the Council at Simla and, in reply, Government announced that it did not intend to release us like Mrs. Besant. It was then that we heard about these two letters, and in fact the letter of my brother to our spiritual adviser was alleged to have been written *after* our undertaking had been given but *before* the final announcement made by Government some weeks later !

To resume the thread of this narrative, the Committee, as we had all along expected, justified the internment when it had been ordered but reported in favour of immediate release. Nevertheless, we were kept waiting for months even after that, and although we understand that the Secretary of State favoured it, the Director of Criminal Intelligence

refused to be responsible for the peace of India in the event of our release. The final result was that we were informed we could not be released so long as the peace negotiations with Turkey still continued. A year previously Mrs. Besant had on her own release interviewed the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, and other members of the Government of India, and had been assured that it was our spmpathy for Turkey that prevented our release during the War, and now when hostilities had ceased, our sympathy for Turkey prevented our release during the peace negotiations. But, as we had more than once made it clear, our sympathy with Turkey was not political or territorial but religious, for the sovereign of Turkey was the successor of the Prophet and the commander of the faithful. It was our religious duty to prevent the further disintegration of the temporal power of the Khilafat which was indispensable for the defence of our faith, to maintain the inviolability of the sacred regions of Islam and to see that the dying injunction of the exclusive Muslim sovereignty over Jazirat-ul-Arab (or the Island of Arabia including Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia) was not disregarded. Moreover, it was our right as British subjects to put such pressure upon our Government as we lawfully could to respect our religious requirements on the satisfaction of which alone our political allegiance rested. But of this right we were still being deprived, and then came on top of this grievance the grievance of the whole Indian people after the terrible happening at Amritsar. It was then that we decided, in order to mark our protest against all this, to break, after giving due notice to Government, some of the internment regulations that Government had prescribed, such as the submission of our correspondence to scrutiny by the District Magistrate, and thereby invite the penalties attached by law to their breach. We expected our arrest and trial, but, although the arrest came some weeks later, the Government avoided the publicity of a trial by confining us as State prisoners under Regulation III which, more than a hundred year ago, the East India Company had enacted while India was still being added little by little to the British Empire. Early one morning, well before daybreak, we were removed from our house at Chhindwara which armed police had surrounded and, escorted by two high police officials and some armed policemen, we were driven in motor cars to Betul, some eighty miles distant, and lodged in the gaol.

It is true as, unlike the Old Testament story, the Qur'an tells us, that Joseph had preached the finest little sermon that was ever preached to two of his fellow-prisoners on the text of God's sole sovereignty, when they had betrayed to him their fear of Pharaoh, the only lord they knew and served and regarded as the master of their fate and asked him to interpret their dreams well known to every reader of Genesis. I had, therefore, a prophet's precedence for preaching on the same text even in my prisonhouse, and my experience of more than one Indian prison has amply confirmed Shakespeare's view that 'there is a soul of goodness in things evil.' And, although I may just as well state at

once that I delivered no set sermons to my fellow-prisoners, there was many a heart-to-heart tallk with some of them on the subject of our spiritual experience which may, I trust, prove as helpful to them as it has already proved to me. The Betul gaol population was no less intelligent and receptive than I had found many of the townspeople of Chhindwara or the village folk that used to visit us so often during our three-and-a-half years' internment there. Of course, we were not permitted to take part in any public meeting, and when we had first come to Chhindwara few people indeed knew what fearful wild fowl it was. But they were all eagerness to listen to us and the anniversary of the Prophet's birthday in the lunar month of Rabi' I, which has come to be celedrated in India as a festival and a ceremony, provided the requisite opportunity. When it was suggested to my brother and to me that we should address the assembly on this occasion we agreed and I decided to cram my discourse with as much of the Prophet's biography as possible, of course to eschew every tradition that had not been fully authenticated and was not, in the truest sense of the word, historical. I found the audience unusually interested and the celebration lasted well past midnight. More than that, we were invited to another celebration which one of the audience then and there decided to hold at his own expense on the following evening, and, in fact, several others followed. This led to my planning a regular series of discourses dealing with the entire life of the Prophet and his teachings and the history of his times, together with a discourse or two on the result of that teaching as exhibited in the lives and times of his companions who succeeded him as Khalifahs. It was only when I began to carry out my plan that I realised not only the eagerness of the people to listen to such discourse but the difficulty of avoiding stories that could be regarded as above the suspicion of being apocryphal. There was no biography of the Prophet in Urdu that did not contain stories of doubtful authenticity. This I had known for some time, and it was this that had made me urge on my old tutor, the late Maulana Shibli, as a grieat grievance, during a visit of his to me at Baroda ten years earlier, that even a historian of Islam like him had not gone beyond a biography of the great 'Umar, and had left the life of the greatest hero of the world, the Prophet himself, unchronicled. And it was then that he had explained to me that the task was far from a light one, for in no language did such a biography of the Prophet exist as I and a hundred thousand others to-day desired. There were large tomes in Arabic, no doubt, but they were all in the nature of material for a life of the Prophet, and would have to be threshed and winnowed by a biographer before such a life, as a proper critical standard required, could be published. Nevertheless, he recognised not only the importance of such an undertaking but the immediate urgency of it, and before long he announced his intention to take the work in hand. With the ever-ready financial assistance of Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, Shibli and the ardent disciples whom he had

gathered around himself completed the Prophet's biography just before the hand of death removed him from our midst. But at the time when I needed such a work it did not exist. The first volume came out while we were still at Chhindwara, and in Betul gaol I was privileged to read the proof-sheets of the second volume as they were being printed off. In the first year of our residence at Chhindwara only one *Milad* celebration had taken place and we had assisted only as members of the audience. In the next year no less than eight celebrations took place, and in the following year they were as many as seventeen. Naturally, my next study after the Qur'an itself was the biography of the Prophet and, with additional impetus supplied by the evergrowing enthusiasm of the people of Chhindwara, I pounced upon every scrap of such literature that was within the range of my linguistic capacity, so that while I became more and more acquainted with the teachings of him whose life was the best commentary on the Qur'an and supplied as much theology as one needed to be a good Muslim, I was also enabled to make my discourses at those *Milad* celebrations of some utility and profit to my eager audience. In the gaol at Betul these meetings were out of the question though I see no reason why they should not be encouraged by the authorities and see good reason why they should be. But such intercourse as we could have with our fellow-prisoners was not, as I have already said, without its opportunities of offering such spiritual aliment and sustenance as we could to our comrades in confinement.

But Europe, which to my mind needed nothing so much as a clearer knowledge of Islam and of the Prophet who had brought to the world the last message of God, was still a far cry. However, after we had added seven months of confinement as State prisoners inside a gaol to four years of internment and exile, came all of a sudden a 'clear-the-line' telegraphic message from the Government, towards the end of December 1919, and within a few hours we found ourselves once more free and travelling with all speed towards Amritsar, where the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League and the recently organised Khilafat Conference were already holding or were about to hold their respective sessions.

We had not been two days at Amritsar when my brother who had been elected to preside at the Khilafat Conference broke to me the startling news that the organisers of that Conference insisted on my heading a Khilafat Delegation to Europe, and lo and behold ! before scarcely a month had passed since our release I was out on the sea travelling with three companions on what used to be an Austrian Lloyd steamer bound for Venice. Only a few of those who are fairly familiar with our names as propagandists perhaps know how deeply we love domesticity, for all the publicity that has fallen to our share, and I must confess even my missionary zeal did not seem equal to the task of tearing myself away from my family so soon after our restoration to freedom. Strictly speaking, the expression 'tearing myself away from my family' did not accurately

define the position, for even the month that I spent in India after the release from Betul jail was mostly spent in travelling across the country, with barely three or four days thrown in at Rampur, and even while there the number of visitors that we received made us more or less complete strangers to the family circle itself. It was startlingly unpleasant to realise as I did on the receipt of my first letter in England from my daugters that I had not been able to have a single meal with 'my little suffragettes' even during the few days that I was at home! However, it seemed that I had been taken at my word and Europe was soon enough before me filling the pews of my Church and awaiting for the new message from the pulpit! But in reality that was not so. It was certainly not politics that had lured me this time to Europe. The impulse was purely religious. Nevertheless, long before I reached the mission field that I had been pining for, I had fully realised that my propaganda was to be of a greatly restricted nature. Knowing something of the way in which I had been 'bitten' by religion, several of my friends in England advised me to avoid all mention of religion in the advocacy of our cause. But how could we do that? We were not Turkish nationalists fighting for a little space in which their race could breathe and live. We were Indians and subjects of the King of England who had been at war with the King of Turkey. But as we were Muslim subjects of a Christian sovereign to whom we had tendered our temporal allegiance on the clear understanding that he would respect our religious obligations, and it was only our religious obligations that had compelled us to voice our protest against the annihilation of a temporal power which our religion required to remain unseparated from the spiritual head of the Islamic world. Religion, therefore, was the one thing that gave us a *locus standi* in the Council of the Allied and Associated Nations dictating terms of peace to their fallen foes. Moreover, I had already seen, as I have stated, that at the back of the minds of most people in these nations who hated the Turks was their detestation of the Turk's religion which they regarded as a confused jumble of spiritual tags plagiarised from the older Semitic creeds of Moses and Jesus, and of oriental licentiousness, intolerance and tyranny. The Turk could not, therefore, hope for justice at the hands of these nations before Islam had been better understood by them. Nevertheless, people do not easily come to meetings in Europe, however extensively and efficiently they may be advertised, in order to be preached to and converted, particularly, to 'pagan' creeds. And, in any case, however much religion may loom in the background, the foreground has necessarily to be occupied by politics as the principal figure.

It is not possible for me to judge what religious effect our propaganda produced on our audiences, but I cannot help recalling the pleasurable sensation I experienced at discovering that a most representative gathering of organised Labour at the Annual Convention at Scarborough was not half as averse to hearing about my religion as I had been warned by friends that I would find

such an irreligious body as labour to be. The five minutes that the Committee had finally allotted to me owing to a very crowded programme previously fixed upon had expanded into something like twenty. And in France too, where the laic law has its fanatics that are as intolerant of all religions as the Inquisitors of Spain were of heresy and heretics, every fresh meeting that we held attracted a larger audience than the one before it, though, unlike the public meetings in England these were open only to those who had been invited or had procured invitation cards from the organisers. Perhaps nothing was so indicative of an awakened interest in an exposition of Islam as the compliment paid us by that well-known senator and publicist M. Victor Bernard, by entering the lists as a doughty combatant.

The incident that proved most encouraging to me, however, was the visit that I received one day from a gentleman in London with whom I had not been previously acquainted. I learnt that, although a layman, he was a keen student of religion and an able expositor of Anglican Christianity and an intimate friend of many distinguished Churchmen or Church dignitaries. The attitude of that Church during the peace negotiations had proved as hostile to the cause that our Delegation had come to advocate as the Nonconformist Conscience itself, but I found my visitor to be extraordinarily gifted with imaginative sympathy which is, oddly enough, perhaps rarer in his imperial race, than continental nations without anything like the same number of imperial possessions outside Europe. He had evidently read a good deal of what we had published and had been sufficiently interested by what he had read to pay us a visit, and become still more intimately acquainted with our views. In the course of my exposition of the institution of Khilafat I had occasion to explain the theocracy of Islam and the significance of the kingdom of God as understood by a Muslim and at the end of it I was naturally gratified to learn that I had not really bored my all too patient listener. As a matter of fact, I soon received a still more gratifying assurance which I could not take as mere politeness and a desire not to betray boredom to one's host at his drowsy discourse, for he invited me to prepare on the subject of our conversation a small volume which he had arranged to get published and enclosed a contract form for me to sign if I accepted his all too kind offer. But, alas for the vanity of human wishes! I left the shores of Europe just towards the end of the period that I had been allowed for writing that little volume, and even the contract form had remained unsigned.

In October 1920, I was back in India, but as my wife and children soon found, it was not to my home that I had returned. Mahatma Gandhi, my brother and I were constantly on the move touring all over India and I can hardly remember two or three consecutive days during many months in which I was in one place. The railway train became my home as it had become my brother's when I had left for Europe. Once it so happened that I was within an ace of sailing again to

Europe without the least previous notice just when I was about to step into a waiting taxi at Delhi bound for the railway station where my wife had already preceded me with the intention of accompanying me to Aligarh, and sharing with me my professional apartments at the National Muslim University. The Government of India had arranged to send some nominees of its own from among the Indian Musalmans to place their views on the Khilafat question before the Prime Minister and one of these was the President of our Central Khilafat Committee. He had agreed to go only if another member of the Committee was also nominated by Government, and Mahatma Gandhi asked me to proceed. I was most reluctant particularly as I expected little good would result from such a representation, but I could not refuse. I, however, consented to go only if my friend, Dr. Ansari of Delhi, who had been the Director of the All-India Medical Mission to Turkey during the Balkan War, was also one of the party and to this all agreed. But then I suggested that Dr. Ansari could himself suffice and pressed that I should be spared, and luckily for me I managed to escape the second exile almost within a year of the first and to catch the train for Aligarh just as it was about to start. When in the train I told my wife of my lucky escape, she took a warning from it and after that, like a wise woman, decided to share my home on wheels as well as my modest professional apartments at Aligarh. She said she had had enough of grass widowhood, and next time if I was ordered again to proceed to Europe on such short notice, Mahatma or no Mahatma, she intended to be present to put her foot down or at least insist on accompanying me—at public expense! Well, I have not gone again to Europe and she has not therefore had occasion to travel in strange lands so far from the usual horizon of an oriental woman which had for centuries been bounded by the four walls of her home, however spacious, but she has travelled long enough I should think—at public expense. For when she began to accompany me she disdained to be a useless appendage and being a far better book-keeper than myself and certainly as good an organiser at least in her own circle of women, she started a lively enough propaganda among Indian women and collected for the Khilafat Fund such large sums that they soon invited her to travel on their behalf. We passed several months in this fashion together, flitting from place to place and province to province, touring with Mahatma Gandhi and a small party of fellow-workers and secretaries when on the 14th September, 1921, I was arrested at the railway station of Waltair, when we were travelling on our way to Madras and the disturbed area of Malabar. We parted company once more, but it has been a source of consolation to me, not unmixed with some amusement, that my wife is still travelling—at public expense—with our nephew and son-in-law [Zahid Ali] as secretary and has collected large amounts for the Khilafat Fund and for the National Muslim University [flourishing now at Delhi as Jami'ah Milliyah Islamiyah]. Mahatma Gandhi had insisted more

than once on her addressing a few words to gatherings of ladies and had assured her at the end of her speeches that she was a better speaker than myself, and since my arrest it is not unoften that large male audiences have had their enthusiasm whipped up by the stirring address of a veiled Muslim woman who had never dreamt some years ago of addressing even an audience of women outside the *Harem* or *Zananah*.

The arrest at Waltair on a warrant notifying that the Magistrate of the District which I had never before even visited demanded security from me for good behaviour and keeping the peace, was, as events subsequently proved, only an expedient to detain me pending the arrival of another warrant from far-off Karachi, and before I could reach Madras, not to mention Malabar, I was lodged in the local gaol and three days later the proceedings were withdrawn, only to enable the police officer from the Bombay Presidency to arrest me on the Karachi warrant as I came out of the gaol. This fresh warrant had been issued because of a resolution passed at a Khilafat Conference held at Karachi over which I had presided. My brother and I were charged along with five other co-workers, one of whom was a Hindu and a religious dignitary of great eminence, with conspiring to seduce Muslim troops from their allegiance and we expected the sentence of transporation for life. But the jury, which consisted of one European, two Goanese Christians and two Hindus, gave a unanimous verdict of Not Guilty on that charge. However, on the minor charge of publishing a statement *likely* to have that effect, the judge sentenced the six Musalmans to two years' rigorous imprisonment and discharged the Hindu co-accused. It was then at long last that I found a haven of refuge in the prison at Karachi where no doubt, from the point of view of Government, 'the wicked cease from troubling,' and from that of 'the wicked,' 'the weary have some rest !'

During the long winter nights there it occurred to me that even after the day's labour in the gaol I could have some leisure and the peace and calm that I needed for writing, and accordingly I applied for sanction to have my own books and purchase writing material at my own cost for the purpose of indulging in a little authorship. When I had done about four or five months of my 'time' in gaol I received the necessary sanction and some months later the list of books too was sanctioned and gradually I began to get most of the books that I needed. But estimating my capacity for serious mental work after the drudgery of my gaol task far more liberally than experience subeequently showed it to be, I had thought of compiling a life of the Prophet as well as an exposition of the message he had brought for mankind. This life was in the main to be based on Shibli's monumental work, though differing in its arrangement on account of the difference in the classes of readers for whom the two were intended. As it happened I decided to commence the larger work first, and began to read for it in the evenings. This was a congenial enough task, though the difficulties of a prisoner in communicating

with the outside world and other restraints greatly delayed the supply of the books I needed. But when more than a year of my sentence was passed I realised that the preparation of such a work as the life of the Prophet in the circumstances in which I found myself was an impossibility. No volume of Shibli's 'Life,' after the first two, had been issued and it was neither possible to get the manuscript from the Shibli Academy even if it was safe to send it all that distance. In its absence, access to a much larger library than I could get together in the existing circumstances was a *sine quo non* and, above all, constant consultation with literary friends better acquainted with Arabic than myself. So I gave up all idea of that and fell back on the much less ambitious task of preparing an exposition of Islam which would be far more personal than a life of the Prophet could have been. About the same time I received from England from my sympathetic visitor, who had arranged for the publication of a small volume on this subject, his own latest booklet on the reunion of Christian churches. Evidently, he had not forgotten the conversation at our first meeting. During our trial at Karachi, in which our plea was that we must follow God's law in preference to any manmade law if the latter conflicted with it, a letter had appeared, in a weekly review, of the Khilafat situation, published in London over initials which were perhaps his, in the course of which the writer had alluded to a conversation he said he had with me from which he could understand that such would be our plea, and he had aptly cited the similar plea of the Apostles Peter and John, when prosecuted before the Sanhedrim: 'Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye' (Acts 4 : 19) and 'We ought to obey God rather than men' (Acts 5 : 29). His kindly thought in sending me his latest book had on me the effect of a reminder, and I took up the task that I had so long neglected. The spirit was willing but, alas ! the flesh was weak. Diabetes had undermined my bodily strength and, during the excitement of the trial at Karachi had given me a clear enough 'notice to quit' in the shape of a nasty carbuncle in the neck not far from the jugular vein. The absence of all worry and excitement and the strict dieting in the gaol coupled with my ten or twelve days' fasting every month in addition to the ordinary fasts throughout the month of Ramazan which was obligatory, had warded off further attacks of glycosuria but I had not recovered sufficient strength enough to sit up and do much writing work after the day's gaol task. And the absence of a chair and a table and better lighting than what a single hurricane lantern provided, added to my difficulties. I have little hope that even this volume that I had hoped to be able to prepare well within the period of my imprisonment will be finished, or even well advanced before I am discharged. But since I have already commenced this task, I continue it and trust to the Shaper of our destinies to enable me one day to complete it.

Since I first commended the study of the Qur'an I have read a fair

amount about Islam from the point of view of Muslims and also of their critics, but nothing that I have read has altered the significance of Islam for me on which I had stumbled in the first few months of our internment eight years ago. The main theme of the Qur'an and, as I subsequently discovered, of the sayings of the Prophet as perceived in authentic Traditions is the kinghood of God and the service of man as His agent and vicegerent, and everything that I have since read only serves to strengthen the theocratic character of Islam. As I said at the outset of this account of my individual experience I am not an expert writing for experts but still a mere 'man in the street' writing 'for the man in the street,' and I have every hope that an unbiased non-Muslim who would study Islam as I have done would come to share my individual experience. I am no theologian and the average non-Muslim who is likely to commence a study of Muslim dogmatics with a readiness to resist the dogmatiser will not, I hope, take up this book too in a similar spirit. But one thing must be made clear. I am no heretic with an unheard-of theory of Islam and passing off something which is peculiarly my own creation for the faith of hundreds of millions of men who are Muslims. I am intimately connected with orthodoxy and it not only does not look askance upon me but has, on the contrary, taken me gladly enough to its bosom. Only it had, unfortunately, stressed during the decadence of Islam that which was less important and not laid enough emphasis on that which was more. Moreover, it had answered as best it could such questions as had arisen in the past, whether as a result of genuine curiosity or scepticism, or merely of intellectual itch to question for the sake of questioning with the help of the science and philosophy of the period, and it had seen no reason not to rely on the supernatural in which the whole world believed as the readiest interpretation of what was uncommon and uprecedented. But its science as well as its philosophy were the ancient heritage left by Greece, with the help of which Muslim orthodoxy had fought such heresy as Hellenism had introduced into Islam. The result was a scholasticism which, as a European and Christian theologian truly says, 'with its formal methods and system, its subtle deductions and needless ramifications of proof, and counter-proof drew away attention from the facts of nature. The oriental brain studied itself and its own working to the point of dizziness.'

As is well known that Mohammad, following an Arab custom—' a right natural custom,' as Carlyle calls it, 'a praiseworthy custom which such a man, above all, would find natural and useful'—had been wont to retire specially during the month of Ramazan, into solitude and silence. It had been his wont to betake himself, sometimes with his family, at others alone, for prayer and meditation, to a cave on the Mount Hira, 'a huge barren rock, torn by cleft and hollow ravine, standing out solitary in the full white glare of the desert sun, shadowless, flowerless, without well or rill.' In this cave three miles from Mecca he would pass many consecutive days and nights, returning home only to replenish the little stock of provisions when he had exhausted

them, and several months in each year would be spent in this Tahaunuth when plunged in profoundest thought he would endeavour to elevate his mind to the contemplation of Divine truth. The Qur'an gives a glimpse to us of the simple, yet profound meditation of his ancestor the Patriarch Abraham to whose faith Mohammad was, with Divine grace, destined to bring his posterity. In Chaldea, where the worship of the Creator had in course of time to be confused with that of His creatures, the sun, moon and the stars, this is what Abraham was cogitating during a night and the following day spent in contemplation of Nature that encompassed him all round :

'And thus did We show Abraham (the government of the) kingdom of the heavens and the earth that he might be of those who are confirmed in belief. So when the night overshadowed him he beheld a star. "This," said he, "is my Lord !" So when it set, he said. "I love not those that set !" Then when he beheld the moon rising, he said, "This is my Lord!" So when it set, he said, "If my Lord had not guided me I should surely be of the people who go astray." Then when he beheld the sun rising he said, "This is my Lord, this is the greatest." So when it set, he said, "O my people verily I am clear of that which ye associate with Allah. Verily I have turned my face to Him Who hath originated the heavens and the earth, following the natural faith, and I am not of those that associate aught with God" (vi. 76-80).

Who can tell us what reflections were the companions of his descendant in the solitude of the 'uncultivable valley' which at God's command he had selected for local habitation of part of his posterity ?

His loving and beloved wife 'Ayesha, perhaps the most intelligent and understanding of so many venerating Boswells who have left to us a most copious record of the Prophet's words and deeds and the smallest details of his life, is the only original authority for the authentic Traditions in Bukhari's most carefully prepared collection that tells us of the earliest revelations. They began with dreams during his sleep and she tells us in her expressive language that he never saw anything in a dream but it would come true 'like the bursting of the dawn.' Then it was that solitude became a passion with him and the cave of Hira became so frequently his retreat. It was in the solitude of one of these Hira nights in the month of Ramazan that subsequently became the most sacred month of the Muslim calendar, devoted to fasting and prayers and charity, that the revelation took another form and the first tiny fragment of the Qur'an was revealed. One of the very earliest revelations refers to this night, the night of majesty or power :

'Verily We sent it down on the Night of Power. And what will make thee comprehend what the Night of Power is ? The Night of Power excelleth a thousand months. Therein the angels descend and the spirits by the permission of their Lord for every affair. Peace ! it is till the breaking of the morn' (xcvii. 1-5).

In an other chapter of the Qur'an, its first revelation is associated with the month of Ramazan and that is all we know, except that Tradition

locates the night as one of the old nights in the last ten of that sacred month, and there is a more or less general consensus that it was the twenty-seventh. Appropriately enough, in the additional voluntary prayers, that the Prophet used to love to offer on Ramazan nights, Muslims who have memorised the Qur'an recite it as the main part of the liturgy, and often the Hafiz, or 'Preserver' of the Qur'an as the memoriser who leads these prayers on such occasions, arranges the recitation in such a manner that the last chapters are recited on the anniversary of the Night of Power. In a few days when the new moon becomes visible, the period of daily fasting and the extra nightly prayers ends, and on the following morning Islam celebrates all the world over the 'Id-ul-Fitr, or Feast of Bairam as the Turks call it.

The Qur'an tells us that the Prophet was asked 'What is the Spirit ?' (xvi. 2) which, according to the context and parallel passages in the Qur'an elsewhere, obviously refers to inspiration or revelation, or what the Christian would call the Holy Ghost. And the Prophet is instructed to say nothing more than this that 'The Inspiration is by the commandment of my Lord.' If we are still curious, as many would no doubt be, the immediate sequel should suffice, for it says : 'And you are not given aught of knowledge but a little' (xvii. 85). No amount of curiosity can lift or penetrate the veil that the Lord of the Spirit has deliberately let down. But this is nothing exceptional. In fact, it is the general law observed to be working in all nature. We have not the intelligence to comprehend the mode of divine activity in any of its workings.

But while the mode of God's activity may not be within our comprehension we can perhaps understand something of the subjective experience of the Prophet as the result of that objective activity. At best it will only be the outer shell.

There is an authentic tradition in Bukhari's collection in which according to 'Ayesha the Prophet answering Harith, son of Hisham, who questioned him on the subject, describes the various forms in which revelation descended upon him. He said : 'On some occasions revelation comes as the tolling of a bell, and in this form I experience great hardship. When I have learnt what is revealed, this sound ceases.'

'On other occasions the angel or messenger (*Malak*) takes the shape of a man and addresses me and I learn what he tells.' In relating this 'Ayesha says : 'I have noted revelation descending on him on the coldest day and when it was over, sweat would pour down from his brow.' There are other reports which confirm the testimony of 'Ayesha. The camel of the Prophet on which the Prophet would be riding would kneel down whenever revelation descended upon him while he was out riding, and a companion on whose knee the knee of the Prophet happened to be resting on one of the occasions relates that he felt an almost unbearable weight while the descent of the Spirit lasted. From the beads of perspiration and the sound as of a bell ringing in his ears, European critics have rushed to assure the world that this trance-like condition was nothing but an epileptic fit, and of course it is only a short step from

this pathological inference to conclude that the victim of this disease was an impostor who skilfully utilised his fits to palm off his carefully prepared compositions on his Arab dupes as the Word of God.

I remember the statement of one of these writers with regard to the utility of such diseases to some persons living among ignorant and superstitious neighbours and he could not help referring to the 'epileptic fits' of the Prophet which he facetiously declared to have been worth a mint of money to him. That this kind of humour should still be indulged in when dealing with one who, apart from other considerations, is to about a fifth of the world's population the object of such great veneration, is a sad reflection on the present-day boasts of toleration and imaginative sympathy with other peoples' views. Considering what influence for good the 'Epileptic' of Arabia has exerted during thirteen centuries over so large a population of mankind, one could well say about such critics of his as these : 'I wish they had half his disease!' But to look at the matter more seriously it is a wonder that these European critics reject without the least hesitation the barest possibility of Divine revelation in the Prophet's case and yet the majority of them accept without demur that it was God that had revealed Himself to Moses in the burning bush ; that both Elijah and Elisha were bodily lifted to Heaven ; that an angel visited Zacharias to announce that his barren wife shall conceive and he shall be turned dumb for a time ; that an angel announced the virgin birth of God's only begotten Son to Mary ; that when Jesus was born, wise men came from the East to Jerusalem to worship him because they had seen his star in the East and when they went to Bethlehem it went before them till it came and stood over the infant Jesus, that an angel announced his birth to the shepherds in the field keeping watch over the flock by night and gave them sign that he would be found wrapped in swaddling clothes in a manger ; that the Holy Ghost revealed to Simeon in Jerusalem that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord's Christ.

Baconian induction has changed the face of the world, and even the East could not remain unaffected. Muslim orthodoxy naturally resisted at first the results to which it led and clung to Greek syllogisms with unverified premises as if what Muslim scholasticism had only borrowed from Hellenism and that too to cambat its fatal tendencies, was peculiarly Muslim and sacrosanct. Controversy generated passion and heat, and the fury of theologians is proverbial. But slowly and imperceptibly things underwent a change that has truly been revolutionary and orthodoxy, although it has made no formal renunciation and will not perhaps be willing even now to make it, is not so insistent as before on the acceptance of everything that it had inherited from the pious scholasticism. Tacitly it has accepted a new valuation and does not denounce those who do not take the high *a priori* road as infidels or even heretics. In fact, it is anxious that such temporal power as is still left to Islam would avail itself of the results of science which could never have been achieved but for the departure made

in Europe by Baconian induction. This practice has reacted on theory also, and far from condemning a Muslim who shares its love of Islam and is willing, if need be, to suffer it, and would yet support Islam with arguments not unacceptable to modern science, as it had supported it for centuries past with the help of arguments not unacceptable to Greek philosophy, it is on the contrary quite gratified to avail itself of this new coadjutor and ally. Without examining its own consistency too strictly, it has moved on, and there is every hope that, if not tactlessly stirred into opposition, it will in another decade closely scrutinise its armoury of arguments, and discarding such as are obsolete, unsafe and harmful, would make formal renunciation as well of a mildewed scholasticism based on the improved and now disproved premises of Greek philosophy and thus set itself right with the progressive world of science, and, what is still more important, set itself right with itself. Islam was unchanging and has remained unchanged in more than thirteen centuries that have passed over, but Muslim theology, so discouraged by the leaders of Islam in its best days, has, since its coming into existence, constantly moulted its skin. If the student of Muslim theology makes a rapid survey of its history, he will find many a half-way house from the early days of Hasan al-Basri (d. 110 A.H.), Wasil bin 'Ata (d. 131 A.H.), and Malik bin Anas (d. 179 A.H.), through those of Ahmad bin Hanbal (d. 241 A.H.), al-Jahiz (d. 255 A.H.), al-Kindi (d. 260 A H.), al-Ash'ari (d. 234 A.H.), al-Jubba'i (d. 305 A.H.), al-Tahawi (d. 331 A.H.), al-Maturidi (d. 333 A.H.), al-Baqillani (d. 403 A.H.), Avicenna (Ibn Sina, d. 428 A.H.), Ibn Hazm (d. 456 A.H.), Imam al-Haramayn (d. 478 A.H.), al-Ghazzali (d. 505 A.H.), Ibn Tumart (d. 524 A.H.), Ibn Bajjah (d. 533 A.H.), Ibn Tufayl (d. 581 A.H.), Averroes (Ibn Rushd, d. 595 A.H.), Fakhruddin Razi (d. 606 A.H.), Ibn 'Arabi (d. 638 A.H.), down to the times of Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728 A.H.). The Crusades had greatly disturbed Islam in Western Asia, and it had hardly recovered from their effects when Hulagu and his Mongols wrought terrible havoc in Baghdad, and indeed throughout the Islamic world. Although the victors were soon vanquished by Islam and became its champions, Islamic letters could not so easily be revised, and a century later Temerlane's world conquest led to a stagnancy which has lasted until very recently. But with the eighteenth century of the Christian era, while Arabia produced a stern puritan in Muhammad ibn 'Abdul Wahhab, whose theology led to a great deal of bloodshed and destruction, India produced a theologian of a very different temperament, and though perhaps a nonconformist as the Central Arabian Muhammad ibn 'Abdul Wahhab and far more advanced than any that have been named, was then and has, since too, been universally respected by all classes of Muslims. This was Shah Waliullah of Delhi. And when the dust of controversy is laid a little more, Islam in India would recognise the worth of Syed Ahmad Khan, who dominated the latter half of the nineteenth century. His militant rationalism, even if it gave rise to violent controversy, roused the

Muslims out of their stagnant complacency. About the same time Egypt produced Mufti Mohammad 'Abduh and, helped by the support which the spread of modern Western education lent to them, they have exercised on the younger generation of Islam an influence that has been incalculably great.

As I have said, Islam is unchanging and has remained unchanged, but theology has moulted its skin from time to time. The answers that it furnished to questions raised at the time, based though they were on the science and philosophy of the period, were superseded by others based on later and perhaps better science and philosophy or simply ceased to be asked and were replaced by others. God's Word was uncreated and everlasting and, therefore, remained the same, but men's words—*quot homines, tot sententiae*—were their own creations, limited in time and space, and became obsolete. I know it is not quite uncommon a practice of exegetes to discover statements, doctrines and allusions in Scriptures as in other works of classic antiquity which have no existence in their pages and to torture and mangle simple phrases till at last they are made to yield their assent to ideas foreign to the whole of the text. Particularly is this the tendency of those who have to reconcile science with religion. It has been frequently observed that at first science is categorically declared to be false, but when it is found to be winning, lo and behold ! the text is made to yield a meaning in conformity to science and the inspired record is 'dovetailed into every latest crinkle of scientific fact or fancy.' Well, expositors of religions are not above *explaining away* such inconvenient features in the religions they favour, and Le Tourneau with the triumphant sarcasm of the scientist says: 'The interpreters of skilful, the sacred text obliging, the metaphysical theories ductile, malleable, flexible. Courage! We must be very narrow-minded indeed not to recognise in the first chapter of Genesis a succinct exposition of the Darwinian theory !' Now, no one is wholly proof against an unconscious bias of this nature, but knowing that a strong tendency of this sort exists in the human mind, I have, from time to time, turned the searchlight inwards to see that I was not taking similar liberties with the sacred text.

But where the struggle of science and religion is concerned, I could afford to be serene, for I recognise no possibility of conflict between the two and there is nothing to reconcile. Religion as the interpretation of life cannot be said to have no connection with sicence, but its province is merely to encourage it and to leave it untrammelled and free. It is concerned with its progress and with the use that is made of the results achieved by it, so that it benefits the whole of mankind and in fact all God's creation. But it does not set out to teach science to mankind. It is the sovereign and can do no wrong, and the responsibility of mistaking fancies for facts is that of the minister and the subject, which is science. The Qur'an certainly does not aim at teaching us how the world was created, and even when it talks of mankind as made of clay and of the jinns or devils or Satan as made of fire, it is not making a scientific chemical analysis of man or the devil

in man, but merely using the current coin of the realm and of the reign to indicate the normal human characteristics and the fiery impulses that lead to transgression and sin. No one will to-day belittle the importance of science, and yet, when compared with the importance of religion, it seems petty and trivial, for religion is the science of life, and the quintessence of all sciences and philosophies. Since Islam does not set out to teach biology, it has nothing to explain away, nothing to torture or mangle, bend or beat into shape, and while it will grieve to find people so lazy and inert as to remain unaffected by progress, and still swearing by the first chapter of Genesis when such a person as Darwin has put forward a theory like that of evolution, it still refuses to set its seal on Darwin and evolution as the last word in scientific truth. But there are passages in the Qur'an, often similar to those in the Bible or in the Rabbinical literature of the Jews, which the old commentators who, with little or no critical restraint, accepted both on their face value readily, and even with avidity interpreted in the light of the two and supplemented the Qur'anic text with Jewish and Christian embellishments. It is, therefore, no sin against the Holy Ghost for a Muslim to-day to reject such interpretation and supplementation when it involves an absurdity or a needless supposition of supernatural happenings and to put forward another interpretation which is rational and entirely within the domain of the natural, Nevertheless, I have no reason to reject the supernatural as impossible to God, for to Him all is possible. Beyond this freedom of interpretation that every man must reserve for himself, I claim nothing, and I hold it to be the most deadly sin in a mortal, as the Qur'an gives me warrant to hold, to add anything of his own to God's Word, to alter it or take anything out of it under the fiction of interpretation.

Higher criticism of the Bible has exposed the pseudonymity of only too many books of the Old and the New Testament, and the supplementations that had taken place from time to time in such a fashion as to approximate to geological stratification. But even while exposing these pious frauds and forgeries, Biblical scholars have seldom condemned the gross immorality and sinfulness of such conduct. In fact, only too many have condoned the offence on the ground of geographical and historical standards of ethics—the difference between literary morals of those times and places and our own. Some have not been content only with explaining and justifying the practice but have gone the entire length of extolling it, and that too with an artistry that makes the fabrication a most touching form of self-effacement. For instance, Mr. J. W. Chadwick, in his *Bible of Today*, writes: 'There is this at least to be said for those who put forth their own writings as the writings of illustrious men who had lived long before. It was not for themselves they desired the honour which could accrue from such a course; no, but only for the word they had to speak, the cause they wished to serve. If only this might prosper, they were willing to remain for ever in obscurity. And there they have remained until this day . . . . They denied to fame that Israel might live for

righteousness and for the honour of her God.'

One wonders whether it has ever occurred to such apologists that the same justification, or rather glorification of the fabricator of Holy Writ, might well be applied to the cases of those clever rogues 'behind the scenes' at Delphi who were equally 'willing to remain for ever in obscurity' if only the cause of their oracle might prosper and who have equally remained there until this day. They too died to fame that their people might live for the sort of righteousness that they had evolved for themselves and for the honour of their 'gods.' Nay, what is there to prevent this eulogy being pushed to its logical co nclusion in order to extol the cleverness of every forger of a cheque, every manufacturer of currency notes, and every counterfeiter of coins, provided only that the motive of such self-effacement and impersonation was the presumed benefit to other people as well. Either we must accept for all cases the formula that the end justifies the means or one's judgment of these pious frauds must be independent of the motive of fabrication. The doctrine of St. Paul on the subject is stated with a curious naivete, in Romans 3 : 7—'For if the truth of God hath more abounded through my lie unto His glory, why yet am I also judged as a sinner?' But the Qur'anic doctrine is very different. It condemns the end and the means alike : 'Woe, then, unto those who write the book with their own hands and then say, "This is from Allah," so that they may gain a trifle thereby (lit. buy therewith a small price) ; therefore woe unto them for what their hands have written and woe unto them for what they gain' (ii. 79). To assign Divine infallibility to a fallible human document is an offence far worse than any forger's and counterfeit-coiner's, no matter what end there may be in view. Such fraud upon human conscience is indeed woeful and no less woeful is the petty purpose that the perpetrators of such frauds have in view compared with the Divine purpose of transcendent importance running through God's revelations. Feeling on the subject as I do, I shudder at the very thought of my liberty of interpretation degenerating into license and leading me to read into the infallible Divine text my own mortal's fallible ideas for which in fact there is no warrant. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that I have as much right to interpret God's message as any other man except the infallible Messenger who brought it, though it is obvious that the qualifications of various interpreters for the task as apart from their right to interpret must vastly differ.

Islam had no apostles, no church, and no church councils like Christianity to dictate her creed to the believer. It has not even a clergy and the whole spirit of Islam is consistently and relentlessly opposed to such a thing as 'experts' in religion. It wants all alike to know their faith, and religion should be the province of all the faithful. That is why, unlike Christianity, it has had no 'theology by committee,' as Mr. Wells aptly calls it. The Roman Catholic Church does not depend for its doctrines merely on the Scriptures but relies also upon Church Tradition and to that dependence it has added

the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope. The Protestant Churches too have articles of their dogma to which they demand the adherence of their members. But Islam demands no such adherence to any man's interpretation of God's word except, of course, the infallible Prophet's. But in the latter case the believer has to be satisfied about the authenticity of the Tradition or *Hadith* that contains such an interpretation and so searching is the test of authenticity that a *Hadith* must satisfy that the great Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal discredits certain classes of tradition as being 'baseless' and these include *Tafsir* or exegesis of the Qur'an attributed to the Prophet as well as *Maghazi*, or the accounts of the Prophet's expeditions from which Christian critics of the Prophet have almost entirely furnished their armoury.

This judgment, according to the later scholars, is not perhaps meant to be as sweeping as it looks, and they specify in particular the famous exegesis of Kalbi and the biorgraphy of the Prophet by Waqidi, on whom the European assailants of the Prophet's character so largely rely. The result of this latitude given to the individual Muslim to interpret God's Word may be given in the words of Cara de Vaux, writing in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*: 'In Islam as a matter of course an official redaction of the dogmas of faith has never existed, the Islamic theory precluding the appearance of personalities like apostles of Christianity composing a creed with help from above.' Thus, Islam has nothing like the so-called 'Apostle's creed,' which incidentally was not formulated in its final form until about 700 A.C. and was developed out of a creed favoured in Rome and evidently triumphed at the end of the eighth century over all other forms through the imperious desire for conformity of that champion of Latin Christianity and Papacy, Charlemagne, the founder of the Holy Roman Empire. It has nothing like the Nicaean creed which was framed at the Council held at Nicaea, in 325 A.C. and attended by an equally ardent imperial seeker of conformity, Constantine, who had embraced Christianity mainly in order to strengthen and consolidate his empire. This, it may parenthetically be added, was very much 'Theology by Committee,' since it was a compromise between two parties that constituted the majority who suspended their disputes and agreed on the use of the mysterious Homoousian, which, as Gibbon tells us, 'either party was free to interpret according to their peculiar tenets.' Nor has Islam anything like the Athanasian creed which damns the heretics, but which Athanasius, although the most persistent and vigorous leader of what subsequently became Christian orthodoxy, never framed, and which 'does not appear to have existed within a century after his death.' Islam has had no Council of Trent from which its orthodoxy derives its theology to-day, nor has it a Pope that can help it to evolve new dogmas based on infallible authority. It possesses no Confession of Augusburg, and no Westminster Confession either, nor has any parliament passed for it an Act of Thirty-Nine Articles. As I have already indicated, in its earliest days its leaders, commencing with the Prophet and his immediate successors known as the 'Truly

Guided,' sternly discouraged theological speculation, and the Muslims in those days were indeed too busy living an Islamic life to contemplate life and speculate about it. There was no racial inclination in the Arabs in that direction and many of the Arabs had not yet reached a stage of intellectual development to make dialectics an agreeable occupation. 'The Golden Age' of the Abbasides had yet to come, but even under the Umayyads, Arabs made a remarkably rapid progress in letters considering that the Qur'an spoke of them in the days of the Prophet as *Ummiyah* or un-lettered.

A regal court at Damascus could not fail to attract literary talent and partly through the toleration inherent in Islam and partly through the religious indifference of some of the Umayyad Khulafa (Caliphs), many non-Muslims soon began to hold important positions under them. Professor Margoliouth can see little of Islamic tolerance in such features of Muslim rule and would use them as indications of Muslim incapacity to do without Christian and Jewish help in administration and in the practice of learned professions. But be the reason what it may, the fact cannot be gainsaid, and a typical example is John of Damascus, 'the last great doctor of the Greek Church and the man under whose hands its theology assumed final form.' His father Sergious was treasurer under the Umayyads and after his death John himself became vizier. In his writings and in those of his pupil Theodorus Abucara (d. 826 A.C.) there are polemic treatises on Islam cast in the form of discussions between Muslims and Christians, and evidently designed to help Christians to retain their faith in spite of the successes of Muslims as missionaries. They were characteristic of the people even more than of the times and now that neither Alexandria nor Antioch contributed all that passionate zest and fervour and heat to the theological controversies waged in Church Councils, those given to Greek dialectics like John of Damascus no doubt found some consolation in preparing such polemical treatises. Such writings were bound to react among the Musalmans also but, strangely enough, Muslim politics assisted greatly in this reaction.

As we shall see, Islam has one or two important schisms that have lived to our own day, but of heresy it has had, comparatively speaking, next to nothing, and these schisms came into existence over the question of succession to the government of the new 'Church-State' of the Muslims. 'Ali was the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet and, although he accepted the succession of Abu Bakr and then of 'Umar and finally of 'Uthman, all by popular election or nomination by his predecessor or by his nominees and acclaimed by the people before he himself was similarly accepted as the chief of the faithful, it is a historical fact that when the Prophet passed away, he considered himself entitled to immediate succession and, although there is nothing to prove it beyond a doubt, it is probable that he based his title to succession on his relationship to the Prophet.

If there was no equivalent of the Selic law to prevent succession through females, the Prophet's heir would have been the two sons of

'Ali by Fatimah, the Prophet's youngest daughter, who alone left male issue and not 'Ali himself, so that it is very doubtful whether any title through heredity was ever formulated. But as so often happens, theory followed practice and 'partisans' of 'Ali who have survived to this day in the schism of the 'Shi'ahs' have since based the title of 'Ali and his descendants to the office of the chief of the faithful, the successor of the Prophet, the vicegerent of God in His kingdom and the head of the Islamic republic on 'Divine appointment' as well as heredity. After the first four Khulafa, the 'Truly Guided' who regulated the Islamic commonwealth between them for thirty years, Mu'awiyah, the head of the family of Umayyah, cousin of the family of Hashim, and from whom the Prophet descended, and their political rivals turned the commonwealth or republic into a dynastic monarchy preserving only the form of a popular election or rather acclamation.

The Umayyads opposed the spread of Islam as long as they could and their head Abu Sufyan led the forces of infidelity several times against the Prophet at Medina after having succeeded in driving him and his followers from their Meccan home. But Islam triumphed in the end, and on the conquest of Mecca by the Prophet in the eighth year of his exile, Abu Sufyan too acknowledged allegiance to the God of Islam and to His Prophet. Thenceforward he fought the battles of Islam and his fierce and revengeful wife Hind, who had offered a prize for the head of the Prophet's uncle Hamzah, who had killed her father and brother in the first battle of Islam fought at Badr, and, on his death at the battle of Uhud in the following year, had herself dismembered his body and even tried to eat his liver, had taken no mean part on one occasion in defending the tents of the women in the decisive battle of Yarmuk, when the superior forces of the Byzantine empire repeatedly sought to overwhelm the Muslims and she had taunted her husband when pressed back by the enemy with being so valiant in the defence of infideily, and a coward in the defence of Islam !

Whatever may have been the case with the convictions of Abu Sufyan, there is no doubt about those of Mu'awiyah who was a Muslim and had, on his conversion, been employed by the Prophet as one of the several amanuenses who used to take down the passages of the Qur'an soon after they were revealed to the Prophet. But that did not prevent his succumbing to the temptations that self-interest set before him in the disturbed condition of the 'Church-State' of Islam that followed the assassination of his kinsman 'Uthman, the third of the 'truly guided successors of the Prophet. And once the republic of Islam was replaced by the dynastic rule of the Umayyads, the dissolute lives of several of his successors and their policy in administration made it clear that they no longer looked upon it as the kingdom of God but merely as their patrimony and an Arab hereditary monarchy. The Persians who had always despised their Arab neighbours in the pre-Islamic days—'the Days of Ignorance'—were an imperial race with an ancient history and quite distinct racial characteristics. On their defeat

by the despised Arabs, they accepted the faith of their rulers with a rapidity that indicated neither genuine conviction nor political pressure so much as utter demoralisation. But they never forgave the Arabs their conquest of Persia and then Umayyad rule, unlike that of the great 'Umar, during whose period of Khilafat Persia had been for the most part conquered, being more Arab than Muslim, had been little to allay this racial and political bitterness, so that when after 'Uthman's murder Mu'awiyah clamoured for vengeance on the murderers, many of whom were partisans of 'Ali, preferred to vindicate the law of Islam after establishing himself a little more securely, and this led to the first outbreak of internecine war in Islam, the Persians as a nation espoused the cause of 'Ali and of his family and were ever a thorn in the side of the Umayyads. The greatest tragedy in Islamic history, the slaughter at Karbala of the little band of seventy-two formed the forces of Husian, the son of 'Ali, who had set out in 67 A.H. on the invitation of Kufah, his father's capital, to accept the allegiance as Khalifah as against Yazid, the son of Mu'awiyah, nominated in the latter's lifetime without any precedent as his successor, is mourned to this day throughout the Islamic world by Sunni no less than Shi'ah, the 'partisan' of Ali.

But to the nationalists of Persia it provided yet one more ground for their opposition to the rule of a primarily Arab dynasty inasmuch as Husain had married the daughter of the last of the Persian kings when she had been brought a captive at the end of the Persian War and presented to him the most suitable husband for so noble a bride by the reigning Khalifah 'Uthman. The Persians have ever since found an additional reason to be 'partisans' of 'Ali and of the descendants of Fatimah because the line that runs from her second son Husain, the martyr of Karbala, is the line of the descendants of Shahr Banu, the Persian princess. We have seen how political and, in this case, racial divisions as well, led to the largest schisms in the solid ranks of Islam, the schisms of Shi'ahs or 'partisans' of 'Ali and theory following on the heels of practice, an entirely distinct body of theology, tradition and law and ritual has since set up a terrific barrier between the two divisions. The main body of the Muslim world is designated *Ahl-i-Sunnat-wal-Jama'at*, the adherents of the Prophet's tradition and of the consensus or agreement of the community and it is mainly of this, by far the largest of the two divisions, that I generally speak.

A much smaller and yet for a time a very troublesome and even disastrous division was that which was caused by the 'Deserters' or Khwarij who left 'Ali's forces on the field of Siffin when he very unwillingly accepted the demand of a considerable body of his supporters that he should consent to arbitration between himself and Mu'awiyah. On a too narrow and wooden-headed literalism, characteristic of fanatics, they turned round and blamed 'Ali for appointing men as arbitrators when God alone is declared in the Qur'an to be the arbiter and judge. In their desperate anger at the fratricidal war between Muslim and Muslim, some of them resolved that peace could not be restored so long as the

three principal protagonists, 'Ali, Mu'awiyah and 'Amr ibn al-'As lived and they should, therefore, be assassinated in order to save further Muslim bloodshed. Each of the three men, who agreed to do this, chose his man and on a fixed day all the three were to be killed. 'Ali's wounds proved fatal. Mu'awiyah's were less dangerous and he recovered, and as 'Amr happened to be ill, the Qazi who officiated for him at prayers fell a victim in his place.

The Umayyads, however, happened to be the party in power and, although the Shi'ahs and the Khwarij both regarded them as 'Godless heathens who professed Islam but oppressed and slaughtered the true saints of God,' there were many Musalmans who could not but see in them the upholders of some sort of law and order, and as such deserving their support or at least submission, without any condonation of their undoubted offence against good morals and the laws of Islam or a condemnation of all their opponents.

The political attitude, which was in fact fully justified and recommended by some of the traditions of the Prophet, was sought to be based on a doctrine other than the obvious exigencies of the maintenance of order, and, theory once more following practice, a dogma was discovered in a 'postponement of judgment' by the Muslims until it was pronounced by God Himself on the Day of Judgment. But these 'Postponers' or Murji'ites did not stop there. Once having opposed the political puritanism of the 'Deserters' or Kharijites, they proceeded, as the Shi'ahs had done, to elaborate a little theology of their own. The Kharijites had, in their puritanical zeal, declared that sinfulness meant infidelity and, unless a sinner acknowledging his infidelity through sinning became Muslim again, he died an infidel, and even if he professed Islam with his lips, but had not repented before his death, he would eternally remain in hell. To this the later Murji'ites opposed a doctrine of faith 'which is Pauline in its sweep.' Faith, they declared, and faith alone saved. On this arose the first great countroversy in Islam, the controversy regarding *Iman* whether it meant mere convicition or confession of Islam in the heart even when outwardly professing some other belief, or needed, in addition to conviction of the heart and profession with the lips, a sinless life of good works. The next controversy arose with regard to the eternal question of free will, predestination and foreknowledge. And in both cases, namely, in the case of the Murji'ites, for whom confession of Islam in the heart sufficed, and in that of Qadrites, who attributed to man *Qadr* or power over his actions, the close agreement of their ideas with those formulated and defended by John of Damascus and by the Greek church generally and the commencement of such theological speculation at first in Syria and chiefly in Damascus unlike the more political controversies that swayed men and minds in Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia irresistibly led to the conclusion that it was the first fruits of Hellenism as it began to come into contact with the unsophisticated Muslim Arab of the desert. Although the latter controversy, namely, about free will and necessity was sooner or later bound to arise in Islam as it has done in every

faith, it seems that like the Murji'ite antinomianism it too had a semi-political origin. These Murji'ites and Qadrites soon disappeared from the scene, but now 'we come from these drifting tendencies to a formal sect with a formal secession and a fixed name.' These are the Mu'tazilah or Seceders who derive their name from an observation of Hasan al-Basri. A questioner had asked him whether the committer of a great sin could be a believer, as the Murji'ites said, or *ipso facto* ceased to be one, which was the opinion of the *Wa'idites*—those who laid stress on the threats (*Wa'id*) against sinners contained in the Qur'an,—and before he could answer, a pupil of his, Wasil ibn Ata (d. 131) broke in with an assertion of an intermediate position and leaving the circle which sat round the master went to another end of the mosque and began to develop his view to those who gathered round him. On this secession Hasan of Basra only said '*I'tazala'anna*'—he has seceded from us.

With the end of the Umayyad rule and the victory of the Abbasides who used the grievances of the family and particularly of the descendants of the Prophet to undermine the government, came a complete change in the centre of gravity, typified by the transfer of the capital from Syria to Mesopotamia. The influence and power of the Persians increased, and to the Syrian source of Hellenism was now added the Pesian source of Zoroastrianism and Manichæanism. 'At the court of the earliest of Abbasides it was fashionable to affect a little free-thought. People were becoming enlightened and played with philosophy and science.' The Persianisation of the court at Baghdad led to a great deal more of Hellenisation than had been the case at Damascus, and though the new effervescence deservedly gave to this period the designation of the 'Golden Age,' and men's minds were broadened, the contact of Islam and philosophy soon resulted in a conflict. As I shall presently show, it forced the defenders of this old faith to take up in the heat of controversy extreme positions that they would never have taken up if left to themselves, and subtle reasoning was soon pressed into service to support a needlessly literal interpretation of a teaching that had all the sensuousness and poetic beauty of the best and yet the simplest literature. With the sacred text alone, sooner or later, the true interpretation, based on the spirit as well as the letter, was bound to come. The emphasis on the letter of the sacred text, even when it went beyond the needs of the moment, would have disappeared with the moment of the need. But the elaborate reasoning which has survived those hot and dusty days of controversy has not left the emphasis unaltered, but has misled generation after uncreative and uncritical generation into the belief that it too is as important for purposes of faith as the sacred text and is almost equally sacrosanct.

Men like the two Imams who were pre-eminently Traditionists, Malik ibn Anas (d. 179) and Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 241), opposed discussion on all theological subjects and felt a shuddering repulsion because they could not have failed to realise in the first place that such discussions

diverted the minds of Muslims from righteous action. In the next place they could not have failed to realise the drift and tendency of those fantastic philosophies, bristling as they did with the most blasphemous possibilities. It is all very well to generalise about the 'rationalism' of the Mu'tazilah and to place the halo of philosophy round their heads. But even leaving out of consideration the loose conduct of at least some of them, if we scrutinise their precious philosophers in detail we cannot fail to discover the seamy side of their philosophising. Dragged by the tide of Hellenism they desired no less a freedom than to cut themselves off from their Islamic moorings and accepting Greek philosophy and science as they understood—and often misunderstood—then as the standard of truth, they wished to measure Islam by their foot-rule. Some added to their nationalist antagonism to Islam as the product of an Arabian's brain, personal literary vanity and claimed to be able to compose a better work of art than the Qur'an, and most, if not all, of those who started the futile and foolish controversy on the question whether the Qur'an was eternal or had been created, hoped, apart from national antagonism or individual literary vanity, to 'reform' Islam not only out of recognition but out of existence, once they could establish it to be a creation of the Eternal Creator and, therefore, only of temporary binding force and utility.

However, what we are concerned with here is the fact that the first discussions and disputations that pious Muslims permitted themselves after the demise of the Prophet were concerned not with *'Aqa'id* or theology, but with *Fiqh* or law which includes civil law as well as what is in the Christian Church known as canon law. Four schools of law have come down to us—but all are respected, and no such thing as orthodoxy or heresy can be predicated of any of these schools, and in fact a disciple of the founders of these schools could, without any inconsistency, subsequently attend the lectures of the founder of another. Law naturally needs conformity more than convictions and beliefs do, and Muslims, as a rule, definitely belong to one school or another, the oldest, and most liberal being that of Imam Abu Hanifah, a philosophical jurist whose system was perfected by his two disciples Qazi Abu Yusuf and Imam Mohammad. To this belong roughly the Muslims of Central Asia, Northern India and the Turks. Lower Egypt, Syria, Southern India and the Malay Archipelago, which Arab traders visited and where they settled as colonists, are adherents of the school of Imam Shafi'i who took up an intermediate position between philosophical speculation in jurisprudence and a liberal adherence to Tradition. Upper Egypt and Northern Africa west of Egypt are attached to what may be called the historical school of Imam Malik ibn Anas, the eminent Medina traditionist, who is not quite so latitudinarian as Abu Hanifah, while practically only the Wahhabites in Central Arabia, the vigorous and even destructive puritans, follow the liberalist school of Ahmad ibn Hanbal, though it may incidentally be mentioned that he was no lawyer but a simple traditionist, who was

a follower of Imam Shafi'i in law and never intended to establish a school of law. It was only his zealous followers who, after his tragic career of suffering and persecution, drew together and founded the fourth school of Muslim law. There is a small class that are known as *Ghayr-Muqallidin* or nonconformists, and sometimes as *Ahl-i-Hadis*, the adherents of the Prophet's traditions, in order to distinguish them from those who conform to opinions of a particular school and accept *Qiyas* or analogy as one of the sources on which Muslim law may be based. But these generally claim Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal as their Imam or leader.

So far we have seen that the main division in the Muslim world has been more political than theological in its origin and schism rather than heresy is the proper term to employ in its case, and that the only other distinctions that followed were the minor divisions of the bulk of Muslims into four schools of law, to any of which the term heresy is even more inapplicable. But with the rise of the Mu'tazilah as a distinct school of theology proper, we get the nearest approach to heresy in Islam. They would not discuss theology at all. They were too serious-minded to play with religion and too much in earnest to waste their energies in such metaphysical dalliance. Malik ibn Anas used to cut off all discussion with '*Bila Kaifa*' (without asking *how*). He and others like him 'refused to go an inch beyond the statements in the Qur'an and the Traditions and to draw consequences however near the surface these consequences might seem to lie.' They were even driven in their anxiety to avoid a theological speculation that was bristling with mischievous possibilities when not wholly sterile, to hold extreme positions which, if left to themselves, they would never have taken up. Al-Mamun, the 'doctrinaire despot,' that 'most 'dangerous of all beings,' as Professor Macdonald rightly calls him, under the influence of these phantastic philosophers, imposed for the first time a test and instituted an inquisition, 'commanded that the death penalty for unbelief (*Kufr*) should be inflicted on those who refused to take the test,' and subscrible to the Mu'tazilah doctrines. And yet 'orthodoxy'—as we are driven to call the vast bulk of the Muslim world that held views on which there was a general consensus or *Ijma*' could not conscientiously deal a counter-stroke by laying down any articles of faith framed by itself and demand that the 'heretics' should subscribe to them. Imam Bukhari, the great compiler and verifier of Tradition, when himself subjected to inquisitory proceedings, remained at first obstinately silent and when at last persistent questioning drove him to an outburst, it did not go beyond a protest against the imposition of tests that the Prophet of God had never imposed. 'The Qur'an is the Word of God and is uncreated. The speech of man is created; and inquisition (*imtihan*) is an innovation (*bid'at*).'

The battle was already won by Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal's unflinching courage and steadfast perseverance in the line he had from the outset taken up. In his long examination before the officials of al-Mamun and al-Mu'tasim, he

contented himself with repeating either the words of the Qur'an which for him were proofs or Traditions as he accepted. Any approach to drawing a consequence he utterly rejected. When they argued before him, he remained silent. He was imprisoned and scourged and again cast into prison where he died.

When I say orthodoxy had already won a victory when Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal died in prison and 140,000 men and women of Baghdad followed his bier, I do not mean a victory for the contents of the Imam's creed. The victory rather was for the freedom of the individual believer's conscience from the imposition of a creed on which neither the Qur'an nor the last of Allah's Messengers, through whom the Qur'an reached mankind, insisted. This alone is orthodoxy and this is the negation of the very conception of orthodoxy as understood by non-Muslims.

Ahmad ibn Hanbal had relied solely upon *Naql* or tradition and rejected '*Aql* or reasoning altogether. This was an extreme position and, however much one may approve the inexpediency of wasting one's energies in the trivial purcuits of the Mu'tazilah 'rationalists' one cannot exclude reasoning in principle, especially when the Qur'an itself repeatedly appeals to the reason of mankind for confirmation of the truths it reveals. The mistakes of those who opposed the Mu'tazilah with reasoning was that they snatched their own weapons. They too went to Greek philosophy as to an armoury from which to equip themselves for the fray. The Mu'tazilah had set out to measure religion with the foot-rule of philosophy and these opponents of theirs neither did that nor did they attempt to measure philosophy with any measure furnished by their faith. But they were a kind of bimetallists, who accepted both the standard of philosophy and of faith and set out to prove that the two were identical. Unlike the 'free-thinkers,' they had not set out on a quest for truth. The Qur'an and the Tradition for them was the Eternal Truth, but the glamour of great names dazzled them and they accepted this jumble of Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle and Plotinus for Truth as well and zealously commenced to reconcile this with the Qur'an and the Tradition.

This much must, however, be said for the Ash'ari school of dialectics that the schoolmen shared to some extent the shuddering repulsion felt by men like the Imams Malik ibn Anas and Ahmad ibn Hanbal against all theological speculation. They believed in the truth of what they argued, but they were anxious to confine it to the narrow circle of schoolmen. It must not be allowed to disturb the mental repose of the commonalty. This scholasticism or study of *Kalam* (logic), as it was called, was hedged about with difficulties of restrictions.

The Mu'tazilah, after losing power at court and beaten in the schools, began to flounder more and more hopelessly in their philosophy and their conclusions became every day more and more unintelligible, until they finally disappeared from the scene. But thanks to the scholasticism which came into benig through opposition to them, '*Aql* as well at *Naql* came to be accepted as legitimate

elements in Muslim theology. To this a new element not unlike gnosis came to be added by the Sufis; these were the mystics who withdrew from the world like Christian anchorities to whose peaceful and quiet lives the Qur'an has approvingly alluded even when condemning their unnatural asceticism as a self-imposed obligation, not always fully consistently met. This was *Kashf*, the intuitive insight or minor revelation granted to the mystic in his ecstasy. Sufism originated very early in Islam and all orders of Sufis insist on connecting it with the Prophet through his cousin and son-in-law 'Ali or more rarely his friend and first successor Abu Bakr. But he who popularised it and at the same time gave to it a status that none but a learned divine, who had studied philosophy and theology and had been recognised as a master, could give, was Imam Ghazzali, whose confessions in his charming little volume, 'Deliverer from Error,' gives the whole history of his life, thought and feeling.

But we must not press *Kashf* too far. As Ibn Rushd who, without doubting the *bonafides* of the mystics, was himslef no mystic, truly says, anything so purely personal, anything which rested as it does so exclusively on the individual consciousness or rather subconsciousness as the immediate knowledge of the Sufi, cannot be made the basis of any general system. Nevertheless, like vitamins in our food, the value of which science recognises to-day without being able to comprehend it like other elements of nutrition, it is of undoubted value, and ever since the era of al-Ghazzali, *Naql*, *'Aql* and *Kashf* have been accepted by the Muslim world as the three elements of its theology.

We have roughly traced the development of Muslim theology, but nowhere do we find any sign of a rigid orthodoxy dividing it from heresy, and if to any set of views the term of orthodoxy is loosely applied for want of a better word, it must be understood to mean the views more or less generally shared by the vast bulk of the Muslim community at a particular time. It is true that, in the East after the death of Imam Ghazzali, great names among Muslim thinkers come at greater intervals and that in the dynasty of the Muwahhids which the philosophical theologian and religious reformer, Ibn Tumart, a reputed favourite pupil of Ghazzali, had founded came to an end, Islamic though seemed to get arrested in its further development. Naturally, the views of the thinkers of the past which had already crystallised into schools now became so petrified that henceforward they approximated to a standard of orthodoxy, any serious departure from which would incur the approbrious title of heresy. But there was no authority in the Qur'an or the Traditions that could justify such a rigid division and, whatever the practice, no theory of orthodoxy and heresy came into being even as a result of this stagnation. The stagnation itself was the result of perfectly natural causes, which a glance at Islamic history would disclose.

Where the Qur'an excels in style apart from its contents is in the universality of its appeal and its intelligibility to fools as well as philosophers, dull, prosaic men not less than poets revelling in their fine frenzy.

All may not derive the same kind of enjoyment from it but to all it conveys clearly enough the concluded message God sent to mankind. There are no such things as literal meaning and interpretation. If speech is not the art of concealing thought but of expressing it, the Qur'an, like any other literary product, must have some thought to express, some meaning to convey and it is immaterial *how* we arrive at a comprehension of there thoughts and an understanding of that meaning so long as we do arrive there. If literal meaning would take us to our destination, by all means let us all take that road, philosophers as well as fools. If, on the contrary, interpretation alone can lead to it, let us all follow that path, fools as well as philosophers. But if either literary meaning or interpretation fails to lead us to our destined goal, of what earthly use is it? No road in the world runs absolutely straight and always on the same level. For miles and miles it may go on straight and smooth, and yet some natural obstacle like a lake or a hill intervenes and may have to be skirted and traversed in a zig-zag way or like a spiral. Are we to refuse to take the road that safely brings us at last to our destination simply because we cannot walk on as the crow flies? The object is to get there the best way we can for that is why we take the road. Not that for every wayfarer the road possesses the same interest or charm. They all agree with regard to the object of their journey which is to reach their destination, but to some the beauty of the wayside itself will make an appeal which it may not to others that have no eyes for such beauty. Yet even here, the Qur'an's great miracle is that all without exception find some beauty or other in the road, and to none is the way dull and wearisome.

The Qur'an is God's Word truly enough, but it is and must be in man's ill coin. Just as the Qur'an repeatedly assures those unbelievers who clamoured for a miracle, such as an angel bringing God's message to mankind, that an angel and not a man like Mohammad would certainly have been chosen for the task if angels and not men trod this territorial globe and lived and worked and died here, so it tells the Arabs who were to be the first faggots to light the fire that God's message to mankind to be delivered by them is worded in their own Arabic tongue. And it repeatedly asserts its clarity. The Qur'an must, therefore, be simple enough, if it was meant by Allah whose message it contains, to be intelligible to the dwellers of the desert. For an *Ummi* or unlettered nation even the Apostle chosen was an *Ummi*. How then could the Qur'an be a mystery to all mankind except the philosopher who could solve it by the 'Open Sesame' of his interpretation? The only way to make it a riddle is to look in it for riddles. And if we understand anything of the psychology of such simple folk as the dwellers of the desert, who had to preach the new Evangel, Allah must have talked in the Qur'an in pictures and parables. Not philosophical concepts and abstractions but images sufficiently concrete for the untutored mind must have been employed. And that is precisely what we find. But if we must not look for riddles in the

Qur'an and thereby make it a philosopher's riddle, we must not be so wooden-minded as to have no use for a metaphor. If there is one thing worse than turning rhetoric into a syllogism it is petrifying a prarable. Metaphysics and anthropomorphism are alike foreign to the whole spirit of the Qur'an, and if we just let it soak into our consciousness as it must have soaked into the consciousness of the Arabs more than thirteen hundred years ago, we shall get all the philosophy we need to last us through life and carry us into the Great Beyond.

I have now said all that I need say about my religious antecedents and my present attitude towards Islam and its theology. But an inherent and almost ineradicable tendency towards diffusion and a fatal attraction for tangents found a good ally in the condition of my prison life when work at a stretch, which I have always preferred, was impossible and only snippets of time were available for dashing off a few scores of lines at a time. Doubtful as I feel about completing my task I feel almost certain that even if I am enabled to do so within a reasonable time I would not have the leisure for any but the rapidest revision before I hand over the manuscript to the printers. But in the circumstances of which now the reader shares the knowledge with the writer, he thinks he can rely on a generous measure of the reader's indulgence. I do not pose as an authority on Islam, but I do hope I am a Muslim and, as such, it is my first duty to share such truth as I have with my fellow beings.

KARACHI TRIAL

THE REBEL ADDRESSES THE JURY

KARACHI TRIAL

Mohammad Ali before addressing the Jury turning to the Court said: 'Can I have the Jury on this side ? I have not seen their faces yet. I want to seduce them like the troops'. [laughter in Court].

The Court directed the Jurors to change their seats accordingly, and the Judge also changed the position of his seat turning left directly facing the accused.

Maulana Mohammad Ali then rosemid pindrop silence and addressing the Jury said :

Gentlemen of the Jury ! I just asked the Presiding Judge that he might permit me to see your faces, because with the exception of one of your number I had not hitherto been able to see your faces. And I also said that I want to seduce the Jury. Of course, there was behind that another intention, not the ultimate object perhaps, but incidental to it, as the Public Prosecutor would say, I wanted you to act as a screen in front of the ladies now behind you, or the Public Prosecutor may add yet another charge of seduction against me [laughter], but after all I find that as a result of my effort at seduction I have turned the Judge also towards me to-day [Laughter].

Gentlemen, I think I am going to take as much time as I can. So it is neccessary to tell you beforehand that if I intended to defend myself or my friends and to escape from transporation for life or the jail, I don't know what the Judge has in store for me—it would have been absolutely unpardonable. No, gentlemen, for that purpose I would not have wasted a single moment of your time or of mine.

I do not want any defense. I have no defence to offer. And there is no need of defence, for it is not we who are on trial. It is the Government itself that is on trial. It is the Judge himself who is on trial. It is the whole system of public prosecutions, the entire provisions of the law that are on trial. It is not a question of my defence. It is a very clear issue, and I thanked the Government in the lower Court, because for the first time it came out into the open and gave us a chance of having a decision on a very clear-cut and pointed issue. That very clear-cut and pointed issue is this. Is God's law for a British subject to be more important or the King's law—a man's law ? Call him His Majesty—exalt him as much as you like—show all obedience to him, show him all the loyalty you can,—pay him all the respect, entertain even superstitions about him if you like, but the question is—is this respect or

are these superstitions going to stand even for the slightest moment in the way of loyalty which every human being owes to God ? Gentlemen, I think not for my own sake, nor for the sake of my co-accused, but I think for you. It is a misfortune that there is not a single Muslim among you. Three of you are Christians, and two are Hindus. But that does not matter at all. I am speaking to human beings. I am speaking mostly to Indians. I do not know whether all of you are Indians, perhaps one of you is not, though he too may have his domicile in India and may have come to regard India, although an Englishman, as his home, and may therefore be regarded as an Indian. I am therefore speaking to a majority of you at least who come from a country which is imbued with the spirit of relgion and which is traditionally a spiritual country and which has striven through the ages for the exaltation of the spirit as against the flesh.

Gentlemen, we hear so much of toleration in these enlightened days, and I do not think even the Public Prosecutor would contradict me if I say that we all want toleration. The British Government has never tired of saying that it is a tolerant government, and that British rule is firmly based on toleration. I do not think that the government of any civilised country in this twentieth century could ever say that it is against toleration. But what is toleration after all ? It is this, as a well-known man said—'Sir, I disagree most heartily with every word of what you have said but, damn it, I shall fight to the last drop of my blood for your right to say it.' That is toleration ! That is to say, toleration is required for disagreement, it is required where people hold very different views, where they have wide differences. Otherwise, there is no necessity for toleration. But the tolerant man tolerates all this and sacrifices everything for the maintenance of tolerance. Now, I might say, a man might hold very foolish opinions. I am sorry, many men do. I think the Public Prosecutor for one holds some very foolish opinions—and we have yet got to see what kind of opinion the Judge holds ; that would be after I am silenced—but it is not the question whether a man's judgment is right or wrong—people's judgment may be foolish—the question is this, when any person or a body of persons gives you a pledge of freedom to hold your own opinions and act up to them, then I think it is their duty to abide by that pledge.

Now, gentlemen, what the case is against us we want the whole world to understand. After all, the result of the decision here will not be confined to the audience in the hall, or to the few scores of thousands of people in Karachi. It was said that the Resolution that was passed here was not meant for that small body of audience comprising a few *'Ulema* and a few thousand people, but it was meant for a large audience. Now, this trial too is meant for more than the audience here in this hall, certainly far more than the five of you. It is really meant for the whole world. We want to have our right to get the protection of the law for our religious beliefs and practices recognised. Let the Government repent and say that we have seen the error of our ways. [Turning to Mr. Ross Alston :] These

are the words which my friend Mr. Ross Alston wanted me to say as my last words, and they shall be my last words—but with regard to the action proper for the Government [laughter]. But will the Government say that? Is it going to abide by that pledge of freedom of faith? Or, would the Government say,—No, we are powerful, we are strong, we have dreadnoughts, we have aeroplanes, we have all this soldiery, we have machine-guns, we have beaten the most powerful nations in Europe, though, of course, with the help of twenty-six allies [laughter] and India's men, money, and other resources—but that is another story [laughter]—we cannot tolerate your religious opinion and acts. If they say that, we can understand that. Therefore, it is not for the purpose of defending ourselves but it is to make this issue clear because it is a national issue, nay, more than that, it is an issue on which the history of the world to a great extent depends—whether in this civilised century man's word shall be deemed more binding than the word of God. The trial is not 'Mohammad Ali and six others *versus* the Crown,' but 'God *versus* man.' This case is therefore between God and man. That is the trial. The whole question is 'Shall God dominate over man or shall man dominate over God?'

Now, gentlemen, you were here though it was not intended for you—you happened to be here—when we refused to stand up when the Judge asked us to do so. We have always dissociated ourselves from and repudiated the idea of showing any disrespect to the Judge. We are not foolish enough to create any unnecessary unpleasantness or to worry the Judge or irritate him. We have no grudge against him. But the whole question was with regard to respect to a man as against respect to God. As my brother has said in the lower Court, and as I say before you now, we do not recognise the King any longer as our King—we do not owe any loyalty to any man who denies our right to be loyal to God. I have not a word to say against the King—I have not a word against the Royal family. But where the question of God comes in as against the Government, I cannot have any respect for a government when the government demands from me that I must not first respect God and His laws. Therefore, the whole question really is, as I have said, between God and man. The Public Prosecutor has very skilfully stated his case and when he came to our religious beliefs and the commandments of God, he was anxious to get over it as quickly as possible. He was saking over thin ice! He brush-all that aside. Now, I challenge him, I challenge the Judge to give a decision on the point. It is not at all a question of fact with which you, gentlemen of the Jury, have to deal. If the Judge deals with the question of law in his summing up and sentences us, if the verdict of the Jury goes against us in the case in which you act as Jurors, and if he exercises his right as Judge to decide both as regards the fact sand the law in the cases in which you give your opinion as Assessors, if he sentences us disregarding our religious obligation, then aur course will be clear. It does not matter what punishment we are likely to get and under what section of the Penal Code we get it, as there are any

number of sections 109, 117, 120 (B), 131, 505, and so on.

As regards those sections and the various charges, so far as I am concerned, I was greatly confused, and I am trying to compute how many years altogether I shall get [laughter]. I have but one life and I do not know if it can cover the many years that I shall get if I am punished according to my deserts [laughter]. But that is absolutely immaterial.

The whole thing is this. I want a decision from the Court on behalf of this Government that the Courts of India cannot give any protection to a man who does the thing that I have done—though it admits that it is precisely the thing that his religion demands, his God demands from him. God is not clamouring from the housetop. He is shouting from His eternally high throne—clamouring from there: 'Man whom I have created from first a clot of blood, whom I raised to whatever power and glory you possess, whatever you have and whatever you are, it is I who gave it to you and made all this for you—*I want you to serve Me and not a creature of Mine*.' Whatever respect I may have for the King, I may not bow before him when he asks me not to bow before my God and His commandments.

The Judge had hinted something about the beliefs of some sects. He said, suppose a sect of the Hindus demands human sacrifice. It is not a question of individual belief that was involved in our case. Then the Public Prosecutor had said we had different sects among ourselves. We quarrelled among ourselves as to which of these is right and which is wrong. Well, it is not a question of which is wrong. Well, it is not a question of our belief alone ; it is the question of the belief of every Muslim. But even if it was a case of a particular sect, do mean to say that the Proclamation of the Queen in 1858 required at that time that each and every one of the 300 millions of the people of India must be agreed, all the heavens and the whole earth and all the planets and the men in the moon and all the men in Mars, every one must be agreed that this was the one true and correct faith and it was then that the Queen's Proclamation provided protection? No protection would have been required for such a faith. What is the Penal Code itself for? It is to give you the protection that I seek that I may not hurt your religious feelings. In to-day's *New Time* we find that some men, Khilafat men, have been prosecuted in Calcutta because they hurt the religious feelings of a *policeman*—gentlemen [laughter]. of a policeman, by asking him to resign Government service [laughter]. I have not the least doubt that these men will be condemned, but see there is a provision of law even for protecting a policeman's religious feelings. Take another case. A little piece of stone which some men worship with full intensity—with as much intensity as my own when I say my prayers, possibly with greater intensity than mine—you do not approve of it—you heartily disapprove of it and want to remove it. But can you do it? You cannot. The law gives the man who worships it its protection. Why does it do so? It is not because the man's religion is good but because of the man's feelings. Because the framers of the law say that it is not good religion

that they seek to protect but the man's religious feelings. It is not the objective religion but the subjective feelings of the man too that have to be protected. It is this that Lord Macaulay and others sought to protect the religious feelings of a brother—man, however foolish and superstitious and wrong he may be. It is that you have got to protect and the law provides this protection. But I base my case upon the Queen's Proclamation and the King's Proclamation. So the Judge has got to declare whether these Proclamations have any value in a Law Court or not. That picture [pointing to the picture of King Edward VII] is there to remind the Judge that the has to give us the protection of the King's law. You will take that law from him because you cannot either take the law from me or from my friend there [pointing to the Public Prosecutor]. If you took your law from him you will be in a perilous state, truly a sad plight [laughter]. But in this case, it is not the case of any man's individual opinion or the opinion of a small number of Muslims though you cannot hurt their feelings, the religious feelings even of these. Here it is not a question of a sect but of a religion. No person who calls himself a Muslim can go outside this book [pointing to the Qur'an]. Look at this translation in English. This book is full of repetitions. But you see what a small book it is in spite of its repetitions; altogether it is only about 500 pages. It is this book which constitutes the chief source of our religious laws. I wish to explain this so that there may not be any misunderstanding. You ought to know where my religion is to be found. I do not take it from any individual's beliefs. My religion is all contained in the first instance in this tiny volume. Then come the traditions of our Prophet. But about this original source [pointing to the Qur'an] there is not a single sect of Muslims that differs about a single syllable. Therefore, you will find that here is a solid bedrock of our faith about which there is no difference of opinion. In the case of the Prophet's traditions, even if one of the companions of the Prophet said that the Prophet said so and if that tradition, handed down from his companions, is against or in contravention of anything contained in this book, no Muslim will accept that tradition. We shall not believe anything that is attributed to the Prophet, if it is against the Qur'an. But if it explains it [the Qur'an] or supplements it *adjuvandi causaer supplendi cause*, we may accept it.

There is nothing which is required by a man's religion which can be an offence in British India as long as the Proclamation holds. You cannot in this country ask a Hindu to kill a cow. Before enlisting recruits you have to take people's answers down and you bind them by a certain oath. This is the form [showtng the form] upon which the soldiers are enlisted. People take the oath that they will abide by their pledge. Yet not a single Hindu soldier who takes that oath will kill a cow in spite of all the allegiance that he might owe to the King. Therefore if his officer commands him to kill a cow and the Hindu soldier refuses it, will he be hauled up before this Court? If the commander orders a Hindu or a Muslim soldier to use cow or swine-

greased cartridges—which the Hindus and the Muslims won't touch and refuse to do it—could he be brought before any court of law? The Queen's Proclamation will give him the protection, no matter what your Penal Code might say. So long as what I do is enjoined by my religion, no Indian Penal Code or other penal law can touch me because the Queen's Praclamation is there. As long as the Queen's successor is the ruler, as long as the King's picture is here, you, the Judge, will have to take your orders from the Queen's Proclamation and the King's, otherwise I will know that the whole thing was a camouflage, and that all his talk about tolerance was sheer cant and hypocrisy. Now, in this form you will see there is a question [reads the form '*Are you willing to go wherever ordered by land or sea and allow caste usage not to interfere with your military duty ?*' I take it that every soldier at the time of enlistment has got to answer this in the affirmative and to sign this form. That does not allow the commandant to believe that the religious cammandment is therefore binding on a soldier. Supposing the man is asked to kill a cow by his officer to provide beef for him. The man absolutely refuses that and he quotes Scriptures and Shastras. No section of your Penal Code will ever assist the Judge or the Jury to declare that this man would be punished because he is acting according to his religion. Say that he can be punished, and I sit down. Now, gentlemen, you have to write on every section throughout the Penal Code and every other law, the favourite phrase of the lawyers 'without prejudice,' i.e. 'without prejudice to a man's religion.' You say that there are bad customs like 'Sati' which he cannot allow. Then you should declare the customs which you will allow and the conditions on which you will be tolerant. Even murder is not murder if the man's religion demands it. And the Queen gave the law's protection by the Proclamation to that religion. You say there are many religions and sects in this country. Well, then you should have proclaimed that such and such religions shall receive protection. You should have made it clear that on these conditions alone whosoever wants to live within this Empire will be allowed to live and be regarded as a loyal subject. Whoever did not want to live within the orbit of this loyalty, that man would either have walked out of this Empire or would have kicked you out of it. My friend [the Public Prosecutor] told you that we are very sincere, that we are people who are straightforward. I am thankful to him for this compliment. But he did this for his own purpose and I am going to use it for my purpose now. Gentlemen, you will new understand that we are not the people who are going to be easily frightened into telling untruths to escape punishment if we deserve it on the evidence laid before you. Whatever evidence there is in this case is of a trivial character and I will not worry you about these trivial things. Islam is not going to bother about the evidence regarding the time we left the Kenyashala or returned to it or about the Subjects Committee which was led to prove our association. Association with whom? Association with my brother ! In that case the Public Prosecutor could similarly have given the whole of past history and with his chronological

order should have placed the evidence before you that my brother was present at my birth; that we lived together in the same home ; that he took away my pocket money when we were in school and when I demanded back my money he beat me black and blue [laughter]. This is association! [laughter]. All this, gentlemen of the Jury, is trivial evidence. The main case is, does the Queen's Proclamation give protection to the Muslim religion or not? My whole contention is that if we ask the Muslim soldier to give up serving in the British Army and to refuse to recruit and ask other people not to be recruited and we say and prove that it is to be found in the Qur'an, then we are immune. You cannot punish us. Where the Penal Code is not opposed to the Qur'an, it stands. When the Penal Code is in antagonism to the Qur'an, it does not stand. It must go. That is the whole case. If I am wrong in this, let the Judge decide. I will be content. You, gentlemen, must not take what the Prosecution says about individual opinion as affecting our case, though even in that case we have got to think of the man's religious feelings. I have given you seventeen or eighteen out of the thirty-four *Hadiths* and six verses from the Qur'an cited by Maulana Husain Ahmad Sahib. From these very citations the gentlemen of the Jury and the Presiding Judge may understand very clearly what a Muslim must not do. The Public Prosecutor has talked of verses cited without their contexts. It was to avoid this that I have given long extracts from the Qur'an so that you may be easily able to understand the context. I say, ask any Muslim of any sect, send for any man, even the Court chaprasi, and ask him to say if what I say is written in the Qur'an or not. He will easily point it out for you if he can read the Qur'an, and if he knows Arabic he will explain it to you. There would be no difference of opinion. I challenge the Government,—I challenge the Prosecution to produce any man, to produce any juridical opinion or *Fatwa* to show that what we declared is wrong.

Now, genetlemen, I want to say something about the charges. It is not for you, gentlemen, nor for me, to object to the misjoinder of charges. If I am to address anyone that point, I shall address the Judge. I think I am within my rights if I refer to this. But so far as you are concerned, I may tell you, gentlemen, that any number of sections 109, 117, 120(B), 131, and 505 of the Indian Penal Code have been jumbled together for the purpose of creating confusion—though section 233 of the Criminal Procedure Code lays down that these several charges cannot be joined. Section 233 runs thus *[reads section 233 and 234]*.

The Court. I do not think you should trouble yourself in reading this to the Jury. There cannot be any recasting of the charges at this late stage.

Mohammad Ali. The general rule is that the individuals should be separately tried and the charges should be separately dealt with, because if this is not done it will prejudice the accused and it will prejudice the the gentlemen of the Jury. I do not know why they are jumbled together, but it seems to me that all representing the Crown have criminally

conspired [laughter] so that so many sections of the law have been brought in only to confuse everybody. I do not know whether any of you, genetlemen, have understood them clearly. I did not quite understand what was the first charge, and what was the second charge, what was to go before the Judge and before you as Assessors. It was not quite clear until to-day. When I was being brought here from Waltair, one of the policemen escorting me in the special train asked me with what offence I had been charged. I did not know but told him that my warrant had recited sections 120, 131, 205 and 117. The policeman drolly remarked: 'They may apply as many as they like, for after all they are home-made sctions' [laughter]. I wonder if any of you, gentlemen, have played billiards. Well, there are balls in billiard and you score by hitting your ball in such a way that it hits the other two or hits another and then drops into one of the pockets attached to the table or forces the other balls into these pockets. But sometimes these cursed balls lie on the table in such a manner that you don't know what to do with them to score and this happens infernally or frequently to the beginner. Well, the advice that you will in such a case get from the more experienced is to hit hard and trust the rest to luck [laughter] and, not unoften, one scores. What is called a fluke in your opponent's case and a very difficult stroke, of course, in your own way? [laughter]. Well, gentlemen, that is precisely what the Prosecution has done with these charges. It has hit hard and trusts you and the Judge for a score. Out of so many sections one or two may manage to stick [laughter]. The whole thing, so far as I understand, is that there are two main offences with which we are charged. The first offence is an agreement constituting criminal conspiracy and the second is the attempt to commit an offence [after interruption by the Court], agreement to commit criminal offence which makes it a criminal conspiracy and, secondly, to commit an act in pursuance of that conspiracy. These are the first two charges. Then comes the question of my statement, which was likely to seduce the troops from their loyalty. Then, of course, comes the abetment by the several co-accused. I am told the only thing that will go before you as Jury will be the attempt in pursuance of that conspiracy. But I will take up the first charge first—as regards an agreement. I am not quite sure whether any of you, gentlemen, know that these sections 120(A), and 120(B) were added to the Penal Code not so very long ago and I happened to be present in the Council meeting in which the Conspiracy Bill was passed. I was sitting in the Press Gallery, during the lunch interval, when my old friend Sir William Vincent came into the hall of the Council. I was sitting with a distinguished journalist who has since become a Moderate leader and a particular friend of Government. Sir William Vincent asked me jovially if we two were conspiring. I said to him, "For conspiring an agreement is necessary, and as you know only too well, I never agree with anybody' [laughter]. And gentlemen of the Jury, truly enough there has been no agreement. No evidence has been led about agreement, whether here or in the lower Court. 'It is a matter of presumption,' says the

Public Prosecutor. And it is really upon 'presumption' that they are going to transport me for life—to take me away from my family, to take me away from my girls, to take me away from my wife and aged mother, to take me away from my country, which is still more important to me. And all this on a matter of 'presumption'! Not a single witness comes in to say that there was even a discussion about it. I am not quite sure whether the Judge was filling the gaps in the evidence by asking us questions about this. Anyhow I said in reply that we never discussed the question about the troops. We are told by the Prosecution that the accused knew more than the Prosecution. I think, that is prefectly true. As a matter of fact, the Prosecution knows so very little [laughter] and they pretend to increase their knowledge with the assistance of the inventions of the police. [laughter]. Yes, the accused knew what the Prosecution does not. But have they not put all their cards on the table before the Committing Magistrate?

You, gentlemen, have had a long recitation in this Court when the Clerk of the Crown read my statement made in the lower Court. In that statement I showed very clearly the whole genesis of these prosecutions, and I hope you listened to it very carefully. Well, I am supposed to be a very frank man—we are very frank people, *ex-hypothesi*, you will take it that we are truthful people, also. So far as any agreement to tell the Muslim troops in India—even what the law of Islam is concerned, there was none beyond this resolution before you. But the day a man calls himself a Muslim he is bound to abide by what is contained in the Qur'an. If one single syllable of it I reject, I am not a Muslim. I may be the worst sinner. I may be, no matter however so, sinful I will still be—so long as I do not reject anything out of this book—I will still be a Muslim. But the moment I reject this, however pious or otherwise I may be, I am not a Muslim. And whatever is contained in the Qur'an I am required by the same law of the Qur'an to go and preach to everybody in the world—even to non-Muslims. Take the case of my revered friend here, Maulana Husain Ahmad Sahib. He has been teaching in Medina—he is the disciple of Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan Sahib, the late Shaikh-ul-Hind. It was from the Hejaz that he was arrested and taken to Egypt and then to Malta. He was teaching at Medina for ten years. He taught there the Prophet's traditions. Supposing he sits outside his house and he reads the Qur'an and he reads those very verses that 'Whoever kills a Muslim wilfully will find his reward in Hell. He will abide therein for ever. God will be wrathful with him. God will curse him. And God had prepared for him a severe torment.' Supposing when he was reciting this a Muslim soldier was passing there. Will you say that Maulana Husain Ahmad has committed a crime under section 505, Indian Penal Code ? If you will say this, then why all this tall talk about toleration ? Or suppose a Muslim sepoy came to a mosque ; would the Maulana be a criminal because he recited this verse in the service while that soldier was there ? Take another case, a sepoy comes to him and says' 'Maulana, I want to know what is

the law of Islam : I am required to go to Mesopotamia to fight against the Khalifah ? Is it lawful for me to go there and fight against Muslims ?' The Maulana says it is unlawful and if he says it is lawful, then he becomes a Kafir. If he keeps silent, God will curse him and the whole world will curse him. Therefore he will have to say, 'No, it is not lawful.' It is his duty as religious teacher when a man comes in and asks him what is the Islamic law, to explain to him truly the law of Islam, but if he cannot, for fear of the Penal Code, tell the truth, then the curse of God comes in.

Take another case. The Maulana goes in a train and finds Muslims going to Mesopotamia to fight against other Muslims and the Khalifah or against people who are waging Jehad. The Maulana tells them, it is unlawful, this is not allowed by Islam. The Prophet says, 'Do not become Kafir by killing each other.' Will you give the Maulana no protection of the law ? You may say—well, it is all right for him to say this when somebody comes, and asks him what is the Islamic law, it is all right for him to say so as a religious teacher. But it is not his duty to go to the housetop and proclaim it from there. Then it would be seduction. Then it would come under section 505 and section 177, or for the matter of that 121(A), or 121(B), I say that *even that is intolerance*. Because the qūr'an lays down clearly who will receive salvation and who will not [quotes the Qur'an]. I am quoting that small chapter of the Qur'an in which God swears by the world's history. In that God says—'I swear by the world's history—I swear by all the time that has passed before' that all are certainly in perdition but the faithful who will do good works and tell other people to do the right thing and to have fortitude in case they are not successful.' The four conditions required for a Muslim to win salvation are contained in this, the shortest chapter of the Qur'an. A man's salvation depends upon these : that he must act upon that faith. A man who believes in Islam, says his prayers, gives alms, fasts in the Ramazan, goes to Mecca and does not hurt anybody. Do you think that he will have salvation with only this? No! Because the Qur'an says —the third step too you must take— that you must go and preach those good things to everybody. You must go and propagate these doctrines. You are not born to save only yourself. You are here to save your neighbours as well. Therefore the three things that a Muslim must do are that he must believe, he must act according to his belief, and he must also propagate that belief. If a Muslim says that he believes that killing another Muslim is *haram* and yet goes and kills him, he may not win salvation, But he is nevertheless a Muslim if he really believes that he is Kafir. But suppose he believes that it is *haram* and does not kill another Muslim, he may not yet win salvation if he sits idly and lets others kill him. But if he is not idle and goes and tells other people also that it is *haram*, then too he may not win salvation, unless he persists in his propaganda even if his efforts fail. If he fails in his propaganda and he suffers because of section 505 and section 117 and is sent to jail—what is he to do? He must

show fortitude! He may be hanged, he may be drowned, he may be quartered. But he must show fortitude and perseverance in his mission. Then only will he win salvation and escape perdition. He must not try to change God's law by one single syllable. He must abide by it and face all the consequences.

Gentlemen, it is not such an easy thing to go to paradise and claim the embraces of the Houries By clipping one's moustache and growing a long beard and muttering prayers one does not become a Muslim. He has got to do all those things but he has got to do many other things besides, because we are required to do all these things by our religion. It is not enough that I should not go to war. I have got to go and induce other Muslims also not to go to war to fight their brothers. I shall induce them in every possible way. I must take the rifle out of his hand—but not by force, not by compulsion but by clearly expounding our religious law. We are saved only when we have saved these people from going to fight and kill other Muslims.

Gentlemen, a military gentleman, like Col. Gwyer in this case, went to Bombay. His name is Col. Beach. On the 20th October, so a telegram in the *Pioneer* tells us, this gallant officer who had gone down from Army Headquarters at Simla, met the members of my profession perhaps to seduce them from their duty [laughter]—editors of local newspapers and news agencies in a round table conference and among other things what this military officer said was the following with reference to the arrest of Ali Brothers, though the matter is still *sub judice* [reads from a paper:] 'Referring to the arrest of the Ali Brothers, Col. Beach speaking as a soldier said that it would be worth while asking those who are trying to seduce soldiers to consider for a moment if a soldier who once turns a deserter would be loyal to any other cause to which he was won over.' That was Col. Beach speaking, as he tells you, as a soldier. Well done, Col. Beach [laughter]. Almost sound doctrine and a remarkably good logic for soldier [laughter]. But speaking not as a soldier but as a Muslim, may I ask who is the seducer? Every child born into this world is first a soldier of God and it is men like Col. Beach and Col. Gwyer who are the seducers that seduce him from his first duty and his sole allegiance. May we not equally ask these Beaches and Gwyers if God's soldiers who once turned deserters would be loyal to them and to their cause to which they had been won over? A man's first duty is to his God. The Qur'an tells us that before men's souls were put into their bodies they were asked by God. 'Am I not your Lord?' and they answered in unison, 'Aye.' Well, hang all the souls, gentlemen. There was all the agreement that you need for a criminal conspiracy under sections 120(A), and 120(B), [laughter]. No, gentlemen, it is your Beaches of the Army Headquarters of Simla and your Gwyers of the Western Command that seduce soldiers from their duty. If you have any faith, if you have any belief in God, then your first duty, your prior allegiance is to God. Is it not the duty of Christians who believe in Christ? Is it not the belief of the Hindus? Is it not a Hindu, first duty to obey Lord Krishna?

Still we talk of allegiance to kings, still we talk of loyalty. An Englishman, —not a Muslim but a Christian, Mr. H. G. Wells, wrote a book after the war—a sort of allegory of the whole British nation—I do not know whether any of you has read it. It is called *Mr. Britling sees it Through*, and what does he say? What does Mr. Brittling, who is supposed to be the average Englishman, see through that terrible war? He says that religion is the first thing and it is the last thing. A man who does not begin with it has not lived a true life, has not found the true meaning of the life. His only allegiance—his only duty is to God. He might have the scraps of honour, he may have his fragments of loyalty; but when it comes to the test of loyalty to God—all these fragmentary loyalties, all these scraps of honour, they are like a mere scrap of paper passed through fire that shrivels up and is scattered to the four winds or merely blackens a man's hand as so much dirt. That is what an average Englishman has seen through this war and publicly said. And it is after this war that God's law is be brushed aside for us in India because man's law—120(B), and 131 and 505 and 117—is to prevail over God's law. When I have Swaraj I will see to it that I do not let anyone seduce my fellow countrymen from their true loyalty. But so long as I want to reside in British India, I claim the protection of the Queen's Proclamation. If I were a Hindu I would have said the same thing. What was Christ supposed to have said—[interrupted. The Court rose for the day in the midst of the sentence]. Well, gentlemen, the Court stops me at 'Christ.' I shall tell you to-morrow what Christ is supposed to have said.

[The next day Maulana Mohammad Ali continuing his address to the Jury said :]

Gentlemen of the Jury, I was explaining to you that the Proclamation of the Queen made in 1858—confirmed by the late King Edward in the Proclamation made on the fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's Proclamation and also confirmed by a letter addressed to the princes and people of India by King George after his accession to the throne—gave the protection of the law to His Majesty's subjects in British India with regard to their religious beliefs and religious practices, and I was telling you that was the whole of our case. And that whatever may be an offence according to the Penal Code or for the matter of that any other Code, if any person—be he Hindu or Muslim or Christian—does a thing which his religion requires him to do, then even if that is an offence under the Penal Code or any other law that is enfrced in British India, that law cannot stand in his way and he cannot be punished. The law gives him its protection as stated in these three Proclamations. But it is not his words that you are to take; he has got to prove it that his religion requires it. He has got to explain it. As I have told you yesterday, this trial is really a very important trial because after all the clear issue involved in it is whether God's law is to prevail or whether man's law is to override God's law, whether the Queen's Proclamation has any value, whether the King's solemn Pledge has any value or not, whether the Judge is bound by it, whether

the Jury is bound by it or not. It will not be possible for me to explain my case when the Judge has summed up. I do not know how he is going to sum up. But it is on this point that the Judge's summing up will be of importance. You cannot take the law either from the Public Prosecutor or from me. But at the same time I ask you to understand, gentlemen of the Jury, that if you to-day deny a Hindu or a Muslim or a Christian his right to do his duty to God, to do what his faith enjoins him to do under pains and penalties—though not of this world but of another, a future world—if you do not allow him to do what his religion demands of him to do, then, I say, you yourselves will be a party to the destruction of religious freedom enjoyed in this country and given by the Queen's Proclamation. It is not a question of a particular faith, it is not a question of the Hindu faith or the Christian faith or the Jewish faith. Every faith, even that of a sceptic, even that of an atheist, has to be protected, but the freedom of all these people will be taken away and, I ask you, will you be a party to this? I was telling you yesterday what Mr. H. G. Wells has said in his book *God, the Invisible King*, and also in another book of his, a novel, *The Soul of a Bishop*.

He writes: 'A saying has been attributed to the Master Jesus Christ (on whom be peace), "Render unto Cæsar what is Cæsar's, and render unto God what is God's." ' And then he asks who is the Cæsar that wants to share this world with God? What is Cæsar's that is not at the same time God's? The world is not divided into two parts—one God's and the other Cæsar's. No, there are not the two kings of Brentford. God is the sole ruler. And if the king or any other human creature, be he the head of a republic or the Judge or a member of the Jury, demands from you anything he must demand for God and through God. If they demand from you anything which is against God, then that demand is not to be satisfied. It is God alone whose demand is to be satisfied. This, says Mr. H. G. Wells, is coming to be the universal modern religion. Whether it is that or not, it is certainly the religion of every Muslim. It is not a question of my individual faith, my own whims and idiosyncrasies. I challenge the Government—I challenge the Public Prosecutor to produce any man in this trial—to produce any Muslim who could say that, in spite of what God says.

Therefore, you have got to see to this that every Muslim who lives in British India—anywhere that a Muslim dwells—he is under the protection of the Queen's Proclamation. He is to follow the law of the land but without prejudice to his faith. When we were interned we said the same thing to the Viceroy as we are telling you now. When they wanted to release us from internment, but on certain conditions, that we shall do this and not do the other, we said we shall agree to those conditions, but without prejudice to our faith. Again, as long ago as the 9th July, 1929, we sent a letter through the Superintendent of Betul Jail, where we were confined, to the Viceroy. Therein we said: 'But since Government is apparently uninformed about

the manner in which our faith colours and is meant to colour all our actions, including those which, for the sake of convenience, are generally characterised as mundane, one thing must be made clear, and it is this: Islam does not permit the believer to pronounce an adverse judgment against another believer without convincing proof, and we could not, of course, fight against our Muslim brothers without making sure that they were guilty of wanton aggression, and did not take up arms in defence of their faith.'

This is precisely what in September 1917 we had told the Hon'ble the Raja Sahib of Mahumadabad who had vi ited us at Chhindwara and had referreSd to the possibility of foreign aggression: and he had thereupon wired to Simla to the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah apparently for communication to the Government that he was entirely satisfied about our political attitude. We do not want a change of masters but we do want the speedy establishment of a government responsible to the united people of India, and we hoped we have made matters clear beyond the possibility of any doubt or misunderstanding.

One thing more has to be made more clear as we have since discovered that the doctrine to which we shall now revert is not so generally known in non-Muslim and particularly in official circles as it ought to be. A Muslim's faith does not consist merely in believing in a set of doctrines and living up to that belief himself; he must also exert himself to the fullest extent of his power, of course without resort to any compulsion, to the end that others also conform to the prescribed beliefs and practices. This is spoken of in the Holy Qur'an as *Amr bil-ma'ruf* and *Nahi anil-munkar* and certain distinct chapters of the Holy Prophet's traditions relate to this essential doctrine of Islam. A Muslim cannot say: 'I am not my brother's keeper,' for in a sense he is and his own salvation cannot be assured to him unless he exhorts others also to do good and exhorts them against doing evil. If, therefore, any Muslim is being compelled to wage war against the *Mujahid* of Islam, he must not only be a 'conscientious objector' himself, but must, if he values his own salvation, persuade his brothers also at whatever risk to himself to take similar objection. Then, and not until then, can he hope for salvation. This is our belief as well as the belief of every other Muslim, and in our humble way we seek to live up to it, and if we are denied freedom to inculcate this doctrine we must conclude that the land where this freedom does not exist is not safe for Islam.

Now, this was the first charge we had brought against the Government. 'During the war Muslims have been required, in defiance of their religious obligations,' mark the words, gentlemen, 'to assist Government in waging war against the Khalifah and those engaged in *Jehad*.' And what do you think the Viceroy did? He did not hang us under section 121 for waging war against the King. He did not transport us for life under section 131. He simply got us out of internment and arranged that I should go to England and explain the same Islamic law there to the Prime Minister and to other

members of the Cabinet. But for the same we are now tried for criminal conspiracy ; what is the special offence in our case ? What becomes of the case against the thousands and hundreds of thousand millions of people who are saying the same thing to-day ? Why are they not with us ? I have complained about the misjoinder of charges because too many accused are tried for too many offences. But you have not room enough in this hall—nay in any hall—to try each and every one of those together who say that it is his belief too, that it is his *Dharma* also. As I have said so often, it is not a question of individual belief. I, who lived with Englishmen, who went to England to be educated at Oxford—I who was most friendly with the English people, even I have got to say it because it is a religious duty, even I have got to say that no Muslim should serve in the British Army where he is forced to kill his own brethren for the advancement of unrightousness. I said it then, and I say it now, that it is religiously unlawful. I said it then, I say it now, and I shall say it all the time. It does not matter if I am hanged for it and I hope when I am dead and gone, my carcase will shout out from the grave that it is the faith of the Muslims.

However, I now come to the first charge against us on which you have to sit here merely as Assessors. You have been told and have seen for yourselves that not a single witness was put into the box to prove that there was at any time any agreement. My friend here asked you to take that on presumption. What a presumption ! Are you going to hang us merely for this presumption for which there is not the slightest piece of evidence, absolutely none ?

No man, not a single witness, has said that he ever saw us, heard us or suspected us to be conspiring, agreeing to commit any offence. I was in England in the month of February 1920, and probably on the very day I was interviewing the officiating Secretary of State when a conference was held in Calcutta, in which certain resolutions were passed. That was evidence against me. Persumption has to do duty for proof and any evidence is sufficient to transport us for life. Gentlemen, I may tell you that I knew nothing about the conspiracy. When my brother went to Assam I did not know. I did not know of it until the Public Prosecutor got up and said that he would bring in a witness to prove this. It was for the first time I learnt that my brother had gone there. The rascal! He goes there without my knowledge and I am to be transported for life. That's the worst of being a younger brother [laughter]. But even that is no proof of agreement to commit a criminal offence. You cannot presume that. It must be proved and proved without a shadow of doubt. As for the Karachi Conference, my brother could have got off on the score of not having spoken. But the Public Prosecutor can fill that gap too. In Australia there was a farmer who had a son —and I am afraid—not a very clever son. People, heartlessly, even called him fool, and wherever his father took him, through his folly the father got into a sort of disgrace. Once the father was invited to a feast and the son wanted to go too. But the father refused. He was afraid that his son would speak and would be found

to be a fool and he would be once more disgraced. The son then promised that he would not utter a single syllable. And so his father at last consented to take the fool to the feast. The son went there and sat in a snug corner. Several persons put him several questions but the son did not utter a single syllable in reply. So when a man was putting him another question one of the guests said : 'What is the use of asking this man any question, can't you see that he is a fool ?' The son immediately shouted out at the top of his voice, addressing his father, who was at the other end of the table, 'Father, father, they have found it out, but I did not speak' [laughter]. So the Public Prosecutor too has found it out that my brother was a conspirator at the Karachi Conference though he did not speak [laughter]. The Public Prosecutor has said that we are earnest people. By the same token, gentlemen, we are truthful people. And, although I am not a witness deposing on oath, I say it that there was never at any time any discussion among ourselves about the declaration of Islamic law regarding the Muslim troops serving in the British Army. The Judge put me this question and I said that there was no discussion at any time. Why should there be a discussion about it at all ? Supposing to-morrow we hold a conference of the Muslims assembled together in Karachi and declare that there is no god but one God and Mohammad is His Prophet. Do you think it will be necessary for us to sit together and come to agreement ? The moment that I say that I am a Muslim there is that agreement. But there cannot be any time limit to it. It cannot be only between February 1920 and September 1921 ; of course you know the addition to the period of the charge was the particular gift of my little friend there [pointing to Mr. Ross Alston]. There was no mention of 1920 before the Committing Magistrate. This is 'slight alteration' that my slight friend has made to the charge which means twelve months more added to the period of the charge of conspiracy against us. So, believe me, there was no agreement except the agreement that we are Muslims. Every Muslim the moment he says that he is a Muslim and accepts the example and the precepts of our Prophet Hazrat Mohammad (God's peace and benedictions be upon him), that very moment he agrees to this also, that it is unlawful to enlist or remain in an army which must wage war against and kill Muslims without just cause. And the Resolution passed at the Conference of the Jami'at-ul-'Ulema was nothing new that they resolved and declared. What discussion or agreement was required for the 'Ulema to declare the well-known law of Islam against the killing of Muslims, or to sign a *Fatwa* or juridical pronouncement ? Similarly, what discussion or agreement did the two Muslims, who are our co-accused, need before speaking on the Resolulion here ? They were asked to declare the *Shari'at* and they did it. What related to the army was not a resolution but a declaration of law. But there was a resolution, too, a solemn resolve and determination that if the British Government, directly or indirectly, secretly or openly, takes any hostile action against the Government of Angora, the Muslims of India would be obliged to take to

Civil Disobedience in concert with the Congress and to make a declaration at the forthcoming Congress at Ahmedabad in December of Indian Independence and of the establishment of a republic. Gentlemen, we had provided not only for openly hostile action against Angora on the part of British but also for secret action, not only for direct British action but also for indirect action through the Greeks. Yes, we know only too well our English diplomacy. At Oxford they define Association and Rugby football in this manner : 'Soccer' is a game in which you kick the man if you can't kick the ball. In 'Rugger' you kick the ball if you can't kick the man [laughter]. In England they want to down every other nation and particularly the Turks. But rule like Rugger is that they will fight themselves only if they can't get another to fight their battle [renewed laughter]. Gentlemen, we said that in the event of reopening of hostilities against the Angora Government, it will be our duty in concert with the Indian National Congress, in concert with our fellow countrymen, to start Civil Disobedience and that if this sort of thing goes on, it will be our duty—a duty of tremendous responsibility—the responsibility of declaring absolute freedom and independence of India, to establish an independent republic of India. This was not said in a light vein, as a jest or mare bluff. This was a very serious matter indeed. We knew what we were about. Every mother's son among us may be hanged for it. We could have been shot down instead of being brought down to this hall and having this farce of a trial—the Judge and the Jury and all this paraphernalia—instead of this lengthy circuitous route, there could be a short cut—no prosecution, no Judge, no Jury, but only a firing party at dawn led by Col. Gwyer or Col. Beach and a chatter of rifles and there would be an end of the matter.

However, we did declare this and in consideration of that grave matter we determined that in concert with our fellow countrymen we would do either of these two things or both. The Prosecution, however, is not for that. It is for the earlier portion of the Resolution which is cited in the order of the Government sanctioning the prosecution. But the previous portion of the Resolution is not stated in its entirety. That Resolution says: 'This meeting further plainly declare that according to the Islamic *Shari'at* it is strictly forbidden to serve or enlist in the British Army or to raise recruits.' Therefore the charge is that we declared the law of Islam and the declaration of the law of Muslims, if it is an offence, then, gentlemen, say so, In that case, if you declare the law of Christianity, that too is an offence. The Hindus following their own religious injunction declared the Hindu law, that is also an offence. Therefore a number of men who demand from an Indian soldier that he must not kill a cow will be guilty of agreement to commit a criminal offence, that is to say, they will be guilty, of criminal conspiracy. Now I say if the declaration is an agreement, if to declare the laws of Islam is an offence and we are guilty, then say so. But this is a matter which the Judge has got to decide ; only you will have to give your opinion as Assessors and it would rest with what you think best [laughter]. I think

that is the law in regard to Assessors also [laughter] ; always consult your wife, i.e. the Assessors, but do what you, the Judge, think best [laughter]. Gentlemen, bigamy for an Englishman and a Christian is a crime and even a Muslim can have only four wives. But the Judge in this case has five wives that are to be consulted [renewed laughter]. But the Judge will do what he thinks best. I will still appeal to the Judge because he too has a soul to be saved like ours. I make no appeal to him for my own sake. I do not even appeal to the Jury for myself ; I appeal to them for their own sake and have said to them whatever I had got to say in the matter. You will only decide upon the facts before you and let no man say that any outside influenc was brought to bear upon your decision.

Now, I come to the charge which is before you as Jury. You are the sole judge here. You are 'Monarch of all you survey' here. I would not like you to disagree in your finding. I hope you will agree whether your verdict be for us or whether you come to a finding against us. But let there be an agreement. Let it not be said that the Hindu Jurors came to this finding and the Christian Jurors came to that. Let it not be said that the gentlemen working in the Greek firm of Ralli Brothers gave this verdict and the gentlemen from Forbes, Forbes and Campbell gave that verdict. You should be united. I prefer that you should be united in a matter of grave importance like this. Let yourself be guided by your own conscience because that after all is the basic law of all faiths. You must do the right, you must act according to your conscience. Now, on this matter, I may again tell you, you are the sole monarch and the charge on which you are to give your verdict is the matter of attempt that is under section 131 [reads the section].

The Court. You are charged with being members of a conspiracy which attempted to seduce the troops.

Mohammad Ali. We are charged with being members of a conspiracy, that is to say, charged with having agreed to commit a criminal offence, and in pursuance of that conspiracy, somebody within this conspiracy—some fellow conspirator—attempted these things. It does not matter whether we ourselves have attempted or some other persons have attempted. True. Well, Mr. Ross Alston of Allahabad [the Advocate-General of the United Provinces assisting the Public Prosecutor] gets somebody in Allahabad who gets printed somewhere and gets that someone to reproduce something from the 'Ulema's *Fatwa* although he is perfectly ignorant of the Qur'an. All this has to be carefully done. He gets an ignorant Maulvi to copy it—every Muslim feels and trembles when he has got to copy anything from the Qur'an lest he writes something different and attributes it to God falsely—the Maulvi copies it, gets it published for Mr. Ross Alston—gets it printed in Allahabad or in Lahore; he gets the same kind of envelopes; the letters are posted from different places, but mostly from Allahabad where Mr. Ross Alston comes from [laughter]. And you have got to transport me for life for this. This is the thing which we are supposed to have done. What is the proof? He [the Public Prosecutor] says, this is the proof. A

poet says, 'The appearance of the sun is itself the proof of the sun.' So, in this case too, what further proof is needed? Well, the charge is that these leaflets were sent to Muslim soldiers. That they were posted mostly from Allahabad because some were posted from Cawnpore whence Maulana Nasir Ahmad Sahib, one of the accused, comes, the Public Prosecutor attributed them to him and to us. Well, Allahabad is the place where Mr. Ross Alston comes from, the place from which two C.I.D. officers who have deposed against us come—well, from that can you not have this presumption that it is Mr. Ross Alston who did it? [Laughter]. Well, if this thing [showing the leaflet] is sent round, is it by itself sufficient for you —as men of any sense—you who are practically business men, is it sufficient for you to transport me for life, to take me away from my children, to take me away from wife, to take me away from my mother, to take me away from my country which is dear to me, to take me away from God's work, simply because they were posted mostly from Allahabad ? Is that or is that not the whole offence ? Read it for yourselves. Search for it in the entire record of evidence. If you are conscientious your judgment must be right. You who are conscientious men,—you who cannot kill a gnat for nothing, you are not going to transport six men for life—not six men, for at last we find we are to be seven—our revered friend Jagat Guru Shri Sankaracharya will also go with us Muslims because if there was no evidence against him, it was amply made up after all by the wrath of the perfectly peaceful Public Prosecutor. You saw that *Baresarkar* rage yourself. Not, of course, a real storm, mind you, from such a gentleman but a fairly good and imitation of one—a thing of the proseniuism —something just realistic enough to give us the impression that there was a storm at last with lightening and thunder, hail and wind—all this came from my peaceful and amiable friend there [laughter]. Are you going to commit all of us on the proof that there are certain envelopes and certain officers from the army who received them ? Officers ? Euphemism could go no further. Yes, officers of courage in battle and length of service and medals—and those real medals—not of silver hanging on their breasts, but medals of lead, lead bullets that found billets in their bodies and their breasts—so far as these are concerned, really and truly officers, but yet men who have got, even as veterans and heroes of a hundred battle-plains who salute the merest white tyro, the merest callow youth with hardly a moustache on his upper lip but only girlish peach-down because they themselves are brown and black. These are the people who come before you. They come and present before you these things, and say 'a most terrible thing has happened.' One verse—incorrectly transcribed verse from the Qur'an—was sent to us and even without opening these envelopes we scented that they were smelling gunpowder, smelling of 1857. We rushed to our Officer Commanding and said, 'Sir, save us from Islam ; our feelings are hurt, our religious feelings are hurt. We are being reminded of our religion ; we are being reminded of our God. For God's sake protect us from God!

Does not Queen's Proclamation give us protection? We are being bombarded with the quotations from the Qur'an! We can stand all bombardments but not this.' Is it on this evidence we are going to be transported for life?

But gentlemen of the Jury, I do not want you to save me. I want you to be saved yourselves. This is the only evidence and nothing more—not a jot or tittle more than this. If there was any, our friend (the Public Prosecutor) would have told you. He has got to transport seven for life—a large and long transportation indeed! He took four hours in addressing you—practically a whole day, and thereby earned a day's fee, although his daily fee is perhaps greater than the monthly salaries of all you combined [interrupted].

[Mohammad Ali continuing said] Well, gentlemen, this is the main thing for which you have been sworn in as a Jury and taken away from your work—five of you. Well, wherever you may come from, from Ralli Brothers or Forbes, Forbes and Campbell or the Customs House, you are here for that purpose, otherwise only two gentlemen might have been brought in as assessors, as wives of the Judge [laughter]. You are self-sufficient. You are the sole judge here as a Jury, though there are several other charges—there are sections more than one can number —there are sections 120(B), 117, 505 and so on—for which you act only as assessors. As you may remember, when the policeman asked me when I was being brought to Karachi, under what sections I was charged and I told him of all the charges, he said: Well, they are all home-made sections [laughter] and they can apply as many as they like. So this is the only Jury charge, section 120(B) read with section 131. This is as regards the leaflet containing an extract from the *Fatwa*. It is the Jami'at-ul-'Ulema that signed this *Fatwa*. We are supposed to be very frank people, so we said this in the lower Court as well as in this Court that we were glad that the Jami'at-ul-'Ulema were at last doing their duty. The Jami'at-ul-'Ulema is supposed to be a party to this conspiracy. But the Government is very moderate. It has picked out only three 'Ulema for this trial. The Government is astonished at its own moderation as Lord Clive said of his own moderation. Out of the 500 'Ulema who signed the *Fatwa* only two or three have been brought here. Well, why have not the others been prosecuted? I thought that the 'Ulema who had done this would have been here. It is for the first time in my life that I saw this leaflet here. In fact, it was for the first time in my life a little while ago that I come to know of this *Fatwa* of the Jami'at-ul-'Ulema on this matter though I knew of their resolution in their Conference at Delhi. However, it does not matter if I did not know others who conspired with me did know. That is no protection for me. And I do not seek any. But in this case of attempt in pursuance of the conspiracy I thought the clear conspirators were the Jami'at-ul-'Ulema. Whatever the conspiracy is, the Jami'at-ul-'Ulema is a party to it and I said that at last the association of the 'Ulema was doing its religious duty. But I was immediately corrected by my friend, brother-in-law and

legal adviser, though not my legal representative in this case—Mr. Mu'azzam 'Ali. He said : No, the Jami'at-ul-'Ulema too deny the distribution and printing of these leaflets. So I turned round and said in the lower Court : Well, I am not correct myself, but I hope they will soon convert the forgery into a fact.

But it is the fact, gentlemen, that you have got to deal with facts and not with the forgery. Is it a fact that anybody is a member of the conspiracy who does this ? This is a presumption and not a fact. Well, gentlemen, clear your heads of all these cobwebs woven by the Public Prosecutor. It is nothing but throwing dust—good Karachi dust [laughter] —in your eyes. Nothing more than that.

I now come to section 504 [reads it.]

This is wider than section 131, for I may not even preach to the Imperial Service troops of my own state of Rampur about their religious duty. What would my grandfather who was the 'right-hand man' as Government itself testified, of his master, the then Nawab Sahib of Rampur in 1857, and saved hundreds of Englishmen and Englishwomen at the risk of his own life and save the U.P. Government - what would he have thought of this prosecution of his grandsons for declaring to the Rampur Pathans the law of Islam about sparing the lives of Muslims ? But that is another story. Well, gentlemen, Col. Beach of the Army Headquarters, Simla, and Lord Macaulay have given me my cue [reads] with intent to cause or which it is likely to cause soldiers to disregard or fail in their duty as such. But what is their duty—the first duty of these soldiers which they must not disregard or fail in? When a child is born in a family—if there is any faith in that family—the nurse should not say that a boy or a girl is born, but that a new recruit is born in the army of God. That child must be the soldier of God. That is why the primeval souls were asked this question by God : 'Am I not your Lord?' and they said 'Yes.' Gentlemen, I am tempted to recite a verse - a verse of my own - a poor thing but mine own—as Touchstone said, Cinna the poet was killed for Cinna the conspirator, when Cæsar was murdered and the crowds had become mad through Mark Antony's rhetoric : 'No, no, I am not Cinna, the conspirator, I am Cinna the poet.' But they said, 'Then kill him for his bad verses, [laughter]. Gentlemen, don't transport me for life for my bad verses' I address my own fellow countrymen, my own coreligionists and I say to them—you are being reminded of your duty, you are being reminded of your allegiance, you are being reminded of yor loyalty, you have given to Government before your God and man—you are being reminded of your honour and you are asked to be faithful [recites a verse]. Kindly carry out that first pledge that you gave to God while your are about it. You are loyal people. A little more loyalty will not be amiss. Can I not say to the Jury—if these people are not true to their God, can they be true to their King—[pindrop silence prevails in the house]—the God that gave them everything, life, honour, faith, loyalty itself—the God that has given them—the King ! If they are not true to their God, they cannot be true

to their King. I say God before everything—God before loyalty, God before King, God before patriotism, God before my father, mother and child. That is my faith. Hang me if you like. But having done that, gentlemen, you may commit suicide yourselves also, because then you would have murdered your own souls. You may walk and sit and stand and work. But your bodies would only be moving carcases without souls, fit carrion, to provide food for the crows.

Gentlemen, it is the Government, it is they who want to seduce God's soldiers. We want to bring them back to their pristine loyalty. The law says that in any case there is an exception: 'It does not amount to an offence, within the meaning of this section, when the person making, publishing or circulating any such statement, rumour or report has reasonable ground for believing that such statement, rumour or report is true.'

The Court. Read out the whole section, Mr. Mohammad Ali.

Mohammad Ali. I will, sir. I will not leave out one jot or tittle. The Government will have its pound of flesh. In the case of Shylock, they allowed him only the flesh, but they would not let him take a drop of Christian blood. But you can take that too from me, full measure and overflowing.

That exception requires that you establish the truth of the statement or give reasonable ground for your belief in its truth and that made it 'without any such intent as aforesaid.' 'There is no god but the one God and Mohammad is His Prophet.' Is that my statement ? No, it is the creed of all Muslims. It cannot be an offence to declare that creed even if it is likely to 'seduce' a man from his allegiance to a king or government that demands obedience from him in matters involving disobedience to God. Is it an offence to say so? The next offence is asking ten persons or more to commit a similar offence. But for that too the first question is the question of statement. Whose statement ? It is not my statement; it is the statement of God. It is a declaration based on the law of the Qur'an. It is well known to every Muslim who understands the Qur'an. It is not a matter of my own opinion.

Now, I want to show what a man is required to do when he joins the army, what is and what is not his duty as a soldier [reads]. Mark, gentlemen, the question is 'Are you willing to go wherever ordered by land or sea and allow no caste usage to interfere with your military duty?' 'Will you do anything which is against your faith?' or 'Will you have any objection when you will be asked to commit a sin ?' or 'Are you willing to go to hell by land or by sea?' [laughter]. There is no question like that. The Public Prosecutor asked me —he said to me, if somebody believes in human sacrifice and your child is demanded, you will be the first to seek the protection of the law. In any case, as a non-co-operator in these days, I do not want to seek the protection of the law : neither do I believe that there is any sect that can demand such a sacrifice from other people. The only sect that can demand human sacrifice of other people's children is the sect of the militarists. They demand it, their

Moloch of greed demands it, their Moloch of Imperialism demands it, their greed for dominion demands it, they want that on the high seas—on God's big broad oceans, whenever a foreign ship passes one of theirs, it should dip its flag in recognition of the fact that England is 'the mistress of the seas.' It is these people who want such human sacrifice.

The Judge asked me, 'but what about the thief? Do you want that the thief's hand should be cut off?' I said if the Government was an Islamic government, I would require this of it. I would have the adulterer stoned to death too, though adultery is no offence in English law. My bargain as a Muslim with an Islamic government is different from my bargain as a Muslim with a non-Muslim government. From non-Muslims I do not require that they should do anything for me, except permit me to hold my own religious opinions and act up to them with impunity. My religion can impose its obligation only upon me and not upon others. There is an obligation upon me, to tell God's own truth that it is religiously forbidden to join the British Army and to fight a Muslim without a just cause, and that it is unjust to kill a brother Muslim at the bidding of the Government, which is next to infidelity. The Prophet said the last thing that he said collecting all the people who had gone to the pilgrimage together, some 175 thousand people assembled together at Mina, and the Prophet asked, 'What day is it,'. . . [interrupted].

The Court. I would ask you to stop. Never mind about the Prophet.

Mohammad Ali [indignantly]. I must mind about the Prophet. I think you should withdraw that.

Shaukat Ali. Blasphemy and impertinence!

Mohammad Ali. You must withdraw that. You must make amends. I have got to mind about the Prophet. I have to take a man's life who insults the Prophet.

The Court. You must stop. You cannot go on.

Mohammad Ali. I am doing what the law allows me. The law says that I am not to seduce troops from their duty. I say it is not a part of a Muslim soldier's duty to kill a brother Muslim. And I am here entitled to argue this till eternity. So long as I want to explain my position I have this right. Take away this right and end this farce. What is the use of this farce? Take out a shooting party and shoot us out of hand, or if you prefer to keep up this farce of a trial try us after our death, as Lord Nelson once did. I say that no man is required to go against his religion—military duty does not inculcate this.

The Court. It is irrelevant.

Mohammad Ali. I have not yet done with section 505 and have not even touched the charge under section 117 against me. I have not said one word about that. Am I to be punished without saying one word about it.

The Court. I will not give you the right of speech.

Mohammad Ali. I am explaining what my religion says—I have given it in my statement in the lower Court. It is perfectly relevant.

The Court. Sit down.

Mohammad Ali. Will you show me a single sentence in your law book

that the Judge has the power to take away that right? You have already taken away one of my rights by not allowing me to make a statement before the Prosecution addressed to the Jury. Your own Bombay High Court says that and the Public Prosecutor agrees. I do not know if the Judicial Commissioner of Sind has laid down another law. Now, you are going to stop me again from addressing the Jury. You can object to a particular part of my address. You can say—do not say this. But I cannot understand how you can stop me altogether by saying that you will not allow me to say anything more. [The Court kept on saying 'Sit down, I won't hear you.']

Mohammad Ali. I am explaining that it is not the law, that it is no part of a Muslim's duty to go against his religion. Have I not got to prove that this statement contained in the resolution is a true statement and not a false statement? It is relevant.

The Court. It is not relevant.

Mohammad Ali. Do you think that you are authorised by law to take that right from me? The law says it does not amount to an offence within the meaning of the exception again.

The Court. . . . and.'

Mohammad Ali. Never mind about 'and.' I am arguing that it is a true statement. I am not yet arguing about the intention.

The Court. I do not want to hear you.

Mohammad Ali. It is for the Assessors; at any rate you cannot take away the Assessors' right. They will have to give their opinion about this whether I am guilty or not. It is according to law. And the law says this [reads again]. I cannot take your word for it. I cannot really I cannot take any man's word as. against the clear provision of the law.

The Court. Argue your case.

Mohammad Ali. It is not your case that I am arguing [laughter]. Well, gentlemen of the Jury—[interrupted].

The Court. I do not want to hear you.

Mohammad Ali. You may not hear me as you have done on many other occasions. You have slept through a great deal of evidence that was being read out. You may sleep now. But I have got to address the Jury.

The Court [with apparent anger]. Will you sit down?

Mohammad Ali. If I don't?

The Court. I shall put you in custody.

Mohammad Ali. Do!

[The Superintendent of Police was here called to make the accused sit down but retired without touching him, leaving him standing

The Court directed the Serishtadar to call accused No. 2, Maulana Husain Ahmad Sahib. The Serishtadar approaching called out, but Maulana Husain Ahmad did not utter a single word or budge an inch.]

Mohammad Ali. [not minding this interruption]. Now, gentlemen of the Jury.

The Court. Do not interrupt the Court.

Mohammad Ali. I am not interrupting the Court. Rather you are interrupting me. I have got to argue regarding this exception. I have got to deal with this. Take away the charges under sections 505 and 117 against me if you can and I shall stop.

You have got the power to amend the charge up to the last.

The Court. I cannot allow you to discuss religious law here.

Mohammad Ali. There is no question of religious law. I am arguing about the law of the land, as you call it. I have got to show to the Assessors that this declaration of statement contained in the resolution is true because it is based on the Qur'an and the Hadith.

The Court. There is no necessity of it.

Mohammad Ali. It is I who have got to consider the neccesity, not you. You had no right to stop the Prosecution witnesses. You could not have stopped them unless you said that their evidence was inadmissible. You did not stop the Public Prosecutor. He was to prove what he thought was necessary. But you will not allow me to prove what I think is neccessary; to prove that it is a true statement of Muslim law that I laid down, that is *haram* to serve in the army. I have got to prove that from the Qur'an and the Hadith, material or immaterial, I have got to do it from the Islamic law, I have got to take my law from the Qur'an and from the King. The King gives me protection for following the Qur'an's law in those Proclamations. That is the King's law. If you do not obey that, then why is the King's portrait over there [pointing to the portrait of King Edward hung upon the wall]. I have got to take my law from this King. I have got my statement based on the King's law. I do not want to create a scene. I am not here for that purpose. I have not shown disrespect to you even though I could not show any respect to the Court as part of Government. I don't want to be obstinate and cheeky. But I cannot have my right brushed aside.

The Court. But you take so much time.

Mohammad Ali. Yesterday, you sent me word that you will give me half an hour more to-day to discuss the supremacy of religious law before I come to the legal point and the facts of the case. I have already finished with that. I say that religion was to be an exception in every case. Now, dealing with the law of the land, section 505, I have got to prove that it is religiously forbidden to serve in the army, that it is a true statement and therefore I come under the exception to section 5 5.

The Court. Suppose it is accepted that is a true statement.

Mohammad Ali. Let the Assessors accept it. Let them give it to me in writing. Will they give it to me that this is considered to be proved ? Tell me that this is proved—that my statement is true. I will go on. Then I will not argue one word more about it. Ask the Public Prosecutor whether I have got the right or not.

Public Prosecutor. We admit that the passages cited in his statement before the lower Court are in the Qur'an.

Mohammad Ali. I want you to admit more than that. I want you to admit that this statement for which I am charged under section 505 is in accordance with the Qur'an and the Hadith.

Public Prosecutor. We can't admit that.

Mohammad Ali. If you won't admit I have got to prove it. Supposing a Christian is charged for making a statement of his belief in God the

Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost. He says that he has got to prove that that is the Christian belief and a true statement. He says, 'I will show it from the Bible, I will show it from the Epistles - I will show it from the Gospels—I will show it from the Prayer Book. Will he not be entitled to do that? Will I, a Muslim, be a fair judge? Do you think it will be fair of me not to allow him to prove that this is a correct statement of the Christian Trinitarian's faith?

The Court. [nodding his head]. Sit down.

Mohammad Ali. I cannot sit unless you admit that my statement is true. I should like to say one thing. I really do not want to be obstinate. I do not want to be needlessly importunate, out of sheer cussedness and ill-will against the Court. I do not want to show any disrespect to you. This does not tally with any part of my character as an accused person or as a non-co-operator. But at the same time I want to stand on my right.

The Court. You are wasting the Court's time.

Mohammad Ali. I am not wasting anybody's time. I just want to convince the Jury that the statement is a true statement.

The Court. It matters not.

Mohammad Ali. It matters a great deal to me. It matters much so far as I am concerned. It matters a great deal to prove to the gentlemen of the Jury that this is in accordance with the Qur'an and Hadith and that I did not fabricate it. I may have made a false statement. Supposing I commit a rape and I come in before the Court and I say that my religion allows it. You can say, 'Show it to me from your religious law.' You will not take my word for it and you will have to allow me to prove it. What is it after all? I am not asking for protection for a murder that I have committed. I am not asking for protection for arson that I have committed nor am I seeking protection for loot. Loot becomes sacred when the Army Commander orders it. Murder is no murder when the Army Commander commands it. In my case, too, when the Qur'an commands, murder is no murder. So when I referred to the Qur'an you can say 'Show it to me.'

The Court. Suppose we admit it for argument's sake.

Mohammad Ali. I want it to be admitted for all purposes. I may not argue one word about the intention. Gentlemen, I am not speaking in my defence. But I must prove this was a correct statement. I had the same difficulty with my friend Mr. Montague, who said, 'Far be it from me, Mr. Mohammad Ali, to intervene in a discussion about your religion.' I said to him, 'Please do. Let us discuss it.' And I was actually in tears before him when I told him it is no pleasure to me to be against his Government. He respected those tears. I explained the religious law about the Khilafat and the Jazirat-ul-Arab and he had to listen. I had to explain my religion to Mr. Lloyd George also and to some other members of the Cabinet and they had not said they had nothing to do with the Qur'an.

I want to prove that this is a correct statement and you must not take away my right to prove it. Will you allow it?

The Court. If you will only do it

in a very short way. [The whole house burst into peals of laughter at the Judge's relaxing at long last.]

Mohammad Ali. [to the Court]. Why did you not say so before ? Of course, I will do it in a short way—in fact in a very short way.

Gentlemen, I do not know whether a man is exempted or not in the army from observing his caste usages. This form includes merely a question about them and we do not know what happens to the intending recruit who wishes to observe them. Dante wrote in his *Inferno* and Milton quotes it in his *Paradise Lost* also, that this legend is inscribed over the gate of hell : 'Whosoever enters here must leave all hope behind.' So it should be written over the portals of the British Indian Army: 'Whosoever enters this must leave all faith behind.' On a famous occasion the German Chancellor had said : 'Necessity knows no law' and those who execrate this lawless doctrine are being punished as law-breakers. What we want is that Government should be straightforward and honest go to the Army apparently with their about it. At present people eyes shut. We ask that they join the Army knowing very well that their religious law and its obligations on them will not be respected, but would be sacrificed to the Moloch of military exigencies and that one Queen's Proclamation and two Kings' Proclamations will afford them no protection, nobody will then blame the Government. All the sin would be those people's who knew all this and yet joined the army. But what is it after all that Islamic law demands to-day ? For what offence does it seek the secular law's protection ? Not for human sacrifice ! I do not say, 'Shoot your officers—kill them.' No, on the contrary, I demand that they be not guilty of the human sacrifice of their Muslim brothers—of fratricide. When you took them to fight the Germans on the outbreak of the war, I did not say, 'Do not fight with them.' I do not say, if there is disorder in Karachi and Muslims are rioting that Muslim soldiers should not go and stop that. In this form [showing the form of enlistment] all sorts of questions are asked. The form says, 'the following nine questions' but there are really fourteen and not nine questions in all [reads all the questions]. I do not know what happens if he says he is unwilling to be vaccinated or even to be revaccinated—as some Hindus may well do on account of the vaccine or lymph from the cow. The solemn declaration of the intending recruit only says that the answers are true and that he is willing to fulfil the engagements made without explaining what they are. But let us presume that he has expressed his willingness to be vaccinated and to go wherever ordered by land or sea and allow no caste usage to interfere with his millitary duty and that these are the engagements. But whereas the fifteenth question, which should have been : 'are you willing to do anything you are ordered and allow no religious commandment to interfere with your military duty ? Are you willing to forgo your religion ?' Where is such a question in the form? If the man says, 'Yes,' then it is all right, and if he refuses, you can chuck him out. But you don't ask him this question, you dare not do that—seducing from duty. As I have already said, we are teaching him his first duty—that his first duty is to God and the

second duty is to his country and his king. Gentlemen of the Jury, the Proclamation came, as you know, after the greased cartridges affair and the Mutiny, and it was to repudiate precisely this unlimited connotation of military duty that it was issued in 1858. But what is the tearing with one's teeth of greased cartridges or eating a whole pig compared to the sin of killing a Muslim ? I have already stated in my statement in the lower Court and I repeat it that if a man is threatened with death unless he consents to take pork, he may not only take it but must and if he is killed on account of refusal to do so, he dies a sinner. In like circumstances he may even declare that he is a *Kafir* if he continues to be a believer, at heart, though it is preferable not to do so, and if he is killed on account of refusal, he dies a martyr. But, in like circumstances, he must not kill or dismember another Muslim but patiently submit to be killed instead. And you dare not ask a Muslim to touch cartridges with pigs' grease as part of military duty since your experience of 1857 and the Proclamation of 1858 and yet you call it part of military duty to kill Muslims which is far worse than eating pork and worse even than outward apostasy. The absence of such a question as I have suggested means that the Government understood what it would lead to. We consider it a part of duty therefore to remind the Muslim soldier of his duty to God, to demand from a Muslim that he must carry out his God's law. That is not seducing him from doing his duty in the army and, in any case, he need not desert or fail in his duty but appeal to Government through his superior officers that such duty as is against his religion may not be required of him. There is, therefore, neither a likelihood nor an intention of seducing a soldier from his duty as such.

Gentlement of the Jury, I am not anxious to get off. I am not anxious for my defence. I make no defence whatsoever, though I had to explain the law of Islam to you and explain the bearing of that on the position we have taken up. I have not cross-examined witnesses nor produced evidence on my own side. But I want you, who are mostly my countrymen, though co-operating with this Government, to consider this. You will find that in the history of the world many celebrated trials havetaken place and many great people have been declared guilty of many offences. In English history itself even poor Joan of Arc was killed for a witch. But with what result ? Her golden statue stood before my hotel in France and while I was there the Catholic Church led by the Pope and the College of Cardinals canonised her, and what did the successors of those who had burnt her do. Why, the British army joined the French in honouring her memory and in placing wreaths on her statue. I was present at such a scene. George Washington was a wicked rebel in the time of George III. What is the verdict of the British Government today ? He is the greatest patriot !

I should like to address a remark or two particularly to the solitary Englishman on the Jury. Englishmen are not bound to follow the majority of their countrymen, particularly in unrighteousness and injustice. Believe me, throughout English history

it has been the minority that was mostly in the right, and at any rate it was the minority that began great and good movements. A great cause had never been started in the world's history by the majority. It was not Pilate that was crucified. It was Christ (God's peace and blessings be on him). Pilate was the judge who pronounced the verdict against Christ! But who pronounces the verdict now and who will pronounce it hereafter? On the last day—the Day of Judgment, it is God who will pronounce the sentence on Pilate who did not know what was truth, and ask that famous or infamous question so cynically. But where is Pilate now? Who ever remembers him—the great crucifying judge, except for Christ's crucification? Now, to millions of human beings Christ is the Saviour. But who am I, an humble individual, to compare myself with Christ, I who am not worthy even to take the dust off the feet of Christ! But as the poet has said :

> Weakness never need be falseness,
> Truth is Truth in each degree,
> Thunder pealed by God to Nature,
> Whispered by my soul to me.

And in the thunder peals of British howitzers the still small voice of an humble man's soul has whispered into his ear this little bit of truth — God's eternal, everlasting soul-sustaining Truth—that he must not stand by and see Muslims being slaughtered by Muslims in spite of God's clear law, but must preach against it and propagate God's Truth, unshaken by fear of man and untroubled by mundane consequences.

Gentlemen, take another case—the case of the martyrs of Karbala. The Prophet's grandson had only seventy-two men and Yazid's army had thousands and they killed him. He was then in a small minority. But for thirteen hundred years the mourning for that vile deed—the deed of the Government in power—has been going on. Every Muslim mourns for Husain—Husain the victim, and not for Yazid the proud victor, and many Muslim cities have a quarter just outside known as Karbala, while not a trace of Yazid's grave can be found anywhere. So, gentlemen, do not think of the consequences of your verdict to-day or to-morrow, but of its ultimate consequences here to human freedom and hereafter, in another world. And you have got to judge for yourself. Ralli Brothers cannot judge for you. Forbes, Forbes and Campbell who objected to a small white Gandhi cap cannot judge for you. Mr. Lloyd George cannot judge for you. God on His Judgment Day will ask Lloyd George about his soul, not about yours, and he may have much to answer for. God will ask you about your individual soul and none of others. And if as a Hindu you believe only in punishment in this very world through the cycle of transmigration of souls, you must remember that, according to your belief, God's judgment will be visited upon here and not hereafter and you will be judged the moment your soul quits its abode in your body and seeks another. Whatever your creed, your *Karma* is your own, the final judgment does not rest with you any more than with the judge there but with God, the Lord of all the worlds.

Gentlemen, I have taken much of your time, far more than I had intended to take or would have taken

were it not for being constantly interrupted and stopped. But, as I said at the very outset, had it been a case of my individual defence or of all of us accused together only, I would not have argued at such length and with such persistence. I do not seek to avoid punishment for the jail is the gateway to India's freedom. Had I sought to avoid the entire Prosecution and to prove my case according to the canons of this very law, the so-called law of the land, I could have cross-examined the witnesses and torn their evidence to shreds. I was really tempted to do that in the case of Col. Gwyer with his enlistment forms and his 'soldier's duty as such.' I think I may say this though I do not pretend to be a big lawyer like my friend the Public Prosecutor or his little assistant. Nevertheless, the case is so hopelessly weak that it could not keep us shut up in the jail for a day even if the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England himself, better known as Rufus Isaacs, K.C., had his Government's brief. But although a non-co-operator and therefore debarred from my duty as such to defend myself I had to speak up when the Viceroy indulged in his hill-top *obiter dicta* on a matter which he knew and admitted was *sub judice*. He said that this was no case of an attack on Islam or religious interference. What could be a more flagrant case of both ?

If the tallest poppies are to be cut off for unfolding Islam and its laws and you ask those who remain what is your opinion about the law of Islam, which only means your turn next if you dare to tell the truth 'and you cut off their heads too if they still dare, the result may well be that there will be none to stand up and oppose your will. And then you will say, 'We interfere not with your faiths.' If this is non-interference, you can enjoy the self-complacence induced by such boasts of toleration. But that is not all. We are asked to look at him—the tallest poppy of the Israelite garden in England – as upon a certificate of British toleration. But, gentlemen, I cannot imitate the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England and Viceroy of India. His law is a law unto him and my law is a law unto me. The example of his people, if I may say so without offence, is constantly mentioned in the Qur'an for the Muslim to avoid and take heed from. According to the Qur'an, after Moses (on whom be God's peace and blessings) had brought the Israelites safely out of Egypt and they had been delivered from the tyranny of Pharaoh, they were asked to march on to the Promised Land. But they said, 'It is ruled by giants, we shall never be able to enter it so long as they are there,' and they said to Moses, 'Go thou and thy God, and fight them—we are the while sitting here.'

Well, gentlemen, that's not an example that I am asked to follow in the case of my holy land. So far as I am concerned, the Qur'an is my law, giants or no giants, and I shall fight when my God demands it of me and shall not rest, nor ask Him to fight the giants Himself. And if I am to be hanged for it—for it is not section 120(A) or (B) then, but 121, waging war against the King, gentlemen, I will still say that this is my law and that it is right and even my carcass hanging from the gibbet, will say the same ! Do not therefore

think of saving me, gentlemen, from transportation for life. But if you have a God and if you have a soul to save and you have faith, you will decide according to your conscience. You are not to consider whether you are servants of a particular company of the Greek firm of Ralli Brothers—or Forbes, Forbes and Campbell—of the Customs Office—you are to think nothing of that, but only of this that you are slaves and servitors of God. Gentlemen, this is the one important matter. So just according to your conscience—it is not to save me but to save yourselves. When the Judge had said, 'I cannot allow this,' and wanted to stop me, I said to him—'then why not stop this farce and hang me outright.' Well, he smiled and replied that it was only a matter between him and me, but also between him and the public and I had replied that the public had already given their verdict within this hall and also in the streets where they crowded in their thousands and cheer us going and coming and the old women in spite of their *Purdah* come out—as my own mother had done since this trial and make signs to us indicating that they want to take off our troubles. Well, gentlemen, my defence is before my God and my fellow countrymen. Here we are now at the bar of this Court as prisoners and accused persons. But when before the judgment-seat of God, the Judge, the Jury, the accused, the Public Prosecutor and his assistant, the King himself—everybody is assembled and God asks, 'Whose is dominion to-day'—what will be your answer ? You will say, 'Thine Kingdom ! Thine the Dominion.' You pray now, 'May thy Kingdom come !' But, gentlemen, His kingdom has come. God's kingdom is here even to-day. It is not the kingdom of King George, but God's and you must decide on that basis and I must act on that assumption. That is why I say I will follow the law of King George so long as he does not force me to go against the law of my God. I have no personal malice against him, I have none even against the Judge here, nor against the Government. Not a single instance of that can be quoted from my public speeches. No, gentlemen, we must act from motives of public good, not of private malice. Once the Prophet's son-in-law, cousin and successors, Hazrat 'Ali was enraged against a Jew who had insulted Islam and the God of Islam and the faith of Islam, and 'Ali had jumped on top of him. The Jew thought that he was going to be killed and in sheer desperation spat on 'Ali's face. You have seen, have you not, a vessel full of milk on the fire and about to boil over, and you have seen how it subsides the moment a little cold water is poured in. The Jew's spitting acted just in that manner and, strangely enough, the wrath of 'Ali subsided at once and he left the Jew and walked away. But the Jew was so atonished at this unexpected turn of events that he ran after 'Ali and caught hold of him and said, 'This is very strange. When I said a word, you forced me down and would have killed me, and when I spat on your face in desperation, you leave me!' And 'Ali answered: 'You insulted God and I could have killed you, but when you spat on me I got enraged on my own account, and personal ill-will could not go well with public duty. I could be an executioner for the sake

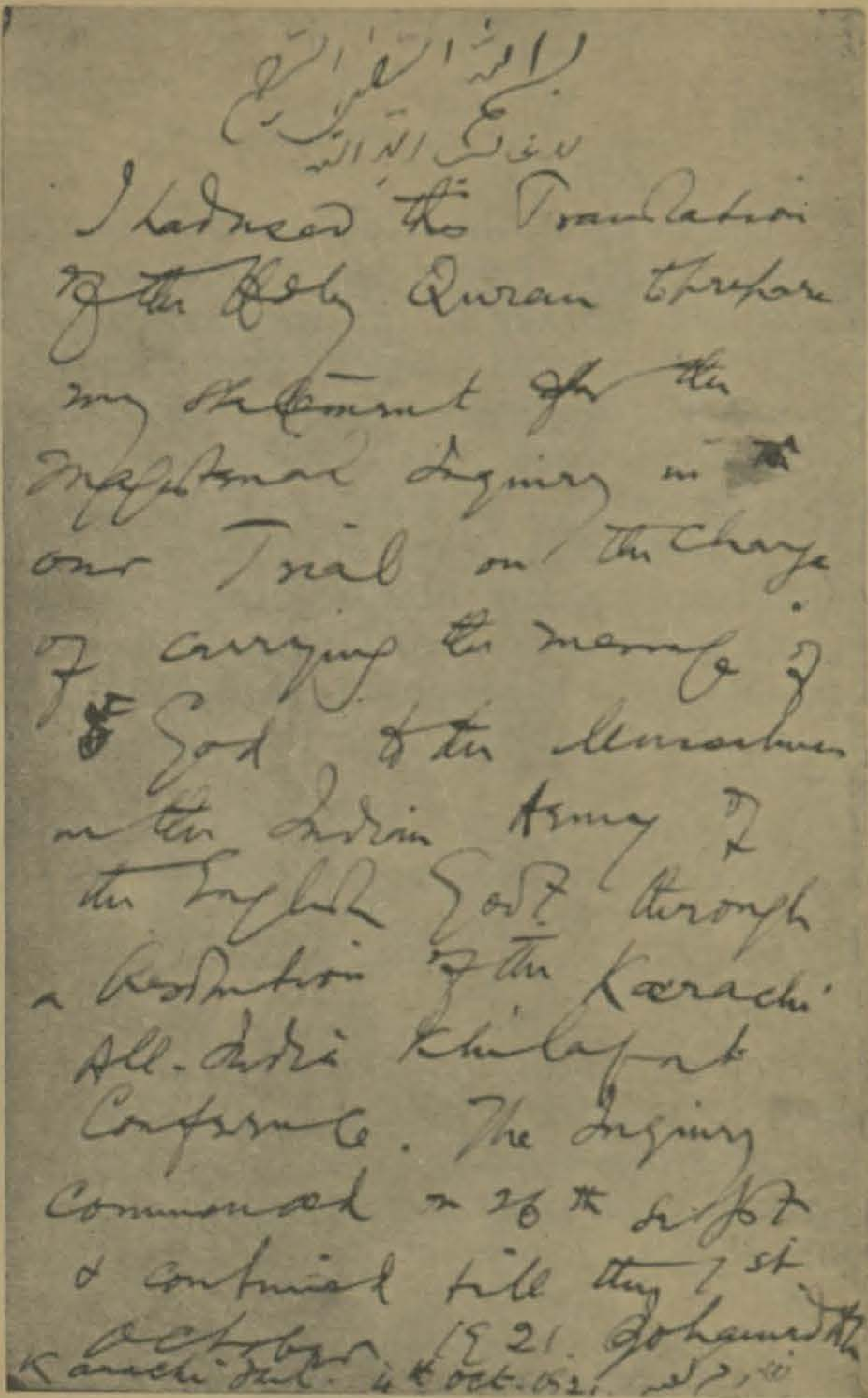
of God but not a murderer for 'Ali. Gentlemen, we two bear the revered name of 'Ali and I have also the name of another, even greater than 'Ali. I will not be a party to the killing even of a gnat for personal malice but for the sake of my God I will kill all. I will not spare anyone—I will slaughter my own brother, my dear aged mother, wife, children and all for the sake of God, so help me God! [And as he said this his voice failed him, drops of tears rolled down his cheeks and he sat down completely overcome.]

Maulana Mohammad Ali used Rodwell's translation of the Holy Qur'an throughouthis Karachi Trial. The above lines were written by him on its fl-leaf.

This copy of the Holy Qur'an bears the signature of Mr. Fida Husain Quetta-walla who was an old worker in the national cause and held a distinguished place in the civic life of Karachi. The Anjuman-e-Traqqi-e-Urdu Library on Strachan Road was established by him. The presumption is that the Maulana must have presented this copy of the Qur'an to him which later on, somehow or other, found its way to the Central Book Depot, Bunder Road, Karachi. How it happened is an enigma which cannot now be solved after the passage of so many years.

Mr. Abdul Kadir Brohi, the well-known advocate of Pakistan, once happened to pay a visit to the Central Book Depot and there he found this gem. He at once purchased it and presented it to his friend, Mr. Badr-e-Alam Durrani on 16th October 1946 with these words: 'On account of the great veneration, respect and love you have for the late Maulana, no one else deserves this present better than yourself. So I present this precious gem to you which I have bought from the Central Book Depot, Bunder Road, Karachi, to-day.'

This copy of Rodwell's Translation of the Holy Quran, now forms part of Mr. Badr-e-Alam Durrani's private library in Ashiana-e-Adab, Ghari Yasin, District Sukkur.



I had need the Translation
of the Holy Quran to prepare
my statement for the
Magisterial Inquiry in
our Trial on the Charge
of carrying the message of
God to the Mussalmans
in the Indian Army of
the English Govt. through
a Resolution of the Karachi
All-India Khilafat
Conference. The Inquiry
commenced on 26th Sept
& continued till the 1st
October 1921. Mohamed Ali
Karachi Jail. 4th Oct. 1921.



Prisioners (Ali Brothers in the Karachi Central Jail)



From Jail to Court

THE LION ROARS

MOHAMMAD ALIS' SPEECH AT THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE HELD (19 NOVEMBER 1930) IN ST. JAMES'S PALACE, LONDON

میں حضرت سودا کو سنا بولتے یارو
اللہ رے اللہ رے کیا زور بیاں ہے

Mr. Chairman, may I exercise the privilege of the invalid and remain seated? My friend, Dr. Moonje, has explained his position as to how he has been called a traitor to his country. I think we are bracketed together here again. As he knows very well, on the day when he and I were to depart from India black flags were to be flown to wish us Godspeed, and the wishes of people with whom we had been working all these years were that the boat 'Viceroy of India' might prove very unseaworthy. Even when I came to this country one newspaper in England which I have helped to stabilise financially—I am very glad to see it has a million sale to-day—the *Daily Herald*, published my photograph and called me a convert—I suppose a convert from patriotism to treachery. There is in Parliament, besides the Conservative peer who spoke yesterday frankly and sincerely, another very conservative gentleman, who was my tutor, my professor at Oxford, Sir Charles Oman, and it is from his history that I quote one short sentence which formed the subject of one of the questions asked us in the Indian Civil Service Examination, for which I appeared and failed: 'The Saracen alone it was impossible to convert.' I do not claim to have in me Aryan blood like all the white people here and Dr, Moonje. I have the blood in me which my Lord Reading—who sent me to prison—has perhaps running in his veins. I am a Semite, and if he has not been converted from Zionism, I too am not converted from Islam, and my anchor holds. I am the only person belonging to my party who has been selected by His Excellency the Viceroy, or the Government of His Majesty here, or whoever it is who has appointed these wonderful delegates. Whose delegates we are, we do not know. I do not pretend to represent anybody: but I will say this much, and I feel certain that when you have heard me—I hope patiently—you will say that I am right in my claim, that at least I am not misrepresenting myself, and I think that should be enough. In politics there is too much misrepresentation even of oneself.

In reply to Lord Peel, I will only quote to him from an English poet as I did when we were going through the lobby. I said, 'I hope your Lordship is a Conservative and will remain a Conservative, because the only definition that I read of a Conservative was in Tennyson, who said:

"He is the best Conservative
Who lops the mouldered branch
away."'

I think those ideas which Lord Peel expressed, very sincerely and frankly, really represent the mouldered branch which should be lopped away. This is my only answer to him. As regards the other conservative, our own Prince from India, namely, His Highness the Maharajah Sahib of Rewa, I am not quite sure about his conservatism. If he takes Burke to be a Conservative, and quotes him at the end of his speech, I would say: 'Be a Conservative and sick to it,' for, quoting Burke, His Highness said, 'Small minds and large empires go ill together.' If the British Empire—call it Empire, call it Commonwealth of Nations, whatever you choose to call it, I do not care—if the British Empire desires to remain big, the small minds that have been visible and audible only too long must disappear. If you had followed Burke, you would not have lost America, and you would not be talking of parity to-day in building warships. There should be much more talk of charity. And you would not have all those debts to pay. You would not have all that worry. You would not have to go so often to Geneva to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. How long that preparation is going to take, heaven only knows. All these things came in because you forgot your greatest politician, your greatest statesman, who was the man who, in the House of Commons, was called the 'dinner bell,' because when Burke got up to speak, you all left and went to the dining room. You still do that to people who are like Burke, and I therefore say—and I quote him once again—'Men, not measures.' I do not care what constitution you prepare for us, but all would be well if you have got one man in England who is a real man—

> 'Oh God ! for a man with heart, head, hand,
> Like some of the simple great ones gone
> For ever and ever by.
> One still strong man in a blatant land,
> Whatever they call him, what care I ?—
> Aristocrat, autocrat, democrat —one
> Who can rule and dare not lie.'

I hope my old friend Mr. MacDonald will at least prove the man to to rule, and that he would not dare to lie to his own Party, to his own conscience, to his dead wife, and to his living country ; and if you people of all parties assist him, as you should, I assure you we will make history. But even more than I trust my old friend Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, I, a republican, make this confession, that I place my trust in the man—I call him a man, because 'a man's a man for a' that'—who inaugurated this Conference in the Gallery of the House of Lords, whose name is George. Whether you call him His Majesty or whatever you call him, he is a man ! He knows India better than any of his Ministers, past or present, and I am looking up to him to do justice to the 320 millions who constitute one-fifth of the whole of humanity, and I am strengthened in that belief by the wonderful patriotism shown by the Princes arrayed over there, the conservative element in India. It must be a revelation to my Lord

Peel and to my Lord Reading ; it is no revelation to me. I am again a unique person. While I am a British subject—though I was yet being excluded from the Indian Civil Service Examination because they said I was a 'natural born British subject'—provisionally they admitted me, till evidence from my mother came in, and they finally admitted me—I happen also to be the subject of an Indian State, and probably in that respect too I am a unique person in this Conference. I was born in a State ; I have served in that State. I have served in another State, Baroda—my master, the Gaekwar, is here ; I ate his salt for seven years —and when I was dying two years ago it was an Indian Prince, His Highness of Alwar, who sent me at his own cost his own doctor here. When I was supposed to be going to die once more at Simla, it was a Prince, whom I was once about to begin to teach as a private tutor, the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal, who exercised the truest hospitality—which the British are not yet exercising—he turned his guest-house into a hospital for me. The British will be extending their hospitality to me in the letter as well as they are doing in the spirit, if they make me a free patient in every hospital that there is. When I was sent to Simla to the hospital I made a judicius separation between two fiances, a lady on one side and a military officer on the other, who were to be married very shortly. I occupied a room between them ! Both were ailing. The lady asked our doctor, when she saw a strange-looking Indian coming into the European quarters, 'What is this old man ailing from ?' The doctor said, 'Ask me rather what the old man is not ailing from.' A man with my dilated heart ; with my approaching and recurrent blindness through retinitis ; with my once gangrened foot, with neuritis—this huge bulking foot through oedema ; with albuminaria ; with diabetes, and the whole long list that I could give you if Colonel Gidney would not think I was becoming his rival as a medical man, I say no sane man with all these ailments would have travelled seven miles. And yet I have come seven thousand miles of land and sea because, where Islam and India are concerned, I am mad, and as the *Daily Herald* puts it, I am a 'convert' ; from a 'rebel' against the Government, I have become a 'traitor' to my country, and I am now working 'with the Government.' I say I can work even with the Devil if it is to be, like this work, in the cause of God.

I hope you will forgive this long introduction about my ill health and ailments and all sorts of things, but the fact is that to-day the one purpose for which I came is this—that I want to go back to my country if I can go back with the substance of freedom in my hand. Otherwise, I will not go back to a slave country. I would even prefer to die in a foreign country so long as it is a free country, and if you do not give us freedom in India you will have to give me a grave here.

I begin with the Conservatives by thanking them. When I met Mr. Baldwin at the dinner which the Government hospitality provided for us, when I was really very ill and ought to have been in bed, I was watching for the cherrywood pipe,

and, thank God, it came out. So I went up to Mr. Baldwin, and I said, 'In two ways you have made history. Although a Conservative belonging to a party of the so-called idle rich, you have at least been human enough to establish this rule, that where only Coronas could be smoked after dinner an honest man could now bring out his shag, put it into a cherrywood pipe, as I used to do at Oxford, and smoke it.' But, as I told him, he has done another historic thing also. He has sent out a Conservative Viceroy of the type of Lord Irwin! If any man has saved the British Empire to-day, it is that tall, thin Christian! If Lord Irwin was not there to-day, heaven only knows what would have happened. At least I would not be the 'convert' I am supposed to be. We should not have been at this Round Table. It is for the sake of peace, friendship and freedom that we have come here, and I hope we shall go back with all that. If we do not, we go back into the ranks of fighters where we were ten years before. They may now call us traitors to the country. You may then call us rebels or outlaws. We do not care.

I have said something about His Excellency Lord Irwin, but I do not wish to associate all that with his Government. They have woefully mismanaged things. The only good point about their Desppatch is that it has provided us with another 'historic document.' The Simon Commission's Report is not the only document we have to consider. The Despath is a most disappointing document. The best thing we can do after it is to create our own 'historic document' here. The best hearts and the best brains of two big countries are assembled here. Many who ought to have been here are still in gaol in India. Mr. Jayakar, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and I tried our hands at peace-making between the Viceroy and Gandhiji, but we failed. I was the first in the field, but failed I hope we shall not fail when we go back to our country this time, carrying with us the substance of freedom.

Lord Peel said, 'Oh, yes, but when you go back to your country with a constitution such as you want, those people who are not co-operating will wrest it from your hands.' Wrest it! When I can fight the British I can fight the Indians too. But give me something to fight for. Do not let me have to take back from here a charter of slavery and then expect me to fight my own people. I could not do it, and if I tried to do it, I should fail. But with freedom in our hands I would gladly go back to those in whose name my friend, Mr. Jayakar, spoke. He claimed to speak for Young India. I think he knows that, although I am older than him in years, I am a younger man in heart, in spirit, in temperament and in love of fighting. I was non-co-operating when Mr. Jayakar was still practising in the law-courts. Anyhow, he was not in gaol with me. My brother and I were the very first to be sent to gaol by Lord Reading. I bear him no grudge for that, but I want the power also, when Lord Reading goes wrong again in India, to send him to gaol.

I have not come to *ask* for Dominion Status. I do not believe in the *attainment* of Dominion Status. The one thing to which I am committed

is complete independence. In Madras in 1927 we passed a resolution making that out goal. In 1928, in the Convention of All Parties, the adoption of the Nehru Report Constitution was moved, the very first clause of which was about Dominion Status. Even my old secretary, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congress to-day, was kept down by his father. There is a Persian proverb which says: 'Be a dog, do not be a younger brother.' And when you see my big brother over there, 'seven feet by five,' as Colonel Wedgwood called him, you can well believe, I believe, in this Persian proverb. In the case of Jawaharlal I would say, 'Be a cat, do not be the son of your father.' For it was his father who, as President of the Congress, throttled poor Jawaharlal at Calcutta in 1928. Well, I got up in his place, when he could not speak for complete independence, and I opposed the clause dealing with Dominion Status. But in 1929 I would not go further like Jawaharlal and make it my creed, because once we make it our creed in the Congress, we cannot admit anybody into the Congress who does not hold that creed. I liked to keep the door open for negotiation. I would not like to slam the door in the face of anybody. His Excellency Lord Irwin, a Conservative, was 'the man on the spot.' And he was sufficiently impressed by what he saw on the spot and came here. When we come to London we hear that everybody is appealing to 'the man in the street.' Whether 'the man in the street' is ever heard or not, I do not know; but Lord Rothernmere and Lord Beaverbrook and everybody else always talk about 'the man in the street' as the final court of appeal. In India it is always 'the man on the spot.' Well, 'the man on the spot' came here and he talked to the leading 'man in the street,' who is presiding here. I am sure he preached to the converted. The brought round Mr. Baldwin also; they brought round some Conservatives; they brought round everybody they could, and made the announcement that Dominion Status was meant, when in 1917 they said 'Responsible Government.' That cleared the fog which had been created in a very memorable meeting of the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1924 by the officer in charge of the Home Department at the time, who I am glad is present here to-day.

As I said two or there days ago, India has put on fifty-league boots. We are making forced marches which will astonish the world and we will not go back to India unless a new dominion is born. If we go back to India without the birth of a new dominion we shall go back, believe me, to a lost dominion. We shall go back to an America. Then you will witness, not within the British Commonwealth or the British Empire, but outside it, with the Indian Princes, with Dr. Moonje, with Mr. Jayakar, with myself and my brother, a Free and United States of India. It will be something more than that. As I wrote shortly after leaving Oxford long years ago, in India we shall have something better than an America, because we shall not only have a United States, but we shall have United Faiths.

'Not like to like, but like in
difference;

Self-reverent each and reverencing each ;
Distinct in individualities,
But like each other, e'en as those who love.'

It is with these passions surging in our hearts that we have come here. It now depends upon our Conservative friends, upon our Radical friends, upon our Labour friends, and still more upon the one man whom I trust more in England than anybody else—His Majesty King George, the grandson of Victoria the Good, whose love for India nobody dare deny. Her whole life was the Magna Carta of India, and in her grandson's time history will be written again like this: 'George III lost America, George V won India!'

We are told that there are difficulties. It is said, 'Look at the States.' But I come from the States, and I know they present no difficulty whatever. 'Then there is the Army.' Well what about the Army ? It is the biggest indictment against Great Britain that the Army is not ours to-day, and if you ever use that excuse of the Army you will condemn yourselves out of your own mouths. Let me tell you frankly and honestly, but in a friendly way, that your greatest sin was the emasculation of India.

I am glad to hear my friend, Dr. Moonje, say, 'Hear, hear.' I was very sorry to hear him talk about our people being fired upon and therefore running away for a time and then coming back. We have 320,000,000 of people. When they can afford to die in millions from famine and from plagues, surely they can afford to die from British bullets too. That is the lesson which Gandhiji wanted to teach us, and that is the lesson which we must learn now. In 1913 I was in this country when Gandhi was leading his movement in South Africa. Mr. G.K. Chesterton presided over a meeting in the Essex Hall, and he called upon me to speak. Other speakers had spoken of Gandhi's new philosophy. I said, 'Please, understand one thing about that. Whether it is his philosophy or Tolstoy's, Jesus Christ's or mine, it is the universal human philosophy.' Nobody wins in a battle if there is merely the will to kill. You must have the will to die even before the will to kill. In India we have not the power to kill, but the moment we develop the will to die, numbers will tell. 320,000,000 of people cannot be killed. There is no mechanisation for which you can find money to kill 320,000,000 people. Even if you have got that mechanisation, even if you have got the *materiel*, you have not the *morale* (or *immorale*) to dare to kill 320,000,000 people. We must have in us the will to die for the birth of India as a free and united nation. And this we are fast developing. When this has been fully developed, what can you do ? I do not for a moment imagine that you could find in all England a hundred men so hard-hearted and callous as to fire for long on unarmed and non-violent people ready to die for the freedom of their country. No, I do not think so badly of English soldiers.

The real problem which is upsetting us all the time has been the third problem—the Hindu-Muslim problem, but that is no problem at all. The fact is that the Hindu-Muslim

difficulty, like the Army difficulty, is of your own creation. But not altogether. It is the old maxim of 'divide and rule.' But there is a division of labour here. We divide and *you* rule. The moment we decide not to divide, you will not be able to rule as you are doing to-day. With this determination not to be divided we have come here. Let me assure every British man and woman who thinks of shaping our destinies that the only quarrel between the Hindus and the Muslims to-day is the quarrel that the Muslim is afraid of Hindu domination and the Hindu, I suppose, is afraid of Muslim domination. [Dr. Moonje on this devied that Hindu was afraid.] Well I am very glad to hear that. In my country the she-buffalo attacks only when she is afraid and whatever the reverence of the Hindu for the cow, I am glad he has never the fear of the she-buffalo. I want to get rid of that fear. The very fact that Hindus and Muslims are quarrelling to-day shows that they will not stand British domination either for one single minute. That is the point to grasp. British domination is doomed over India. Is our friendship doomed also? My brother took service under the Government and served it for seventeen years, but he did one thing for me. He sent me to Oxford. He was always taunting me in the non-co-operation days by saying: 'You have a soft corner in your heart for that place called Oxford.' I must admit that I had. I spent four years there, and I always carry with me the most pleasant recollections of that time, and I want to keep that feeling. I do have a very soft corner in my heart for my Alma Mater. But I can taunt my brother, too. When he was being tried at Karachi—when the jury let us off, and there was a British juryman among them, they voted for our release because we were such a sporting lot—my big brother said: 'Even if it becomes my duty to kill the first Englishman I come across, if he happens to have blue eyes, my knife will not work, because I shall think of the eyes of Theodore Beck, my late Principal at my old College, Aligarh.' There are several Aligarh Old Boys here, and they can bear witness to the fact that we who were brought up at Aligarh by Beck could never be without a soft corner in our hearts for Englishmen. Therefore, even if British domination is doomed—and it must be killed here—do not let us kill British friendship. We have a soft corner in our hearts for Great Britain. Let us retain it, I beseech you.

One word as to the Muslim position, with which I shall deal at length on some other occasion. Many people in England ask us why this question of Hindu and Muslim comes into politics, and what it has to do with these things. I reply, 'It is a wrong conception of religion that you have, if you exclude politics from it. It is not dogma; it is not ritual! Religion, to my mind, means the interpretation of life.' I have a culture, a polity, an outlook on life—a complete synthesis which is Islam. Where God commands I am a Muslim first, a Muslim second, and a Muslim last, and nothing but a Muslim. If you ask me to enter into your Empire or into your nation by leaving that synthesis,

that polity, that culture, that ethics, I will not do it. My first duty is to my Maker, not to His Majesty the King, nor to my companion Dr. Moonje; my first duty is to my Maker, and that is the case with Dr. Moonje also. He must be a Hindu first, and I must be a Muslim first, so far as that duty is concerned. But where India is concerned, where India's freedom is concerned, where the welfare of India is concerned, I am an Indian first, an Indian second, an Indian last, and nothing but an Indian

I belong to two circles of equal size, but which are not concentric. One is India, and the other is the Muslim world. When I came to England in 1920 at the head of the Khilafat Delegation, my friends said: 'You must have some sort of a crest for your stationery.' I decided to have it with two circles on it. In one circle was the word 'Indian'; in the other circle was 'Islam,' with the word 'Khilafat.' We as Indian Muslims came in both circles. We belong to these two circles, each of more than 300 millions, and we can leave neither. We are not nationalists but supernationalists, and I as a Muslim say that 'God made man and the Devil made the nation.' Nationalism divides; our religion binds. No religious wars, no crusades, have seen such holocausts and have been so cruel as your last war, and that was a war of your nationalism, and not my *Jehad.*

But where our country is concerned, where the question of taxation is concerned, where our crops are concerned, where the weather is concerned, where all associations in those thousands of matters of ordinary life are concerned, which are for the welfare of India, how can I say 'I am a Muslim and he is a Hindu'? Make no mistake about the quarrels between Hindu and Muslim; they are founded only on the fear of domination. If there is one other sin with which I charge Great Britain, in addition to the sin of emasculating India, it is the sin of making wrong histories about India and teaching them to us in our schools, with the result that our schoolboys have learnt wrong Indian history. The quarrels which are sometimes visible in our streets on certain holidays or quarrels the motives of which have been instilled into the hearts of our so-called intelligentsia—I call it unintelligentsia—by the wrong history taught us in our schools for political purposes. If that feeling, which writes 'Revenche' so large over the politics of certain people in India, existed as it does, and if it existed to the extent which it does to-day, and the Muslims were everywhere in a minority of twenty-five per cent and the Hindus were everywhere in a majority of sixty-six per cent. I could see no ray of hope to- day, but thanks to the jerrymandering of our saints and our soldiers, if there are provinces like that of my friend Dr. Moonje, in which I am only four per cent, there are other provinces where I am ninety-three per cent, as in the province of my friend Nawab Sir Abdul Qayyum, for which we demand equal freedom. There is the old province of Sind, where the Muslims first landed, where they are seventy-three percent; in the Punjab they are fifty-six per cent, and in Bengal fifty-five per cent. That gives us our safeguard,

for we demand hostages as we have willingly given hostages to Hindus in the other provinces where they form huge majorities.

I want you to realise that for the first time you are introducing a big revolution into India; for the first time majority rule is to be introduced into India. In the days of Lord Rama there was no majority rule, or he would not have been exiled. The old Pandu and Kuru rulers, who gambled their kingdoms away, did not have majority rule; Mahmud of Ghazni and Akbar and Aurangzeb did not have majority rule, nor did Shivaji; when Ranjit Singh ruled in the Punjab, he too did not have majority rule; when Warred Hastings and Clive ruled India, they did not have majority rule; and even in the days of Lord Irwin there is no majority rule. For the first time in India we are going to introduce majority rule, and I, belonging to a minority community, accept that majority rule, although I know very well that if fifty-one people say that two and two make five and forty-nine people say that two and two make four, the fact that fifty-one say that two and two make five does not cause them to make five. Still I am prepared to submit to majority rule. Luckily, however, there are Muslim majorties in certain provinces, and with the federal form of government which is suited to India, not only for the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem, but is essential for the sake of the Princes also, this is in our favour. The centrifugal and centripetal tendencies are so well balanced in India that we are bound to have a federal system of government there, not as a distant ideal, as the Government of India says, but to-day, now, this minute. We shall leave this Conference only with federation established in India, with new treaties made with the Princes, with the consent of the Crown and the Princes.

I sometimes hear it said that nothing can be done without the consent of the Princes. No, Your Highnesses, we, Our Lownesses, will do nothing without your consent. But when, at the end of 1857, the powers of the East India Company were transferred to the Crown, nobody ever thought of asking for your consent. There was not so much as 'By your leave.' Your relationship with the Crown was established merely *ipso facto*, but it was with a family of Kings and Queens who were really good people, many of whom worshipped their conscience as their king, and it is that which gives us hope.

One more word and I have done. I wish to say just this about the Army. I am giving away a secret in regard to the Army now. When ten years ago, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught was sent out to India to open the Indian Legislatures, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and myself were invited by our late lamented dear friend C.R. Das, whom our eyes seek in vain to-day at this Table, and who would have brought Motilal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi also to this Table had he been alive to-day, for he was a man of imagination. Gandhiji and I were putting up together at the guests of Das, and I was acting as Lord Chamberlain to Mahatma Gandhi. Any number of people were coming to see Mahatma Gandhi and to touch his feet—I wish he had had the feet

of a centipede, but even then he could not have coped with the thousands who came to touch his feet—and in trying to satisfy them and spare Gandhiji, too, as much as possible, my life was a misery. Amongst these people I saw ten or twelve tall, turbaned men, not in uniform, but looking and dressed very much alike. I thought they were members of the C.I.D. from the Punjab. My belief, after my arrest and internment in 1915 on the report of a spy neighbour, is that there is no place where God and the British C.I.D. are not present, so that whatever I say and whatever I do, I say and do in the belief that God Almighty and the British spy are equally omnipresent! I went up to these supposed British spies, and I said: 'What can I do for you? I have been doing a lot for the C.I.D. by way of sedition and I should like to do something more.' They said: 'We do not belong to the C.I.D.; we belong to the Army.' 'Then what,' I asked, 'are your doing in this seditious house?' They said: 'We have come to pay our respects to Mahatma Gandhi; we belong to the escort that has been brought from Poona for the Duke of Connaught.' I said, if they wanted to see Mahatma Gandhi, I would take them in straightaway. Mahatma Gandhi asked them whether they were interested in Swaraj, and they said: 'Yes.' Out of respect for the British Indian Army, I will now stand up and repeat their words. Gandhiji said to them: 'Are you interested in Swaraj, you who belong to the Army, and who have been brought as an escort all the way from Poona because they cannot trust the people of Bengal, their first Presidency, for the safety of the Duck of Connaught?' They said, 'Only the other day our Colonel on parade told us laughingly something about you, Gandhiji, saying, "Do you know that *bania*, Gandhi, wants Swaraj for India?" and he laughed, and asked us: "Do you also want Swaraj?" Of course he expected we would all say, "No, sir," but the regiment very quietly said, "Yes, sir, we also want Swaraj for India." Then the Colonel, who was terribly shocked, asked them why they wanted Swaraj, and they told him that when they were sent to fight in Europe, even when they saw Belgian soldiers coming back after a defeat, these soldiers would pull themselves up and proudly reply to anyone who asked who they were, "We are Belgians; we belong to the Army of Belgium." Sometimes the French came running back but if anybody asked them who they were, they drew themselves up and replied with pride that they belonged to the Army of France. It was the same with the British; but these men said that, even when they had won and had saved the French coast at a critical moment in October 1914, when anybody asked them who they were, they could not say with equal pride that they belonged to the Army of India; they had to say. "We are British subjects. We belong to the Army of the British Sirkar." Now these men said that they too wanted to stand upright and be able to say, "We belong to the Army of India!"' I tell you this is the fact, God's own truth, about the Indian Army. You take a plebiscite of the Indian Army, God Almighty being present, and the British spies, of course,

being also present, but some of us also being present, and you will find that we know more than anybody else on that subject that India will defend herself to-day if you honestly want her to do so.

The Government of India Despatch goes further than Sir John Simon's Report and says that the Army should not be under the control of the Government of England but under the Government of India. There are three Members of the Government of India the pigment of whose skin is the same as mine, and in some cases even darker. Two of them were my stable companions in England as students, and the third also studied here at that time. If these people can control the Army, why cannot Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as Prime Minister of India? Why cannot Sir Mohammad Shafi or Mr. Jinnah be Prime Minister of India, and control the Indian Army? Or why cannot even a humble man like myself or my big brother become the Commander-in-Chief of India? I have no doubt exhausted your patience, but I can assure you my speech has been, so far as I too am concerned, both exhausting and exhaustive. I now take my seat and I hope I shall not be called upon to speak again in the Plenary Conference until you announce, Mr. Chairman, that India is as free as England.

A LETTER FROM DEATH-BED

THIS LETTER WAS DICTATED FROM HYDE PARK HOTEL, LONDON, ON 1ST JANUARY 1931, TO MR. R. MACDONALD, PRIME MINISTER OF ENGLAND

نزع میں بھی ترے وحشی کو رھی زلف کی یاد
گرچہ اک رنج گراں باریٔ زنجیر بھی تھا

I am far too ill, as I said in my opening speech in the Plenary Conference, to have come to the Indian Round Table Conference, and the work and more particularly the worry through which I have been passing have without exaggeration nearly killed me as my doctor would tell you. On the 19th of December I fell unconscious and remained so for more than twenty-four hours. While mypulse was 140, my temperature was only 97 and went down to 95 and my respir ation was 30, yet my desire for doing the work which had brought me here was so great that I invited the Lord Chancellor to breakfast at 8 o'clock that *evening* believing it to be the *morning*. He very kindly came the next day, but my brother allowed him to interview me only for ten minutes, and even in that short time it was with great difficulty that I could express myself.

It is with a desire to place my views on record before His Majesty's Government and before the British Parliamentary delegates as well as the Indian delegates (who to some extent already know my view) that I have solicited the favour of your kindly sending me my old friend Sir Geoffrey Corbett of Chhindwara fame to be present when notes could be taken down of what I said on the subject of my views about minorities.

In the first place it is a misnomer to call the Hindu-Muslim question a question of minorities. There are certainly minorities in India, and we must provide for them in such a way that they should feel that the future government of India is not going to be a government only for one or two communities, but the government of all Indians irrespective of creed and caste. Nevertheless, the one hitch in the way of the recognition of India's responsibility with a government of her own is the question not of these minorities but the deep-seated differences that divide the Hindus and the Muslims. The fact is so obvious that I need not go into history, nor even present statistics, but I wish to emphasise one or two points which will distinguish the case of Hindus and Muslims from the case of the minorities. First of all, the Muslims ruled over India from the beginning of the eighth century to about the middle of the nineteenth, in one way or another, and in one region or another, which no other community can claim in the same manner. The Sikh rule for a generation in the solitary province of the Punjab, the result of an accident—I say this without any derogation of the valour of the Sikhs and of the high respect I feel for their organisation as a Panth—nor the depredations

of the Mahrattas and their confederacy, are any parallel to the history of the Muslims in India. Whether by conquest or by diplomacy the Muslim rule had passed finally from the hands of the Muslims to those of the British, barring of course the rule of the Indian States, many of which remain from time immemorial great and distinguished Hindu principalities tracing their origin even from the sun and the moon. Whatever the relations of the Muslim power as suzerain or as the paramount power to these Hindu States, there is not the least doubt that they retained not only for the most part a deep feeling of loyalty towards the Muslim power, but also a degree of independence which they have more recently lost since the transference of Muslim power into British hands. Other States are, of course, the creation of the times during the break-up of the Mughal Empire which have been recognised by the British. Some, like Hyderabad, were large powers at the time of the original treaties than the East India Company of which they became faithful allies and others were smaller, but which that I am not at present concerned. What I desire to sketch is that rightly or wrongly the Muslim community ruled over India in one way or another from the eighth to the middle of the nineteenth century in some part of the country or another anything that no other community has and like that record.

A very important result of that which we have to deal to-day is the feeling created by the record of Muslim rule for so long over so large a part of India. There is hardly a community that has not a real or an imaginary grievance against the old Muslim rulers and what we know of human nature elsewhere brings it home to us that even to-day there is a feeling of 'revanche' harboured against the Muslims in the minds of some Hindus and some members of other communities whether Sikh or Mahratta or Rajput. It is with this feeling that we must deal, and against which we must provide safeguards for the future when framing a constitution for an ideal Indian Government in which all would feel safe, equal and free.

The next consideration is that the Muslims constitute not a minority in the sense in which the last war and its sequel have habituated us to consider European minorities. The League of Nations deals with minorities and our Indian savants and professors easily borrow maxims from the League of Nations and its dealings with minorities and with mandates and want to guide India from Geneva when in reality it is India itself that can provide far better guidance for Geneva. A community that in India alone must now be numbering more than seventy millions cannot easily be called a minority in the sense of Geneva minorities, and when it is remembered that this community numbers nearly 400 millions of people throughout the world, whose ambition is to convert the rest of mankind to their way of thought and their outlook on life, and who claim and feel a unique brotherhood—to talk of it as a minority is a mere absurdity.

Keeping these two main facts in mind let us now proceed with the problem that we have before us. It was proposed by a member of the Hindu Mahasabha in the Round Table Conference delegation that the

Prime Minister should act as an arbitrator between the two communities, which was no doubt very flattering to the Prime Minister, but which would have made his position far too invidious, and he naturally declined the offer with thanks, and I feel certain that he must have seen through the motive that prompted the suggestion. We have heard suggestions of the matter being referred to the League of Nations. That would mean washing the dirty linen of India before the whole world. As it is, we are disgusted with the fact that the Indian Round Table Conference has been made the *Dhobi Talao* (the washerman's tank) of Indian communalism. This question should have been settled in India. We who worked for ten years through thick and thin with Gandhiji pressed that upon him, but the desire of retaining Hindu popularity for himself and for Pandit Motilal Nehru (who, I am sorry, is absent) prevented a settlement. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru tried his utmost to have a Hindu-Muslim settlement when the Congress at our urgent request in December 1928 failed to do so and Sir A.P. Patro was most keen. But the Hindu Mahasabha pretended to share this desire with the Liberal Hindus and the Muslims at first and after postponing meeting after meeting absolutely refused to take any part in the Conference at Bombay and Dr. Moonje was quite frank about his refusal to do anything to arrive at a settlement in India before the Round Table Conference. The Congress followed the Hindu Mahasabha in refusing even to come to the Round Table Conference for a settlement when a settlement was inevitable before an Indian constitution could be framed. But three members of the Hindu Mahasabha nevertheless came over and, in spite of every effort of Muslim and the Hindu Liberals, have defeated the settlement so far. It is not for me to say how much time they have usurped in all these conciliatory talks both among the Hindus and Muslims themselves and with the Prime Minister. I think the Prime Minister can judge that better for himself. Now that a formal committee has been formed for this purpose, it is essential that the case for a settlement should be clearly stated.

In the first place, I would like with the greatest courtesy and friendliness to warn the Prime Minister that it is not a case of the Punjab or Bengal, as he seems to imagine, nor of reducing the figure of 110 in the Punjab to 100 or anything like it, as he seems to think when he was making his conciliatory efforts at the Chequers. The entire question is, as I suggested in my speech in the Plenary Conference, that for the first time in the history of India we intend to introduce into India majority rule, and those who have been usurping the control of the destinies of those called Hindus for so many thousands of years do not want that there should be any majority Indian or Hindu except that which they can control precisely as they have controlled the Hindus for thousands of years. Let me add that there is one important difference. Sir John Simon is somewhat out of the date when he refers like the late Sir Valentine Chirol to Brahman rule. The Brahman had at least taught the people and had at least the mistaken notion that he brought salvation to people in the

next world. The small monopolistic caste that desires to remain in control of the destinies of the Hindu community and that being the majority community of the Indian nation as a whole through it,—is the case not so much of Dr. Moonje and Raja Narendra Nath, but of the *bania* who has no conception of the salvation of anybody in the next world, nor even of the teaching of anyone in this. I am more anxious than any Indian perhaps to get rid of the foreign incubus, if I may be forgiven to say so, of 'a nation of shopkeepers' controlling our destinies. But as I wrote to His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to the invitation of His Majesty's Government to me to this Conference, I do not wish to create a home-made incubus of a caste of shopkeepers of our own. To my mind most of the agitation to-day is being financed—and partly for selfish reasons by the *banias* of Bombay and Gujerat, and although I have always laughingly said I do not care a tupenny damn for one-fourth or one-sixth the fight to-day is not so much for the freedom of India as for one-fourth against one-sixth. This may be entirely justi fied but it is not the fight for India's freedom in its larger sense.

Now to deal with the Hindu-Muslim problem. It is not a provincial question. In every province Hindu and Muslim sentiment *vis-a-vis* each other is more or less the same. The Muslims lost the control of India nearly three generations ago and the British gained it mostly from the Muslims, though to some extent from the Mahrattas who were the Mayors of the Palace in Delhi and partly from the Sikhs in the Punjab whom the British themselves encouraged to rule there against the Muslims because of their own war with Afghanistan. Now India wants to regain that control, and the Muslims, as we showed ten years ago, have not been lacking in self-sacrifice for this purpose. To-day some Muslims are still taking part in the Congress movement, but they are men who are doing it more out of the habit of freedom than otherwise. Many have kept away from the movement of Civil Disobedience as they had kept away from non-co-operation ten years ago, even when Turkey was involved in the question. Without exaggerating our own importance we can say that it is not these people, many of whom have been selected as delegates to the Indian Round Table Conference by His Majesty's Government or by the Government of India, or by Local Governments and officers —whoever does it—that have exercised much influence in keeping the Muslims away from joining the Congress again as they did with us ten years ago. Even though we have to say it, it is we who had to fight the battle practically in every province, and to a very large extent indeed we succeeded in keeping the Muslims out, because we showed to them that the last movement was a truly national movement, while in the present movement I regret to have to say in their absence, Gandhiji and Pandit Motilal Nehru have both surrendered for the sake of their popularity to the Hindu Mahasabha. Now that we have come here, I am the only representative of my party—in spite of my long correspondence with His Excellency the Viceroy on the subject while I was lying ill in India before

the final selection was made—to represent it in the Round Table Conference, and more that anyone else among the Muslims it will be I—and of course my brother—who on our return will be asked by the millions of Muslims what we have brougnt back for the Muslims. Well, we want to go back not with separate electorates only, not with weightage only for the Muslims, but with freedom for India including freedom for the Muslims and, unless we can secure that, I can assure the Prime Minister that the Muslims of India will join the Civil Disobedience Movement without least hesitation, no matter what we may say and what the other Muslim delegates may say.

Freedom for India is not separate electorates, though being one of the authors of the separate electorates in 1906, I shall be the last to surrender them. Let me first say what is the use of separate electorates. A separate electorate gives to the Muslim client in the case he is fighting the counsel that he selects himself and can trust. In every law-court every client is permitted to do that even though sometimes he is provided with counsel at Government expense. The other party certainly never allowed to choose his counsel for him. If there had been an independent and impartial judge all that we would have needed would have been a trustworthy counsel, and that was just what was provided a generation ago for us so wisely by Lords Morley and Minto. There was no idea in the mind of Lord Morely to give India anything but a Parliamentary British Government. There was the official *bloc.* There was in the Government of India the British official majority and it was admittedly kept there to show that there was no idea of the introduction of Parliamentary Government into India. Each community presented its case as a client before the judge and it was the judge that decided. We could only influence, never guide and advise him. Therefore all that was needed was a trustworthy counsel selected by the client himself which we did through the separate electorates.

Even then somehow by accident, if not by design, Lord Minto had provided not only for the needs of the present, but also something for the prospects of the future. The separates electorate had been provided only to *supplement*, though to a very large extent, the deficiency that the Muslims were expected to encounter through the narrowness of the Hindu majority in their representation through the general territorial electorates. Lord Morley had not deprived the Muslims of their share in the mixed electorates themselves. That was a fatal mistake that was made at the urgent suggestion of our Hindu friends in 1916 at Lucknow when we two brothers were interned in Chhindwara and could take no part in the politics of the Lucknow Muslim League and the Congress. For the first time separate electorates became the only resource for Muslim representation.

Another grave mistake, that was then made, for which the Muslims have now been crying for the last fourteen years was the substitution of Muslim minorities in the Punjab and in Bengal for the small Muslim majorities. Had our friends the least vision of the future, they would not have given the Punjab a practical

and Bengal a deliberate and a small minority. It is to rectify these mistakes that the Round Table Conference is practically being held. Let there be no mistake about it. This is what His Majesty's Government and the Prime Minister should primarily understand. It is with this that I should have begun this long dissertation ; but I am glad I have come to it now after clearing the site for laying down the foundation and I will not take very long being in. The real problem before us is to give full power to Muslims in such provinces as those in which they are in a majority, whether small or large, and protection to them in such provinces as those in which they are in a minority, and, in order to be absolutely fair to the Hindu community also, precisely the same thing must be done with the Hindus. What is needed is to give power to a community which is in majority in any province, no matter how small or how large it may be, and protection to it in a province no matter how small or how large it may be. The Muslims desire—and this is the crux of their fourteen points and not separate electorates—that there should be federal government so that the central unity Government with a permanent Hindu majority should not override them everywhere ; that they should have at least a third of the British Indian representation in the Federal Government, that in the provinces of the Punjab and Bengal where they have small majorities in population which are unorganised, and greatly controlled by the *banias* and the Sikhs and the Hindu landlords, as in Bengal, those majorities should be reserved (personally I shall be satisfied if for a number of years only such as twenty) ; that in the N.-W.F.P. and in Baluchistan (which is only nominally a province) where there are clearly huge Muslim majorities, full reforms should be extended to the Muslims which have so far been denied by the combination of British military and civil domination and Hindu narrowness characteristically supporting it, and that Sind should be made a separate small province like Assam ; and that the Muslims should be allowed to have *their* majorities in all these as the Hindus have everywhere else. Unless in these few provinces Muslim majorities are established by the new constitution, I submit, not as a threat, but as a very humble and friendly warning, there will be civil war in India. Let there beno mistake about that. These are the four or five provinces where the Muslims should have precisely the same power as the Hindus have everywhere else, and the Hindus should have the same protection as the Muslims demand where they are in minorities.

In the Punjab and Bengal where the Muslim majorities are only 6 and 5 it is absolutely impossible to give any weightage to the Sikhs or to the Europeans, and neither of them needs weightage, as I shall presently explain. The whole idea has been created in order to rob the Muslims of their small majorities in the only two large provinces where their population gives it to them. The franchise in both these provinces, whether equal for all communities or not—this is not a religious or an ethical question about which there should be no rigidity and no fetish, and at present there is no rigidity

about the franchise about the different communities in India (compare the franchise about the Council of State to-day)—should be such as to give the Muslims as many voters at least as their population ratio, and in any case their seats should at least for twenty years be reserved in the same proportion for them because they are indebted to the Hindu *banias* and too much under the influence of the Sikh *nouveau richi*. The Nehru Report very ingeniously tried to fool the Muslims by talking of adult franchise. Nobody can be more in favour of adult franchise than a true Muslim. But, fortunately or unfortunately, women become adults as well as men, and for twenty years at least Muslim women when they become adults will not go to the polling booths even if the most strict *purdah* arrangements are made for them, and only *purdah* officers supervise over their voting. In comparison with the Aryas, other Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab, the Muslim women are bound to suffer. Therefore adult franchise is out of the question. In these two provinces of the Punjab and Bengal, no consideration should go against the Muslim demand of a majority of fifty-six per cent and fifty-five per cent, respectively, in the entire House.

The Sikhs had acquired in that one generation of rule so much land in the Punjab and they exercise such control over the poor tenants and others in the villages to this day, that they need absolutely no protection. Time after time they have themselves said that if the Muslims give up 'communalism' in the interests of 'nationalism,' they too would give up communalism and abide by the result of the general territorial elections. Robbed of all false sentiment this means that they do not need protection in the same way as the Muslims do, and therefore the idea of providing weightage for them is wholly unnecessary and is a Hindu Mahasabha fiction.

The same may be said of the Europeans in Bengal. It is not a few seats more or less in the Bengal Council only that they would keep their control over commerce that they have acquired since the John Company. We must provide for that in some other way, and I suggest that the Instrument of Instructions for the Governor of Bengal should provide that nothing should be done in India to wreak revenge against Europeans whatever Indians may feel for the past. A mere weightage of three or ten per cent will not help them. It will be absolutely ineffective. What it will do will be to rob the Muslims of their majority in another of the only two provinces in which at present they are a majority in the popu- lation and have reforms.

With regard to the Frontier Province I say nothing, because the Frontier Committee is already dealing with the matter and my own suggestion is that the Muslims should give the Hindus and the Sikhs not only twice as much representation at the latter's population but three times as much, so that the Hindus and the Sikhs should feel that the province is their own as well as the Muslims, and that they have a share in the government of the province. That is the kind of thing that the Muslim should feel in Dr. Moonje's Province where he is only 4 per cent or in Madras where he is only seven

per cent or in Orissa when it is to be separated when he will be in an equally small proportion. It must be remembered' that the feeling for or against the Muslims in every province is practically the same, and when it is so bitter in the Punjab it is not likely to be less bitter in provinces like Dr. Moonje's where he is in very small numbers and practically a Hindu government will rule over him. The fear is that the idea of revenge is too much in the minds of our young men who have been mistaught Indian history chiefly for political reasons.

It is only in the Indian States where history is not taught but is still being made by the Princes and made in a human manner in spite of the weakness of Princes, to which I must refer as a confirmed republican, that true protection is offered to be found for the Muslims.

Let me in passing refer to the fact that the Muslim has not been made excessively popular to any other minority either by 1,250 years of rule that he has exercised. Some have a grievance against him because he conquered Persia ! Some have a grievance against him because he conquered Byzantium, Syria and Egypt and did not lose Palestine in the Crusades ! At any rate, whosoever has ruled over India, whether it be the English or the Muslim, is bound in some way to suffer from real or imaginary grievances of his old subjects. It is remarkable that the Muslim suffers much less from it than the British. The British can be the best judge of this feeling of revenge against him, and in making a new constitution they must provide against that feeling for at least a number of years.

I come now to the subject of protection for the minorities. Many of the fourteen points provide for this, such as a veto given to two-thirds of the Hindu and Muslim minorities in any legislative or other elected body against the discussion or passage of any bill, resolution, or part thereof, which is considered by it to be against its interests. This is the historic provision made by the Congress when the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan of Aligarh was being invited in 1887 to join the Congress by Mr. Badruddin Tyabji, the other distinguished Muslim who had joined the Congress. A provision that the Parliament of India, before it was recognised and had any real power except to debate, willingly legislated should not now be objected to when the Parliament of India is being recognised and being given effective power. I insist that the words should be copied from the Congress Constitutioh itself.

It must be remembered that this provision is not for the protection of any religion but of communal interests only. Religion must be above law, and I am sorry I had just been out of the Plenary Committee when the Prime Minister asked us about the Federal Committee's report whether we should note the point that no legislation should be introduced affecting the religion or religious rites and usages of any of His Majesty's subjects without the previous assent of the Governor. Already much mischief has been done by that provision on account of the passage of the Sarda Act for which, although it had been passed, no assent was ever taken, the assent being given for a purely Hindu bill as originally introduced I have

not the least objection if the Hindus or members of any other progressive religion desire to legislate about their religion. But my religion is not 'progressive.' It claims Divine legislation, as I have shown in the statement presented on the 9th November, 1929, to His Excellency the Viceroy by the deputation of Muslim 'Ulema and leaders which I led I before His Excellency of which submit a copy with this statement of mine. Matters of such importance must not be rushed through in such hurry, and when opportunity arises again I shall see to it that at least Muslim religion is placed above human legislation whether by the Indian or by the British Parliament. Without that no Muslim can undertake to be loyal to any constitution.

I would say one word only with reference to the weightage that the Muslims enjoy in every province where they are in such meagre minorities. Nowhere does that weightage give them a majority. As Shakespeare says about the Jews, it can be said of minorities that sufferance is the badge of the tribe! But everywhere weightage gives them a certain amount of influence. And the need of that influence is realised by no one more than myself who, through my illness, have had the whole of my party unrepresented in the Minorities Committee and elsewhere at present. Weightage will give to the community so represented only the idea that it has a share in the governance of the country and no more. The same weightage that the Muslims claim they are prepared to give to the Hindus in every province in which the Hindus are in a similar minority. But to claim weightage for the Hindus of Bengal or of the Punjab where the minority is in reality better organised and in every way more powerful politically than the majority, more wealthy and better educated is an absurdity. The same is true of the Sikhs in the Punjab, who, apart from every other consideration, are socially Hindus and have politically been working with them. In Sind the Hindu minority is better organised and richer and better educated than the Muslims in spite of their being big landlords, and yet I would give them a weightage as large as could satisfy the biggest *gourmand*.

Let it not be understood that I am a communalist in the sense in which communalism has been understood in Europe. Although nearly a generation ago I was one of the authors of the separate electorate, I have felt that the time for it has passed, and that we should now have, in the interest of Indian nationalism, a mixed territorial, electorate. But a territorial electorate in India of the type of England is an absurdity. In the province, say of Dr. Moonje or of Nawab Sir Abdul Qayyum, where the minority communities number only 4 and 7 per cent respectively, the minorities have no chance of getting their true representatives elected even if 20 seats are reserved for them, if 96% or 93% of the rival community are to be allowed to choose their reprentatives. Men of straw, men who are merely religiously Hindu or Muslim, but not politically so, will be returned by the votes of politically Muslim and Hindu majorities.

I have therefore after long cogitation and cousultation with friends devised a plan. It is certainly far

more deserving of consideration than Major Attlee's plan discussed in the Simon Report. It is this. Let the seats be reserved for the two communities but let no candidate be declared elected unless he secures :

(1) At least 40 per cent of votes cast of his own community.

(2) At least 5 per cent of the votes cast of other communities wherever he isin a minority of 10 or less per cent and 10 per cent where he is a larger minority or in a majority.

In this way three purposes will be served. In the first instance, every candidate will have to go cap in hand to both the communities as in the Minto-Morley Reforms which he does not do to-day ; and the rank abuse of sister communities which goes on to-day since the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which had ruined Indian politics, and even social life, will cease. Secondly, no man would be returned to represent any community who does not represent at least a fair percentage of that community though not necessarily its majority as in the separate electorates to-day. The third purpose which is no less important is that ordinarly no person who is not in the least a *personal grato* to a sister community will be able to get return-even if he secures election from his own community. Thus for the first time communalism will be killed and true nationalism will get a chance. This is better than P. R. and distinctly better than the 'list system'. If, however, no candidate from a constituency satisfies either of these minima, the one that secures the largest votes cast of the community for which the seat is reserved must be returned. This will only be the relic of the present separate electorates which is unfortunately inevitable to-day. I do not want any more than that portion of separate electorates to be spared in the new national constitution that we are trying to frame this time in England. Without those conditions Muslims will never accept mixed electorates in which a man of straw or even a false convert can be returned by the votes of 96 per cent of the majority community in any province irrespective of the entire opposition of the community for which the candidate is standing for election as a representative. That will be an absurdity worse than any we have known.

I have explained this system both to His Excellency the Viceroy and to the Secretary of State for India and they were very gravely impressed with the sanity and ingenuity for the measure I proposed. I believe, I have a right to mention that Sir T. B. Sapru and the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri have been equally impressed if not more.

With these words I close this statement of mine which has been dictated through the kindness of the Prime Minister and Geoffrey Corbett in absolute defiance of my doctors who are greatly displeased with the liberty I have taken, and yet if I had not taken this liberty I should have disobeyed them still more greatly and would have gone to the Conference to put this case before the Committee and the Conference even if I died. I beg the Prime Minister and the Committee not to ignore this lengthy *screed* but to give it some consideration at least. I can assure them that it represents the views of many scores of millions of Muslims

whose voice may not be heard in the Indian Round Table Conference but whose sentiments cannot be ignored by the Indian administrators as I feel sure Sir Geoffrey Corbett who has been present throughout knows well enough himself.

A MUJAHID'S DEATH

مرگ مجنوں پہ عقل گم ہے میر
کیا دوانے نے موت پائی ہے

DEATH

Rais Ahmad Jafri

One wonders why the death of Mohammad Ali was so long delayed. In spite of his prolonged illness and utterly against medical warning, he worked day and night, ignoring all his kith and kin, friends and well-wishers, the pivot of his activities throughout having been the sole mission of his life. He should have passed away long before at Simla. Such was the will of God. He could not, quite expectedly, recover his health once it was shattered after his historic speech at the Round Table Conference. Even during the night before he yielded up the ghost he is reported to have been very busy correcting the manuscript of his detailed plan on Hindu-Muslim relationship with a view to submitting it to the British Prime Minister. To all appearance, there was nothing seriously wrong with his health. Shaukat Ali had, therefore, gone to Ireland to see a friend. After finishing his work on the plan late in night, Mohammad Ali was so exhausted that he swooned. It was hours later that he came to himself in the morning. By this time Shaukat had also arrived back. It was just a flicker and Mohammad Ali proceeded on his eternal journey.

One can well realise the plight of Begum Mohammad Ali, who had gone to England with the pious hope of the recovery of her husband, now seated beside his lifeless body. What would have been the thoughts of the daughter who could not accompany her father and daily watched for the news of his health and expected that she would soon be in his affectionate embrace? How she would have received the tragic news of his death and how she would have lamented over her bad luck that she could not even have the last glimpse of her darling father, is beyond description. And what would have been the condition of the old, young-at-heart Shaukat to whom Mohammad Ali was a solid source of strength? Love between the two brothers is universally so well known. Shaukat Ali rightly said that Mohammad Ali was not only his brother ; he was also his son, adorer and beloved. This 'big' brother witnessed his loss helplessly.

The death of this great son of Islam caused a serious tremor in the Muslim world ; it was sorrowed for sincerely and in the true Eastern fashion. But what of all this: Mohammad Ali had departed for a place from where there is no return and we shall never cast our eyes on him again.

AN ENVIABLE SCUFFLE

The news that Mohammad Ali had died spread like wild fire throughout the country. People flocked in to offer condolence. The Maharaja of Alwar was extremely perturbed during Mohammad Ali's illness ; he would come again and again bareheaded and barefooted. When the Maulana breathed his last, the Maharaja

was so struck with grief that he had not the courage to look in Shaukat Ali's eyes.

The matter under discussion now was where to bury the body. Some were of opinion that the funeral should be done in London itself, but the family did not approve of it. Begum Mohammad Ali wished to take the body back to India, and hundreds of telegrams were pouring in from India urging this so that the people could have the last glimpse of their departed leader. No decision had yet been taken on the matter. In the meanwhile, a large number of telegraphic messages came in from different towns of India asking for the body making pleas of suitability of the location. Rampur advanced its claim of being Mohammad Ali's birth-place; Lucknow stressed its right for being the last resting-place of Muhammad Ali's religious preceptor, Maulana Abdul Bari, and because it was here that he founded the Anjuman Khuddam-i-Ka'bah and endeavoured to establish the Jami'at-i-Khilafat; Ajmere requested that Mohammad Ali should find place under the shadow of Khwajah Muinuddin Ajmeri to whom he was exceedingly devoted and to whose mausoleum he paid frequent visits; Calcutta emphasised its own importance on the ground that it was here that Mohammad Ali's plans took practical shape, *Camrade* commenced its publication and the Maulana started his public life; Aligarh went still further and claimed his body being his Alma Mater and argued that he 'rose' from Aligarh and therefore the should also "set" there; the grief-stricken capital of the Mughal kings, Delhi, came forward and laid claim to Mohammad Ali's body saying that it was here at Delhi that Mohammad Ali glowed, met with success and failure, it was Delhi that accorded a right royal reception to him on his release from Chhindwara, and it should be Delhi to have his body and more so because Mohammad Ali's darling mother, Abadi Bano, was lying in eternal rest there.

But Jerusalem, the holy land, opened out its arms and invited Mohammad Ali to its bosom. "The whole of your life has been spent in the cause of Allah,' it said, 'see these pure bodies of prophets, messengers and friends of God buried within me. Come, I offer you a haven of peace." The soul of Mohammad Ali smiled and advanced forward. The Mosque of 'Umar split open its chest to Mohammad Ali. What luck!

THE FUNERAL

After a great deal of consideration and heated discussion, the lot was finally drawn in favour of the holy land. Arrangements were being made to move Mohammad Ali's body from this land of disbelief to the land of prophets. The body was shifted down from the hotel room through a lift at midnight. It had the appearance of a man in a deep, contented slumber. Earlier, the body had been given an injection against decomposition. The Holy Qur'an was being incessantly recited day and night. On 5 January 1931, Shaukat Ali, Abdur Rahman Siddiqi and Muzaffar washed the body and, as announced, the funeral prayer was said at six in the evening in the Lemington Hall. Prominent among the large number of those

present at the prayer were members of the Round Table Conference, Ambassadors of Iran, Egypt, Kabul, Secretary of State for India and a representative of the British Prime Minister.

The body was put on board the 'Normandy" at the port of Tellari to be conveyed to Palestine. When the ship reached Port Said on 21 January, the body was taken out in a procession which was joined by the Egyptian King's personal representative, the Prime Minister, and Shaikhs of Port Said. The funeral prayer was said in Masjid Abbas. The Egyptian Police presented a guard of honour and shouldered the bier for some distance. Prince Mohammad Ali had gifted a piece of the cover of the Ka'bah to be placed on the chest. Mohammad Ali, however, was enshrouded in *khaddar*.

The chest reached Jerusalem on 23 January surrounded by a very large concourse of people. The city shops without exception were closed in honour of the national martyr. The Jews from all around sent condolence messages to the Arabic Press. Shaukat Ali announced that the fact of his brother's burial in Jerusalem was a pointer to the eternal and strong unity of the Eastern lands. The procession was led by Shaukat Ali and the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, followed by thousands of mourners from almost all countries of the world. When the body arrived at the holy place, there was a great pressure of the processionists so that the chest could be moved out of the vehicle with much difficulty. Delegations of Muslims, Christians and women waited on Begum Mohammad Ali. According to reports, the processionists numbered more than two hundred thousand. The traffic was jammed and every window and roof on both sides of the road presented a unique spectacle of human heads. It took the body three hours to reach its destination. All nations were fully represented. The funeral prayer was offered after the Friday prayer. The Masjid Aqsa was overcrowded with men and women. The presence of thousands of women, in fours, clad in burqas and standing in rows offered an impressive scene. The chest was placed in when a number of peeches were made. And thus, at last, this gre son of India, after a life full of struggle, found rest.

CHOICE OF THE TURKS

When the First World War started in 1914, the *London Times* published an article advising the Turks to remain neutral, not even to advance in Greece. The article was highly provocative and painful and aimed at the humiliation of Turkey. Although, during this time, Begum Mohammad Ali was seriously ill and Mohammad Ali had to be by her bed for nights together, yet the *Times*, article so disturbed him that he could not suppress his sentiments, and the result was his historic article 'Choice of the Turks.' Mohammad Ali says about this article : 'It took me forty long hours at a stretch to write this article, when, except a few cups of coffee, I took not one morsel of food, not to say having any sleep. Often when I got tired of writing, I sought help of an assistant editor and dictated portions to him'

The article was disliked in Government circles with the result that

within a few days of its publication, securities of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* were confiscated. This action of the Government was challenged by Mohammad Ali in court and he pleaded the case himself. According to Mir Mahfuz Ali, during the hearing of the case, the court-room was thronged with prominent lawyers. They were spellbound by the argumentation of Mohammad Ali. Out of the court-room, every Hindu and Muslim lawyer wished Muhammad Ali was a barrister. He prompt ly retorted: 'What appreciation do I receive for what I am now: to hope that it would be any the better were I a barrister, is wishful thinking.'

The award was against Mohammad Ali which dealt a death-blow to *Comrade*.

THE FICTION OF APOLOGY

It was the prime of Mohammad Ali's political career when an 'authenticated' rumour got afloat that Ali Brothers had tendered an apology to the Government. The news was a shocking surprise to all and nobody wished it were true. But it was once again solemnly confirmed. The intention of the brains behind this mischief was to belittle Ali Brothers in the eyes of his admirers and thus to deprive them of the public support that they enjoyed and on the strength of which they were so turbulent.

The mischievous fiction died with the same rapidity as it was circulated. Nobody believed in it; on the other hand, the originator of the rumour was belied and condemned. The Ali Brothers continued to enjoy the respect and esteem of the masses as heretofore.

Fortunately, Mohammad Ali has expressed himself on the matter in detail. The following are important excerpts from his statement:

'Mahatma Gandhi met the new Viceroy, Lord Reading, at Simla and came back impressed that the Viceroy would help India achieve Independence and support revival of the Turkish Caliphate. Only he wished that there was no violence in the Non-Co-operation Movement.

'It was given out against us brothers that we wished Afghanistan to occupy India and, in this connection had already received a messenger of the king of that country. Some of the Hindus, scared of the Afghan dread, worried Mahatma Gandhi asking him time and again why he reposed such great trust in us. To satisfy them, Gandhiji made me answer certain questions relating to the supposed Afghan attack on and occupation of India and published the same in the *Independent*.

'Then Malwiyaji and Dr. Sapru showed to Gandhiji certain extracts from our speeches, absolutely out of context, to poison him against us. This was the same material which later Lord Reading showed to Gandhiji. Mahatmaji thought it expedient that we should issue a statement purporting that, while participating in the Non-Co-operatlon movement, we had no wish to resort to violence to gain independence, but as wrong meanings had been derived from our speeches, we felt that perhaps we had not been careful in our choice of words. We never considered Lord Reading to be a well-wisher of Islam, but our refusal to respect this wish of the Mahatma would have gone to help our Hindu antagonists in stressing upon him that we never cherished independence

but rather desired to make India a Muslim country by violence and through Afghan help. It was also quite possible for the Mahatma to say later that, but for our refusal to issue this statement, Lord Reading would have helped India attain freedom. But before we could issue the statement, I wished to see the extracts myself. To this Mahatmaji agreed and at once made telegraphic requests both to the Viceroy and to Malwiyaji. The Viceroy was too clever to be ensnared, but Malwiyaji. complied. On going through them I blurted out that wile some of them had been due either to misunderstanding or wrong transcription, others were definitely distortions and fabrications. Not one of the extracts indicated any suggestion to violence on our part.

'We therefore refused point-blank to issue the desired statement except saying that neither it was our intention nor did our speeches indicate it to be so, yet because some prominent persons had derived these meanings, we could only offer our regrets and assure everybody that we had no intention to incite people to resort to violence during the movement. This statement was issued to the Press. Mahatmaji apprised the Viceroy of this statement, without giving him information regarding the amendment on which we insisted. He told me that the statement was not being issued under orders of the Viceroy but to clear the misunderstanding lurking in the minds of some of our own Indian brethren, and that I was, therefore, free to say what I thought proper. Gandhiji never told me nor could I expect it that the statement was to be a means of averting our arrest. When the Viceroy showed the extracts to Gandhiji, which Malwiyaji and Dr. Sapru had earlier shown to him, Gandhiji informed him of his intention of getting a statement issued by us to dispel the misunderstanding. The Viceroy appreciated the plan and told Gandhiji that in that case the Government of India would rescind their decision to hold us on trial. Gandhiji told the Viceroy that that was the Government's headache and did not in any way concern them ; the statement must be issued, trial or no trial. This was the last meeting with the Viceroy.

'There had been no mention of the trial at any stage, otherwise Gandhiji's asking for the statement could be taken to be a way out of the Viceroy's threat of our trial. When the statement was published, the Viceroy sent a telegram to Gandhiji worded in such a clever way as if our statement had been issued under his orders and that he had very graciously approved of the amendment. We were then on our way to Bhroach. Gandhiji was then observing "silence" fasts and could not speak, but I apprehended from the text of the telegram that wrong meaning had been given to our statement. On my pointing this out to Mahatmaji, he simply nodded and smiled ; he seemed to agree with me. Late that night a friend arrived at Bhroach all the way from Bombay merely to show me that issue of the *Bombay Chronicle* which contained the Viceroy's speech that he had delivered at the Chelmsford Club about Gandhiji's parleys with him and our statement. Sir Mohammad Shafi had given an at-home in honour of the

Viceroy with a view to slighting us, his two Muslim brothers. The Viceroy provided in his speech much material that was meant to humiliate Gandhiji and indicated as if Gandhiji had begged the Viceroy's permission for an audience. This was utterly false. On the prompting of the Viceroy, Malwiyaji had made Gandhi ji travel to Delhi by stressing the importance of the matter and by telling him that if Gandhiji did not come, he would himself go to Allahabad in spite of his indisposition.

'Lord Reading holds the reputation of being the most tactful and clever Viceroy of India during the present century. He so cunningly organised his speech that, while referring to his parleys with Gandhiji he first related the details of his own talks and then gave those of Gandhiji's. The parleys, it will be remembered, had continued during six meetings and taken fifteen hours in all. Evidently, it could not be that the Viceroy or Gandhiji went on speaking for seven-eight hours. By thus giving the gist of the talks, the Viceroy made the people understand that we were spared the trial only on the assurance of Gandhiji that he would get a statement of regret issued by us which, in other words, amounted to an apology.

'Immediately on reading this speech of the Viceroy, my hasteful brother, Maulana Hasrat Mauhani, dropped me a post card calling me a coward if Gandhiji had told me of the Viceroy's conditioning Government withdrawal of the proposed case against us on the issue of our statement ; but if that were not so and Gandhiji had not done this, then, he said, there is no one as faithless as Gandhiji. He could not think that the Viceroy might have played a trick and given a wrong colour to his parleys with Gandhiji.

'However, the viceregal speech disturbed peace of my mind. I sought Gandhiji's permission to give a suitable answer to it. I was to preside over a Khilafat public meeting and my presidential speech was to be on some relevant topic, but this new development so overwhelmed me that I spent the whole force of my tongue in piercing the Viceroy's bubble of falsehood. This was the strongest speech ever delivered by me against the Government. It was published in detail probably in a June 1921 issue of the *Bombay Chronicle*. The Viceroy had also to give his reply, that if we had not intended to incite people to violence but merely wanted them to condemn certain Government policies, there would be no trial under section 124(A).

'The Viceroy then moved the Government of Bombay to put up cases against us on the basis of a resolution passed at the Karachi Khilafat Conference and under section 124(A) for a speech delivered by me at Karachi. The plea was found that, although there had been no incitement to violence, yet the Muslim soldiers had been urged to lay down arms which was considered a worse crime.

'It is common knowledge how Dr. Sapru proceeded to Bombay and made efforts with the Advocate General to appear against us and how he finally engaged an English barrister, Mr. Alston on a fee of Rs. 18,000 hoping to get us life sentence. But the Christian and English members of the Jury sided

with truth and acquitted us. The Judicial Commissioner, however, convicted us each for two years on another charge.

'Before this trial, Mahatma Gandhi had very much annoyed the Viceroy and, in spite of Malwiyaji's advocacy of the Viceroy, he wrote to the Viceroy plainly that Ali Brothers did not mean to address him but rather their own countrymen (especially Malwiyaji and Dr. Sapru) and that their expression of regret did not amount to an apology to him. He threatened the Viceroy that unless he himself issued a clear statement purporting to exonerate us, he (Gandhiji) would explain the situation himself.'

This is in detail the truth behind the false charge of Ali Brothers' having tendered an apology to the Government, which was circulated throughout the length and breadth of the country, intended to humiliate them as cowards trembling on just threat of arrest.

RELEASE AND PRESIDENCY OF THE CONGRESS

After completing his term of imprisonment, Mohammad Ali was released after two years. He had already received the bad news of his second daughter, Amina Begum's serious illness. On his release, he attended a special meeting of the Congress at Delhi and from there he went straight to Bhawali sanatorium where Amina was lying sick.

That year, all the provincial Congress Committees unanimously nominated Mohammad Ali as President of the Indian National Congress. He had only short time at his disposal, but, in spite of that, he prepared and delivered a presidential address which will ever be remembered for its suggestive and educative value and for its language and diction.

The period of his Congress Presidentship was full of trouble. The Hindus had established the Mahasabha and the Muslims had organised the Tabligh Conference. Shuddhi-Sangthan and Tabligh-Tanzim had poured cold water on the Congress activities. This split in the camp no doubt far removed the goal of independence and there was no hope of success in a foreseeable future.

On the other hand, there had appeared a rift in the Congress itself. There were the 'No-Changers' who formed a minority in Congress ranks. They desired no change in Congress policies and believed in Non-Co-operation. The other party comprised of Moti Lal Nehru, Lajpat Rai, C. R. Das, who enjoyed extraordinary confidence of the people. They had been active members of the Congress and now wished to cause trouble for the Government by joining the Legislatures. They seemed to be attracted to the Council and the Assembly. Moti Lal was so insistent upon going to the Assembly that he warned that if the Congress did not change its policy, he would desert its ranks. By this threat, he had already, to some extent, succeeded in his aim at the Gaya Congress and now intended to do the same at Cocanada.

It was only Mohammad Ali's personality that towed the Congress boat in such troubled waters. He very ingeniously made people understand the Congress policies and brought them round. Even those who did not see eye to eye with these policies could not sever their ties

with the Congress on account of Mohammad Ali's handling of the situation.

After some time, Gandhiji who had been gaoled for six years was released on health grounds. He, as expected, was still very staunch in the Congress policies. He looked with disfavour at the policy of those who argued to defeat the Government through Councils.

Mohammad Ali himself was a staunch Congressite. He was not agreeable to go to the Legislatures, but he neither discouraged those who wished to, nor did he expell them out of the Congress. The group around Gandhiji, in a Congress meeting, strongly criticised the 'Swaraj Party' but Mohammad Ali took a lenient view of the matter and let no constitutional step to be taken against the Party. After this when he went to Ghandhiji's place, he was made the butt of attacks for showing leniency towards the Swaraj Party and for not having played any role against it. Mohammad Ali digested all this, showed no indifference in his attitude and dealt with both the parties in a just manner.

This goes as a great achievement to the credit of Mohammad Ali when he vigorously opposed the proposal of the Punjab Khilafat Committee to issue tickets to people to contest elections to the Councils and the Assembly. On the Congress and the Swaraj Party having come to agreement, when people started entering the Legislatures on the Congress tickets, the Punjab Khalifat Committee and the Ahrari-Punjab pressed the Central Khilafat Committee to issue tickets. It was under this pressure that the proposal was mooted. Mohammad Ali did not see any wisdom in it and said that it was useless to try the experiment of which the evils were all too well known and which had been discarded after deep thought and consideration. Following the Congress in this regard, he said, was not wise. The decision was unanimous that a person could individually do what he might like, but no tickets were to be issued by the Khilafat Committee. It is no doubt a great achievement that Mohammad Ali, not walking in the footsteps of the Congress, saved the Khilafat Committee from all the evils that were to crop up later. He would have easily become a member of the Assembly, as for a convicted person permission for membership of the Assembly was a formal affair and could be had just for the asking. Lala Lajpat Rai secured this permission without any difficulty. As it is said, Mohammad Ali was deeply interested in constitutional matters, it was all the more likely for him to be of this view, but in spite of his 'interest' he did not deviate from his principles.



Funeral Procession (Egypt)





Funeral Proccssion (Palistine)



A Letter From H. G. Wells

LOU PIDOU
SAINT MATHIEU
GRASSE A.-M.

17. 11. 32

My dear Sir

I met Mohamed Ali on several occasions & liked him very much personally. But I don't think I could produce anything very illuminating to tell about him. We differed & argued about all sorts of things but we sympathised accurately about the British "governing class".

Very sincerely yours

H. G. Wells

A Letter From G. B. Shaw.

TELEGRAMS, SOCIALIST, PARL-LONDON.
TELEPHONE, WHITEHALL 3160.

4, WHITEHALL COURT, LONDON, S.W.1

6th May 1932.

Dear Sir,

My acquaintance with Mohammed Ali was limited to a conversation at my house at which we discussed the possibility of a Reformation in Islam somewhat like the Christian reformation led by Martin Luther. We agreed, I think, that a Back to Mahomet movement was needed to rescue Islam from the ruts which it has been digging for itself for some centuries past. I found M.A's company very congenial; and as your letter encourages me to believe that mine was not altogether disagreeable to him, I flatter myself we parted friends.

His personality left such an impression on me that when the news of his death came I felt that Islam had lost a very valuable living force.

That is all I can say about him from personal knowledge.

Faithfully
G. Bernard Shaw

Mr Abdul Majid.
P.O.Daryabad
Bara Banki, India.



Impressions and Thoughts on Mohammad Ali



IMPRESSIONS AND THOUGHTS ON

MOHAMMAD ALI

[EXCLUSIVE]

پیدا کہاں ہیں ایسے پراگندہ طبع لوگ
افسوس تم کو میر سے صحبت نہیں رہی

MAULANA MOHAMMAD ALI
A GREAT PATRIOT

Manzoor Qadir, Ex-Chief Justice of West Pakistan, High Court

It is an honour and a privilege to have the opportunity of paying homage to the memory of that great patriot and freedom-fighter—Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar. The role he played in the struggle for the independence of the people of this sub-continent is historic. He had much to say, and he knew how to say it. Through his articles and papers he made an irresistible appeal to the reading public. Through his oratory, he moved all. His weekly journal *The Comrade* is a classic in political journalism. The momentous speech he made at the Round—Table Conference in London in 1931.—the year of his death—is of lasting value. These, however, are aspects on which persons who had the good fortune of being with him, and who are more competent than I am, must speak. I shall pay my homage in the form of some personal reminiscences.

I was about five years of age when I first heard of two brothers called 'Ali Baradaran,' and their mother, referred to reverently as 'Bi Amman.' They made speeches in favour of a movement called 'Khilafat.' Those who went to hear them, came back talking of getting rid of the British, and of wearing clothes made of home-spun cotton cloth, and of burning things that were imported from England. I did not quite understand how burning things that had already been bought would help, but the older boys who seemed to know, and who said they themselves had been to the meetings where these things were talked, assured me that there was much advantage. People also used to sing songs in praise and support of the Turks. That was supposed to be a part of the Khilafat movement, though I could not quite make out the connection. It was said that these songs would help to get the British out. Everyone talked of 'Mohammad Ali Shaukat Ali' in that connection.

It was not till 1925—I was about eleven years old then—that I first saw the famous Brothers we all heard so much about. The occasion was a session of the Muslim League. It was taking place in a hall that was then used for roller skating. I believe, it is now one of the cinema houses on

McLeod Road, Lahore. I ad gone with my father. So far as I remember, the Qaid-i-Ahzam—Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah as he then was—was elected as the permanent President of the Muslim League at that session. One of the memories of that session which I seem to recall vividly is that of a very big and imposing man with a full beard, in a black cap on which a crescent and a star were prominently displayed, wearing a flowing kind of gown. Before he came to the rostrum there was some talk from which I had gathered that the Ali Brothers were going to address the gathering. I experienced a thrill because I was about to see in real life persons who to me were like legendary heroes. I do not know why I thought that the first one to appear would be Maulana Mohammad Ali. perhaps it was because I used to think that he must be the older of the two, since he was better known. The imposing man, however, was not Maulana Mohammad Ali but his brother Maulana Shaukat Ali. Later, Maulana Mohammad Ali spoke. For a long time afterwards, I retained a single mental picture of the two brothers which was somehow a blend of both. It was the appearance of Maulana Shaukat Ali and the speech of Maulana Mohammad Ali that had combined to make a composite image in my mind. Altogether, it was a memorable experience.

When Maulana Mohammad Ali died in London I was about seventeen years old. I remember how the news of his death went through the subcontinent as a wave of shock. It seemed incredible that a person who had so dominated the political and literary stage in the country as the late Maulana Mohammad Ali had done, should have left it just when the things he had been fighting for were coming closer.

INTRODUCING

MAULANA MOHAMMAD ALI

TO THE NEW GENERATION

Justice Qadeeruddin Ahmed, Judge, High Court of West Pakistan, Karachi

The name Maulana Mohammad Ali never fails to bring to my mind the picture of a bulky and kindly gentleman who invariably wore tiny spectacles on his small dark eyes and had a tapered greying beard above which could be seen his prominent cheeks as well as a well-rounded nose that marked the strength of his character. There was always an embroidered crescent on his boat-shaped cap, and his imposing figure was covered by the traditional gown of a Maulvi. There is little in this picture that is remarkable, but imagine such a gentlemane to be bursting with enthusiasm and again and again proving his ability to inspire men, individually as well as in mammoth crowds, and you begin to understand the Maulvi.

I have heard dozens of his public speeches as well as seen him a number of times squatting on the carpeted floor of the main room of my family-house carrying on political discussions with a gusto and ability that silenced opposition. He visited our house in Delhi whenever Maulana Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal, Lucknow, who was the *Murshid* (or religious guide) of the senior members of my family as well as the *Murshid* of the Maulana, was staying with us. Such visits took place once or twice in a year and, in my memory, from 1922 onwards for six or seven years.

I was an adolescent youth at that time, open to influence and ready to admire the qualities of eloquence, courage, devotion and brilliance. The Maulana was endowed with all of these in a generous measure. His eloquence scintillated with sharp repartees, spontaneous literary references and picturesque expressions. He was equally effective and at ease in English and Urdu. He was brave in the face of danger and reckless with respect to his personal loss and safety. He was interned more than once, several times convicted and imprisoned for political offences, and once tried for sedition at Khaliqdina Hall in Karachi; but neither these experiences nor the gravest threat from any quarter daunted him when he fought for Islam and the Muslims. I recollect that a small mosque situated outside Farrashkhana in Delhi was to be

demolished by the authorities because it was in the way of a railway track, and the population of the locality was nervous; but shortly before the expected demolition, the Maulana announced that the first blow of the pick that was to be dealt on the mosque would fall on his neck, and not on the mosque. The people sighed in relief, and the proposal of demolition vanished, because the authorities knew that the Maulana's words were no empty threat. To mention but one instance of his repartee, I can recall that a public meeting was held at the Queens Garden, Delhi, over which he was presiding and Zakiah Khanum of Egypt was speaking. Her subject was education, but she digressed on the equality of men and women and declared that 'the wives wanted freedom,' The Maulana immediately held out his fist and cried: 'The husbands too want freedom.' The crowd laughed and the speaker floundered. He could never resist the temptation of making a sharp and clever remark. He made more enemies this way than his friends could justify.

In spite of his stinging tongue he radiated a charming warmth of sincerity and devotion to his cause that was irresistible and which I feel to-day after more than three decades of his death. He was charged of communalism by the Hindu leaders during the closing years of his life, but in his earlier political career he was elected, like the Quaid-e-Azam, President of the Indian National Congress, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was elected to work as his Secretary. Neither during his early years which burnt whith an enthusiasm for Hindu-Muslim unity, nor during his sophisticated years which brought on him the charge of communalism was he a politician in a purely worldly sense. I have more than once seen him addressing gigantic public meetings from the same platform on which Mahatma Gandhi sat and Hind-Muslim unity was preached with utmost zeal but unaffected by that climate of communal unity he burst into tears with religious fervour and expressed the wish that 'Gandhiji' might one day accept Islam at his instance, ! Islam was frankly and openly above politics—indeed, above all that is in the world—to him. It was impossible for him to tolerate an objection to this outlook, and the Mahatma knew this. He was aware that communal agreement meant to the Maulana a treaty for the advancement of Muslim interest to the glory of Islam; while to the Mahatma himself it meant a human aliance to fight against the British domination. They had agreed to join in the fight postponing for the moment the communal differences which were to be settled after throwing away 'the yoke of the British rule.'

Did the Maulana then act on the subsequent Two-Nation Theory of the Quaid-e-Azam ? In a restricted sense, yes; but the full significance of his life and thought was much wider. He divided the entire world into 'Muslim' and 'non-Muslim.' While Mahatma Gandhi led the drive for non-co-operation with the British rulers, civil disobedience of the British laws, and boycott of the British products, the Maulana joined him there with all his strength, at the same time preaching independently that the message of he Holy Prophet be carried out by all the Muslims

of the world under the banner of one Khalifah; and that all the Muslims of the world be one compact unit as symbolised by the Holy Ka'bah. On the one hand, he fought for Hindu-Muslim unity, and on the other hand for 'Khilafat' and as a 'Khadim-e-Ka'bah.'

He abandoned the first of the above-mentioned three movements before his death and after he left the scene of this world the Quaid-e-Azam took up the exclusive leadership of the Indian Muslims. It was no mere coincidence that both of them were known as 'nationalists' in their early political careers but became staunch Muslim leaders with maturity of thought and experience. The same change came over Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, but it came much earlier in his life and has left a much deeper mark on the soul of the Muslim world. For a while he sang to the glory of the Ganges and India but soon went into ecstasies when he took up the theme of Muslim unity, Muslim advancement and the Muslims' glory as the servants of God!

In my adolescence I have been moved and influenced by the lives and examples of, at least, five contemporay Muslims : Maulana Mohammad Ali, the Quaid-e-Azam, Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Zakir Husain. The last mentioned two gentleman were nationalists and have either not experienced or have deliberately not disclosed the change that was experienced by the other three leaders with increased political farsightedness and spiritual maturity.

Dr. Mohammad Iqbal shall live so long as his poetry lives and inspires the Muslims, and the Quaid-e-Azam shall live so long as the establishment of an idealistic sovereign State, without the aid of arms and armies, will be regarded as a wonder, but the achievement of Maulana Mohammad Ali is neither visible like Pakistan nor like poetry. What has he achieved?

The answer is: nothing for those to whom the awakening of a people means nothing; but he has awakened the Muslims of India to a sense of their separate existence and future role in the world as Muslims which had been dimmed by personal loyalties during the Mughal rule and wasti a tabooed outlook when Sir Syed Ahmad Khan taught to them the value of Western knowledge, and simultaneously gave a message in undertones that the blessing of that knowledge could be received from the British rulers only. He revealed to the Muslims of the unpartitioned India that their faith was a political strength which they could mobilise in local politics, and that their spiritual unity with the Muslims of the world was a hidden empire and a glory which they could realise by living up to a certain standard of life. He disclosed to them the greatness of a passion for an idealised life and bestowed a solidarity on them in a country in which they were defeated, downtrodden and abandoned. His courage was an example and his echoing voice the banner of Muslim unity in India and in the world. His fearlessness, his faith, his devotion, his readiness to die for Muslim idealism combined with the modernity of his English education, eloquent tongue and powerful pen made him an inspiring leader and a powerful opponent. If the masses of Pakistan

love Turkey, Iran and Arabia to-day and feel a communion with the Muslims of the world, the credit directly goes to the vast religio-political movements which were led by him and to his inspiring as well as affection-winning personality. Such a r... If the masses of this country have any sense of their destiny in the world, it is the legacy of his work and devotion. They shall one day further realise that the strength in the statecraft of any people is its political awakening and emotional attachment to its ideals as well as to its basic institutions. Such a realisation will be a tribute to his memory.

The writings and speeches of Maulana Mohammad Ali, like those of other politicians, are bound to strike to us as out of date today because their immediate subjects were fleeting. They were diplomatic plans and actions of the British and other European powers against the Turks, Tunisians and Bulgarians, political events of India, attacks on or replies to opponents; but all that he wrote and said were small ripples or heavy surges in a deep and vast stream of the Muslim life of the world in which he tried to play the role of a directing current as far as he could make himself felt. He was a citizen of the Muslim world who lived and fought for the world of Islam. He was as successful a leader of unpartitioned India as he has left behind him an awakening in the Muslims to their independent Islamic existence, and he was as great an example of a Muslim leader as he aimed high, above and beyond the targets of the day-to-day politics for the triumph of the Muslims and thereby for the victory of the Islamic ideals to the glory of God.

THE CHOICE OF THE BRITISH

Nawab Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan, Bar-at-Law

Maulana Mohammad Ali commanded great respect from his fellow students during his college life at Aligarh because he had a reputation that he could write better English than many members of the English teaching staff of M.A.O. College. Writing and speaking good English were considered great merits and were the standard by which ability was judged in those days.

Other spheres where students could shine were:

(1) Cricket in which Maulana Shaukat Ali, Ali Hasan Ehsan and others made name.

(2) Football in which Ashraf Khan, Mohammad Amin and others made name.

(3) Debate in the Union.

(4) Good English dress with clean collar, nice tie and English boots.

When Maulana Mohammad Ali could not come out successful in the I.C.S. competition examination it gave a great shock to many of his friends and admirers.

No one can say whether it was a bad luck or good luck. No one can say whether he would have been as useful to his community in the Civil Service as he was in the public life.

He joined service in Baroda State but soon gave it up. His taste lay in journalism where he could display his humour and independence of thought freely. His humorous remarks on Pandit in White Pugri, and Dance with Elephantine agility on a dancer's show of art gave great enjoyment to his readers.

His Red Crescent Mission to Turkey and admiration of Anwar Pasha made him popular among young Muslims.

His mission with Syed (later Sir) Wazir Hasan to London to vindicate the grievances of Muslims on Cawnpore Mosque did not succeed. But his reply to an article written in *The Times* of London on 29th August 1914 under the caption 'Choice of the Turks' brought him into the limelight before the whole world. Every educated Muslim admired him for his frank, bold and undaunted spirit revealed in that article under the same caption 'Choice of the Turks.'

Mohammad Ali gained popularity but lost freedom and he was interned at Chhindwara along with his big brother Shaukut Ali.

Both the brothers who used to dress themselves in nice and smart English clothes metamorphosed into Maulanas during their incareeration as dangerous to the public safety in India.

Within two years of their release they were sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour.

A certain big man tried to utilise Mohammad Ali's popularity for his own political purposes but Maulana Mohammad Ali found out the game in December 1928 and returned disgusted from Calcutta on 31st December to join the 'All-Parties Muslim Conference' held under the presidentship of H. H. The Aga Khan at Delhi.

He died in the beginning of 1931 after making his memorable speech at the Round Table Conference in London and lies buried in a room in the compound of Masjid-e-Aqsa—great honour after death. I visited his grave in 1933 and prayed for his soul.

Some people still feel doubtful whether these laurels could have been attached to his name and personality if he had come out successful in his I.C.S. examination.

SELECTIONS FROM COMRADE

آپ بیتی (حصہ اول)

مصنفہ

ظفر حسن ایبک ریٹائرڈ کیپٹن ٹرکش آرمی استانبول

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ظفر حسن صاحب کرنال شہر میں پیدا ہوئے۔ گورنمنٹ کالج لاهور میں تعلیم پائی ١٩١٥ء میں جوش جہاد میں آپ دوسرے چودہ احباب کے همراہ ترکی افواج میں بھرتی ہونے کے لیے لاهور سے روانہ ہو گئے - اور آج تک ملک بدر ہیں اور استانبول میں بطور فوجی پنشنر زندگی گزار رہے ہیں - یہ پچاس سالہ جلاوطنی کا زمانہ افغانستان - ایران - ترکستان - روس اور ٹرکی میں گزرا - جس کے حالات حد درجہ دلچسپ انداز میں قلمبند کیے گئے ہیں حصہ اول تیار ہے -

لکھائی چھپائی پاکیزہ — قیمت پانچ روپے

MAULANA MOHAMMAD ALI

AS I KNOW HIM

Ziauddin Ahmad Barni, B.A.

My friend, Maulavi Rais Ahmad Jafri, is bringing out *Selections from Comrade* on the occasion of the forthcoming death anniversary of Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar, who died in London on the 4th of January 1931. It is indeed a very valuable service that he has rendered and I am sure the Musalmans will appreciate it, since this journal represents a landmark in the history of journalism of undivided India.

I am one of those few fortunate persons left who had the honour of working with theMaulana as sub-editors of *Hamdard*, the first Urdu daily printed from movable types. Although I was with him for about two years only, yet my friendship with him remained up to the last day of his earthly life.

As Editor of *The Comrade* he fought many battles. In the begining he was a great admirer of the British Government so much so that he advised the Opposition to obliterate the line of demarcation between the rulers and the ruled so that the poet's dream might be fulfilled :

> 'I became Thou, Thou became I,
> I became body and Thou became life ;
> That none may henceforth say :
> I am different and Thou art different.'

But after General Dyer's massacre at Amritsar in April 1919 and the great Khilafat wrong in 1920 he vowed that he would henceforth work for the liberation of his motherland and the world of Islam. At the Round Table Conference held in 1930 he roared :

> 'I want to go back to my country, if I can go back, with the substance of freedom in my hand. Otherwise I will not go back to a slave country. I would even prefer to die in a foreign country so long as it is a free country, and if you do not give us freedom in India you will have to give me a grave here.
>
> 'It is for the sake of peace, friendship and freedom that we have come here, and I hope that we shall go back with all that.
>
> 'If we go back to India without the birth of a new Dominion, we shall go back, believe me, to a lost Dominion.
>
> 'British domination is doomed over India.'

During the Balkan War, Mohammad Ali organised a Medical Mission with the purpose of 'soothing the sufferings of the Turks' who were fighting single-handed with the Balkan Allies. This Mission of Mercy was sent under the late Dr. M.A. Ansari.

It left Bombay on the 15th of December 1912 with the good wishes of the then Viceroy, and after doing humanitarian work in Turkey returned to India after six months.

Towards the close of 1914 the First World War broke out. Turkey was as yet a neutral country. In the meantime the *Times* of London wrote a very stupid and provoking article headed 'The Choice of the Turks' in which it ordered Turkey to keep aloof from the war, otherwise 'the Ottoman Empire will be wiped out from the States of the world.' Mohammad Ali did his best to keep the Turks out of a war with which they had no concern. But this article was too much for him, for he thought that it might provoke the Turks to take sides with Germany, and so with a view to dissuading them from taking this course he wrote out a very brilliant reply to it under the same caption. As it happened, Turkey soon after entered the war on the side of Germany and came in direct conflict with her old Ally, Great Britain. When Mohammad Ali received the news he felt extremely hurt. But he had to pay a very heavy price for speaking the truth. The issue *of the Comrade* containing the article was forfeited, security was demanded from the press and in May 1915 he was interned first at Mehrauli, a plece near Delhi, then at Lansdowne and ultimately at Chhindwara in C.P. The last few months were spent in the Betul Jail. He was released only in the last week of December 1919.

Mohammad Ali's rejoinder was quite innocent. Men like C.F. Andrews declared that there was nothing in the article which could arn such a punishment as internment. Some English journals also criticised the British Government for taking such a drastic step against Mohammad Ali.

In the beginning of 1920, Mohammad Ali led a Khilafat Delegation to Europe to secure equitable terms for the Turks. The other members of the Delegation were Syed Sulaiman Nadvi and Mr. Syed Husain. In England they were joined by others. Mr. B.G. Horniman, Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall and Mrs. Sarojii Naidu also worked with the Delegation.

The Muslim Outlook which was edited by Mr. Abdul Qayyum Malik, was taken over by the Delegation to do propaganda work. The Delegation held meetings, wrote articles, and met various scholars and leaders of thought. The Delegation everywhere pressed for justice for the Turks in the light of President Wilson's fourteen points and the pledges given by the British Government's Ministers of State.

The Leader of the Delegation placed his case very ably before Mr. Fisher, Mr. Montagu and Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, but to no purpose. Mohammad Ali's soft words fell on deaf ears with the result that the Delegation returned to India disappointed. Turkey was dismembered and was reduced to a little backgarden between the Bosphorus and the Chatalja Lines. There were strong protests against this cruel dismemberment of Turkey and so the Khilafat Movement was started in India. In Turkey the Nationalist Movement gained momentum with the result that the Allies had to bow down before the combined efforts of the Turks and the Indian Musalmans. The Laussane Treaty was then signed to the satisfaction of Turkey and the

Indian Musalmans.

When the Khilafat agitation was at its full swing, the Ali Brothers and several others were arrested. The charge, in the words of Mohammad Ali, 'was of carrying the message of God to the Mussalmans in the Indian army of the English Government through a resolution of the Karachi All-India Khilafat Conference.' The inquiry commenced on 26th September and continued till the 1st of October 1921, to be followed by a trial at the sessions. All the accused, with the exception of Swami Shankrachari, were awarded two years' imprisonment.

Through this trial Mohammad Ali got an oportunity of explaining the Qur'anic point of view. He dissuaded the Indian Mussalmans from killing their brother Mussalmans by joining the British army in India. He quoted chapter and verse in support of his contention. Throughout this trial Mohammad Ali used J. M. Rodwell's translation. He said :

> 'Look at this English translation of the Holy Qur'an. This book contains many repetitions, and in spite of the same, it is a small book. . . . This book is the only important and vital source of all the laws of our religion. I think it is necessary to give a detailed explanation here and now, so that no possibility of any misunderstanding of any sort may arise later. You must know where the real fountainhead of my religion lies. I do not deduce my religion from the opinions of this or that individual. There is another source of our religion. We call it *Hadis* (sayings of Prophet). But as regards this real source there is not a single Muslim who can differ on a single verse of this book. This is the surest and most secure foundation of my religion and there is no possibility of having two opinions about it.'

The resolution, the subject of this prosecution, ran as under :

> 'This meeting clearly proclaims that it is in every way religiously unlawful for a Mussalman at the present moment to continue in the Birtish army or to enter the army, and it is the duty of all Mussalmans in general and of the 'Ulema in particular to see that the religious commandments are brought home to every Mussalman in the army.'

the underlying idea being that no Mussalman should kill another Mussalman intentionally and deliberately. Mohammad Ali stressed another point at the trial and it is that a Mussalman is bound to obey the commandments of his Creator first and then of any other worldly power. In other words, a Mussalman is true to his God first and then to his king.

Mohammad Ali was an invalid when he left for England to participate in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference. He delivered his memorable speech at the plenary session of the Conference on 19th November 1930, but soon after his condition grew worse. Two or three days before his death he addressed a letter to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, on the Hindu-Muslim question. This letter may be called a precursor of Pakistan. On 31st December he celebrated his daughter's birthday and invited a

number of guests entertaining them to Hindustani dishes from Shafi's Hotel and addressed them from what was practically his death-bed. He became senseless on the 3rd of January 1931 and on the morning of the 4th January at 9-30 a.m. he breathed his last in a serene manner.

After his death there was a discussion as to where he should be buried. Different persons put forth different claims, but ultimately the invitation of His Holiness the Grand Mufti of Palestine, Syed Amin al-Husaini, was accepted and the body of this great warrior of Islam was enshrined in the land which is the first Qiblah of Islam. Iqbal has truly sung: 'He travelled on the path by which the Prophet went up to Heaven.'

Mohammad Ali was the greatest leader of his time. He was a great speaker; a great writer; a good poet and a good story-writer. He spent his life in fighting for the emancipation of his own country from foreign yoke; he fought for Persia, for Egypt, for Turkey, for Palestine, for Tripoli, for Morocco and for Algiers. In short, he fought for Islamic interests wherever they were in jeopardy. He fought against every form of aggression against Islam. I have never seen a leader who, like him, fought on so many fronts. Even from his death-bed he fought for the liberation of the Mussalmans and Hindus of India. His was a unique figure and modern Islam has not produced the like of him.

May the choicest blessings of God be upon his soul!

MAULANA MOHAMMAD ALI

Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, (B.A. Hons., M.A.) (Alig.)

Scholar, poet, litterateur, journalist, politician, orator—Maulana Mohammad Ali was truly a versatile genius. His first love, however, was his Alma Mater, Aligarh, of which he was, in some respects, the most distinguished alumnus. He never tired of recalling the memory of the Founder of Aligarh College, Syed Ahmad Khan, in terms of the deepest affection and reverence. Throughout his life Mohammad dAli never ceased to cherish recollections of his association with Aligarh. Even in his last speech—his swan-song—at the Round Table Conference in 1930 he did not forget Aligarh but made a fond reference to the training he had received there under the fostering care of the famous English Principal, Theodore Beck.

It would be fitting, therefore, to begin with a brief reference to Mohammad Ali's association with Aligarh. Like some other great personages of history, he was orphaned in early childhood and owed his upbringing and education to the care and resourcefulness of a mother end owed with the highest qualities of character. Bee Amman, as she was affectionately called not only by her sons but, in course of time, by the people in general, sent her sons, Shaukat and Mohammad, to Aligarh, mortgaging her property, to give them the best of education. In doing so she incurred the wrath and opprobrium of her own family who, like many other Muslim families in those days, looked askance at the new scheme of things, introduced by the foreigner who had supplanted the Muslims as the ruling power of India. Bee Amman's foresight and courage were rewarded when her sons, on completion of their education, grew into leaders and rendered services which occupy an honoured place in the annals of this sub-continent.

In his early years at Aligarh, young Mohammad Ali was overshadowed by his elder brother Shaukat Ali, later known as the 'Big Brother,' who, in Mohammad Ali's words, was a very big 'boss' among his fellow students. Shaukat was a great sportsman. He was Captain of the famous Cricket XI of Aligarh which beat all other Cricket teams of the time in India, Secretary of the Siddon's Union Club of the College and many other things, and he ruled over his small realm, the College quadrangle, and held 'durbar' in the Cricket Captain's Sir lodging, 13 Syed Court, very much as a

potentate rules over and holds court in his kingdom. He did not take much notice of his 'inconsequential' younger brother, except, in Mohammad Ali's own words, 'to box his ears when some of his schoolmates complained to the elder brother about his militancy' and to pocket the joint pocket money of the two brothers as well as the small scholarship which the younger brother earned every year as the top boy in his class, thereby helping Shaukat 'to dress as a smart Cricket Captain of Aligarh should' and indulge his prettyt aste in silk shirts.'

However, the younger brother was soon to have his revenge. As Shaukat Ali, in one of his visits to Aligarh towards the fag-end of his life, told some of us, Mohammad Ali recovered with compound interest all the money grabbed earlier by the big brother by importuning him at the conclusion of every letter, full of high and noble sentiments and aspirations, to send him some more money on the pretext of having to buy books or clothes or to pay some subscription. The big brother, now holding a lucrative job and having awakened to the duties of an affectionate elder brother, yielded to every importunity of the younger brother. What, however, led Shaukat to do what few brothers have ever done was Mohammad Ali's phenomenal success at the B.A. examination in which he topped the list among thousands of candidates at the early age of nineteen, there being only one University in the U.P. in those days.

To send a student from India for higher education to Oxford sixty or seventy years ago involved a fortune, but Shaukat, who had as big a heart and vision as his physical frame, achieved a miracle by raising sufficient funds to send his beloved Muhammad to that dreamland, Oxford. He himself subsisted on his travelling allowances as a Government officer and remitted the whole of his by-no-means-meagre salary to Mohammad Ali at Oxford. He had high ambitions for his brother and wanted him to complete for and enter the I.C.S.—the be-all and end-all of the aspirations of most educated Indians during the British rule.

To return, for the moment, to Mohammad Ali's life at Aligarh, he showed uncommon intelligence but never worked regularly and diligently. He listened to lectures with rapt attention but seldom had the course books with him. He delighted in playing games, playing the truant and fighting for the cause of his fellowstudents, participating in debates in the College Union on the side which earned the displeasure of professors, and composing poetry. The taste for poetry he had inherited from senior members of his family at Rampur which had become the refuge of poets after the fall of the ruling dynasties of Delhi and Lucknow. As aschoolboy he had astonished his teacher, Maulana Shibli, by reciting and translating some Arabic verses and composing a lyric on the rhyme of an Urdu verse given to him. He shared his taste for poetry with some of his contemporaries like Sajjad Hyder Yaldrim, Khushi Mohammad Nazir 'Long-fellow,' Zafar Ali Khan, all of whom made a name for themselves in Urdu literature. They initiated the practice of holding a Musha'ira (poetical

sympposium) on the night of the full moon at the Cricket lawn. Once it rained and the Musha'ira had to be held in the Dining Hall which led Mohammad Ali to lament as follows:

فرش زمردیں نہیں ، وہ چاندنی نہیں
لطف مشاعرہ تو گیا چاندنی کے ساتھ

Even as an undergraduate at Aligarh, Mohammad Ali showed signs of extraordinary proficiency in English, both written and spoken, which after his sojourn at Oxford was to ripen into a mastery of the language that excited the admiration and envy of English scholars themselves. An article contributed by him to the College Magazine as a student at Aligarh elicited praise from his Professor and later Principal, Sir Theodore Morrison, who remarked that Mohammad Ali would one day become a unique writer in English. No one can deny that this prophecy came true.

When Mohammad Ali left Aligarh for Oxford in high spirits and hopes, the Principal heaved a sigh of relief at the departure of a rebellious student, but his fellow students were sad that one who had entertained them with his wit and delightful talk and who had spearheaded their activities being ever prepared to espouse their cause against the College authorities was leaving. He was conspicuous and popular among his contemporaries at Aligarh for his intellectual and social gifts, his scintillating wit, his warm friendliness and his engaging personality.

In England 'financed by the affections of a generous brother' Mohammad Ali had every chance of going astrary, but as he himself says in a letter to one of his friends that, though there was no dearth of beauty nor was the sense of perception thereof lacking, nor was his pocket empty, yet his disposition, contrary to the prevailing tendency, was towards abstemiousness. His character emerged unsullied from the trials of the life in England. The high hopes of winning a place in the I.C.S., however, remained unfulfilled, for a youth of Mohammad Ali's restless spirit and speculative mind could not be expected to tie himself to the drudgery of studying 'half a dozen subjects of a miscellaneous character' for which he had no aptitude.

The I.C.S. examination being more a test of 'mugged-up' knowledge, Mohammad Ali could not pass it. His failure, a course of sad disappointment to his family, was however going to be the precursor of a career for Mohammad Ali which would enable him to leave indelible marks of his greatness on the sands of time. After four years he left Oxford with an Honours Degree in Modern History. He returned to India not only bearing the stamp of the liberal and advanced education of Oxford but carrying himself every whit as an immaculately groomed Victorian gentleman complete with Saville Row suit and Curzon hat. Little did he know and little did any of his friends know that a few years later he would undergo a metamorphosis, both intellectual and sartorial, which would transform him from a fastidious and fashionable, westernised gentleman to a plainly, though not shabbily, clad, venerable Maulana burning with the passion of service to his faith and his country.

On return to India, Mohammad Ali, in his quest of a field for work and service, turned first of all to his first love, Aligarh. He offered his services as a Professor to his old

College. His application was supported by the Secretary of the College, Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, but strongly opposed by the Principal, Sir Theordore Morrison, who though recognising Mohammad Ali's abilities and qualifications, did not consider it safe to have a man of his independent character and spirit on the staff of the College. This was, indeed, a great disappointment to Mohammad Ali. He then turned to his native State, Rampur, where he served as the Chief Educational Officer only for a year but had to leave because of palace intrigues. He was then offered a job by the Maharajah Gaekwad of Baroda whose son and heir apparent had been his class-fellow and friend at Oxford. For about seven years he served Baroda State as Opium Officer and as Commissioner of Navsari with a devotion and distinction which won him the good opinion and confidence of his chief, the Maharajah Gaekwad.

What with his abilities as a thinker and writer and his dreams of service to his people, Mohammad Ali found himself like a fish out of water in a princely State. In spite of the busy life of a conscientious and hard-working official, he found time to contribute articles on topics of public interest to newspapers and journals.

His first major article entitled 'Thoughts on the Present Discontent' written, as he says, on a stormy night heralding the break of the Indian monsoon, appeared in the *Times of India* in 1907. To this day this article remains a classic example of vivid thinking, forceful expression and racy style. It won appreciation from no less a person than the then Viceroy of India, Lord Minto. The march of events in India and abroad and Mohammad Ali's lively interest in all that was going around him coupled with his irrepressible desire to play a part in the new life opening out before his countrymen led Mohammed Ali to make a momentous decision which was going to alter the whole course of his future life. The affairs of his community beckoned to him to come out of the narrow confines of a princely State. A great controversy on the Muslims' claim to be recognised as a separate political entity was raging at the time. Even though in service he took part in this controversy. It is on record that he attended the consultative meeting of leading Mussalmans at Dacca in December 1906 at which it was decided to form a political association of the Muslims, styled the All-India Muslim League, and that he was mainly responsible for formulating the scheme and the rules and regulations of this body which were published in the form of a brochure called the 'Green Book.'

Journalism seemed to provide an opening for him. Though he had served no formal apprenticeship in journalism, yet he decided, after long consultations with his friend, Mr. Lovat Fraser, Editor of *Times of India*, who was a great admirer of his style of writing, to take up journalism and start a paper of his own. In his own words, 'the reason which so irresistibly impelled me to take up journalism was that the affairs of my community just at that juncture made it the only avenue through which I could hope to reach a place in which I could prove of any appreciable use to it, while still

earning a livelihood. To him journalism was not a profession nor a career but a mission, and when the time came he was found willing and prepared to pay the price for working in a missionary spirit.

Once his mind was made up nothing could stop him from carrying out his resolve. At every step he was waylaid by temptations, but he overcame them. His chief, the Maharajah Gaekwad, was unwilling to spare him; he received attractive offers of jobs in other States and even in the Government of India. But he had decided to take the plunge.

While on his way to Calcutta he received a bulky telegram containing the offer of appointment as Chief Minister of Jaora State reinforced by the backing of no less a person than Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Imitating 'Nelson's famous incident of applying the telescope to his blind eye,' Mohammad Ali kept the telegram from the Ruler of Jaora unopened until the first issue of his weekly, *The Comrade*, was out in the first week of January 1911. At last Mohammad Ali had made his bow before the journalistic footlights and the ambition he had nursed so long and so fondly was realised.

A word about Mohammad Ali's mastery of English before we come to the stormy career of *The Comrade.* A glimpse into his astonishing knowledge of English is to be found in a statement of his life long friend and colleague, Mir Mahfooz Ali, another distinguished Aligarh Old Boy and a writer of repute. He says, 'Mohammed Ali's pervasive intellect acquired such mastery over English literature and diction, usages and idioms, form of expression and style of writing, that both his pen and tongue could employ with equal facility and skill the words and turns of phrase of the unlettered and the learned, villagers and town-dwellers, the poor and the rich, the labourers and the rulers. He remembered songs of boatmen, nursery rhymes, limerick, sallies of the street urchins of East End ; he could relate Bulls, riddles and puzzles. At the same time he had at the tip of his tongue the master pieces of the Classical, the Medieval and the Modern authors of English. He had kwowledge of the Old Testament and the New Testament of the Bible. He also remembered hundreds of literary jokes. Since his temperament was tinged with wit, humour and sparkling expression he could employ this style of writing so well and so spontaneously that it was often difficult to distinguish between his humour and that of the London *Punch.* This is not the opinion of an ignorant and insignificant Indian but the impartial view of leading English litterateurs.' His old friend Mr. Lovat Fraser, Editor of *Times of India*, paying tribute to Mohammad Ali on his death, regretted that the eulogies showered on him had omitted to mention that he had a marvellous command over the English language, that no Indian and perhaps very few Englishmen could write better than he did. Another remarkable appreciation came from a member of the editorial staff of *Bombay Chronicle* who expressed the following view: 'Whoever has not carefully read the pages of *The Comrade* has not understood the secrets of Mohammad Ali's personality. Mohammad Ali,

who is the most gifted journalist of the country, has poured out his heart into his paper through his pen and, at the same time, he has released such a ceaseless current of wit, humour and pungent writing as would be an object of envy for journalists in years to come. Mohammad Ali is unrivalled and will probably remain unrivalled in depicting the politics of men, their modes of action, and their movements.'

Mohammad Ali's style of writing was a fine and mellowed product of years of study of classics, both oriental and occidental. It was the flowering of a culture steeped in the best elements of Western learning and civilisation and Islamic lore. He had reached a stage where a writer finds the language a handy instrument to knock the raw material of thoughts and feelings into any form or shape he pleases. No doubt, he wielded the language as an artist, but he charged it with the vitality, the passion and the beauty which only a man with a noble vision and fervour could impart. He had a vast storehouse of knowledge and ideas on which he could draw, and he could turn to any subject with amazing facility of approach and sureness of touch and write on it with an ease and freshness that never failed to captivate the reader. He coined phrases; he used allusions and anecdotes; he related stories to illustrate points; he quoted from Scriptures, history and poetry; and he did it all in copious profusion.

He had a weakness for diffusion and digression which he himself admitted but which he could not avoid. In the case of another writer this tendency towards diffusion and digression would have been boring and even disgusting, but Mohammad Ali's writings never bored because of their delightful tenor, sparkling wit and vein of earnestness. As an Indian paper in its editorial comment on Mohammad Ali's presidential address to the Indian National Congress in 1923—the longest and the most scholarly address delivered from the platform of that organisation—remarked, it was impossible for Mohammad Ali to be dull as it was impossible for him to be brief. His earlier writings, when he wrote more as a scholar than a publicist or a leader, were from prolixity, but when he had become a leader with a mission he could not repress his deeply felt desire to fill the minds of his readers with all the thoughts and feelings which stirred his own mind and to leave nothing unsaid. Brevity of expression requires time for careful cogitation and pruning, and time was the one thing for which he was always hard pressed. The sentences in his writings, though long and winding, yet had a roundness and finish which only the artistry of Mohammad Ali could produce.

The Comrade—comrade of all and partizan of none—as Mohammad Ali himself called it, appeared as a bright star on the journalistic and literary firmament of the sub-continent. Right from its start it took the intelligentsia including even the mighty officialdom of those days by storm. Nothing like it had ever appeared before and nothing like it, it can be asserted without fear of contradiction, has appeared afterwards in the sub-continent. *The Comrade* easily could stand comparison with the most famous British papers like the *Spectator* and the *Puucn*,

Mohammad Ali's real aim in bringing out this paper was to voice his views on the evolution of the future policy of India as a 'Federation of Faiths' and 'prepare the Mussalmans to make their proper contribution to territorial patriotism without abating a jot of the fervour of their extra-territorial sympathies which is the quintessence of Islam.'

He also wanted to make his paper the interpreter of the views, feelings, needs and aspirations of the people to the ruling power. The paper, therefore, had to have come features which would make it attractive to the official world. As he himself says, 'Care had to be taken to interlard matters of the most vital interest to the India of the Indians with lighter reading in the form of verse, short stories and humour, not that Indians did not in course of time come to appreciate these features which were unusual in Indian journalism. *The Comrude* therefore, was an expensive publication but it was so pleasing, so delightful and so instructive that even a poor community like the Mussalmans made a generous response and it attained a large circulation. Mohammad Ali was ably assisted in his task of editorship by two very capable colleagues—Raja Ghulam Husain and Wilayat Ali 'Bambooque', both Aligarh men. The latter excelled as a writer of the humorous column which gave the *Comrade* its special charm.

It is no exaggeration to say that soon it became a fashion with educated Indians and even the bureau crate to subscribe to and read the *Comrade*. As the manager of the paper, Mir Mahfooz Ali, testifies, a considerable number of Englishmen subscribed to the *Comrade* read its articles with avidity and admired its getup and style of writing. The then Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, would not spare his complimentary copy of the *Comrade* for the whole week; so poor Lady Hardinge had to have another copy issued to her by paying subscription. The former British Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay McDonald, during his visit to India as a member of the Islington Commission, himself told Mohammad Ali that he regularly read the *Comrade* in England. Another interesting incident relates to a former Finance Member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, who on leaving India showed Mohammad Ali a bundle of the back numbers of the *Comrade* and said that that was the best present he could carry from India for his friend the Editor of the London *Punch* whose style of writing bore such remarkable r semblance to Mohammad Ali's that it was difficult to differentiate between the two.

The *Comrade* had started its career without any bitterness against the British and their Government in India. In fact, Mohammad Ali was actuated by the desire to promote good will and co-operation and remove misunderstandings between the rulers and the ruled with a view to enabling Indians with the help of the British to attain, in course of time, their due place as a self-governing unit in the British Commonwealth. Mohammad Ali was not oblivious of the benefits of a settled and ordered administration with its rule of law and of Western education despite its admitted defects from a

national point of view, but he valued them only as a step towards the attainment of the political destiny of India.

However, from the beginning there was not the slightest trace of cant, hypocrisy or sycophancy in the tone of the *Comrade*. Its comments were characterised by refreshing candour, sobriety and dignity, albeit with a tinge of humour and irony untainted by acrimony. The ideal it set before itself was denoted by the famous lines of William Morris appearing at the top of its title page in every issue.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare.
The truth thou hath, that all may share ;
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere ;
They only live who dare.

An inkling into his concept of the aim and purpose of journalism which he kept in view and tried to practise is to be found in his own words as follows: 'All that the journalist is expected to do is to see that his chronicle is accurate, and that the material he provides for the historian can be relied upon for the construction of the latter's fabric. A journalist has to appear not only as the spokesman but also as the leader of public opinion, not only to advocate the claims of the people but also to preach from the journalistic pulpit to his flock .... Our opinions have been offered more as friendly suggestions to our readers than as sermons delivered from a great height. They have not been lectures administered by a superior person, but *tete-a-tete* confidence exchanged between comrades' High and noble sentiments these but, the *Comrade* was soon to encounter heavy weather in its voyage.

Events both at home and abroad made it impossible for a man of Mohammad Ali's sensitive spirit to keep the barge of his journal on an even keel. Though he did not want any unnecessary clash with the authorities, yet he could not shut his eyes to certain developments both in India and abroad on which he had to take up attitudes that cost him the grace of the official world. In India the recognition by the Government of the Muslims' position as a separate entity for which Mohammad Ali had worked along with other Muslim leaders had given general satisfaction to the community. Mohammad Ali through his writings was trying to help his community to understand that, 'while endeavouring to satisfy the pressing needs of the present which may inevitably bring it now and then into conflict with other elements in the body politic, it should never lose sight of the prospects of the future when ultimately all communal interests had to be adjusted in order to harmonise with the paramount interests of India'.

Mohammad Ali's advocacy of the legitimate rights and interests of his community had no narrowness or truculence about it. But the attempt of the Hindus of Bengal, through methods of terrorism and anarchy, to coerce the British Government into unsettling the 'settled fact' of the partition of Bengal which had for the first time given to the Muslims of East Bengal the advantage of majority rights and the British Government's surrender to this campaign of lawlessness and betrayal

of solemn and repeated pledges administered the rudest shock to the Muslims.

This was the prelude to increasing bitterness and hostility between Muslims on the one hand and the Hindus and the British Government on the other, because it led the Muslims to the conclusion that they could neither rely on the good will and co-operation of the Hindus nor trust the sense of justice of the British. Even as early as 1911 Mohammad Ali held the view that the 'dassions these inter-communal differences had unfortunately roused just a little previously had lent to them the semblance of an acute international conflict'. The words 'international conflict' are significant in that they indicate Mohammad Ali's view of the character of Hindu-Muslim differences and the complex nature of the Indian body politic, in spite of his earlier faith in the eventual evolution of some form of united India about which he himself was sadly disillusioned twenty years later.

As Mohammad Ali states in his autobiography, the average Indian Mussalman had been brought up to regard England as the friend and Russia as the enemy of Muslim States like Turkey, but his faith was being shaken by the attitude adopted by Britain towards the new governments of Turkey, Persia and Morocco which were products of the movement for progress and reform. The subsequent years added further to the disillusionment and dismay of the Indian Muslims. The Balkan War and England's attitude towards Turkey deeply stirred the Muslims of India. At one stage of the War when things were going against the Turks who were the object of the deepest affections and hopes of Indian Muslims, Mohammad Ali even contemplated suicide which averted only by the accidental arrival in his office of a friend intent on taking him to a party arranged for an English friend from Oxford.

The estrangement between the British authorities and the Muslims was increasing, and the frankness and courage with which the spokesman of a 'subject race' was giving expression to its feelings were being frowned upon by the British authorities. From an exponent of national views and feelings Mohammad Ali was now stepping into the arena of active public life, taking definite actions on specific issues and events. During the Balkan War his feelings for Turkey as the spearhead of the Muslim world were so deeply stirred that he organised a special Medical Mission to go to Turkey for the succour of wounded Turkish soldiers. His article in the *Comrade* appealing for funds was so moving that contributions literally poured into the office of the *Comrade* which enabled the Mission, headed by the eminent physician, Dr. Ansari, and manned by some qualified doctors, male nurses and some prominent Aligarah students, to proceed to Turkey and render yeoman service. It may be mentioned in passing that during the Balkan War the Aligarh students showed a high spirit by giving up breakfast and meat dishes and contributing all the money thus saved to the Turkish Relief Fund.

Ever since the demise of its Founder, Syed Ahmad Khan, a movement had been afoot to raise the Aligarh College to the status of a University.

The College, unlike other educational institutions in India, had been founded as a result of the united wishes and concerted efforts of a whole community. It was the symbol of the Muslim people's social and cultural unity, the focus of their hopes and aspirations, the nerve centre of their body politic. The plan for the University, sponsored by the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, another creation of Syed Ahmad Khan, soon took on the complexion and force of a national movement. Government, however, had adopted an unsympathetic attitude towards the question of raising the Aligarh College to the status of a full-fledged University with an all-India character. Mohammad Ali took a prominent part in the movement for the establishment of such a University.

Government had laid down the condition that a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs should be collected before the grant of the charter for establishment of the University could be considered. Accordingly, the Muslim University Foundation Committee was formed with Rajah Ali Mohammad Khan of Mahmudabad as its Chairman. The Committee in its efforts to raise funds received valuable help from His Highness the Aga Khan and Shaukat Ali who together toured all over the country, arousing enthusiasm for the cause, and collected large sums of money. However, in its dealings with the Government the Committee encountered serious difficulties. The Muslims were insistent that the proposed University should be granted the right to affiliate institutions outside Aligarh and no restrictions should be placed on its autonomy. Government were opposed to both these demands.

In this connection Mohammad Ali expressed the following views: 'The Mussalmans want to evolve a certain type of education suited to their needs and genius, and they want an all-India organisation for that propose. The proposed Muslim University was primarily designed to furnish that organisation. But if the University is to be deprived of the power of guiding Muslim education throughout India by a well-planned system of affiliation, the main object underlying the University movement falls to the ground.'

The Foundation Committee at its meeting in December 1912 held in Qaiserbagh baradari at Lucknow reiterated the demands regarding affiliating powers and autonomy of the University. Leading figures like Nawab Viqarul-Mulk, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Nawab Ishaq Khan, and Sahibzadah Aftab Ahmad Khan suggested that a deputation be sent to the Viceroy to negotiate the terms for the grant of the University charter. On Mohammad Ali's motion the Committee approved the suggestion. Government, however, were adamant and negotiations proved infructuous. On the outbreak of the War in 1914 the question was shelved till after the cessation of hostilities. Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali were interned. Government's attitude caused deep disappointment among the Muslims and served to accentuate bitterness.

Another tragic event which brought Mohammad Ali actively into the scene was the shooting down by the police of unarmed Muslims who

were trying to rebuild a portion of a mosque demolished under Government orders in Cawnpore. Efforts to obtain redress of Muslim grievances failed. In September 1913 the All-India Muslim League sent a deputation consisting of Mohammad Ali and Syed Wazir Hasan, Secretary of the League, to England to seek redress of the grievances of the Muslims of Cawnpore, to impress on the British Government the need of revising its policy *vis-a-vis* the Muslim countries, and generally to explain to the Government and the people of England the Indian Muslim point of view on the various questions facing England and India.

The deputation was not received by the Secretary of State for India or any member of the Cabinet on the plea that it had approached the British Government over the head of the Government of India. This was, indeed, a disappointment. But the deputation was not altogether unsuccessful. It achieved its objective of educating the British public opinion and enlightening the British Press with regard to the conditions prevailing in India and the views and feelings of the Muslims. As a result of its efforts the Government of India, acting under instructions from His Majesty's Government, took certain steps to rectify the wrongs done to the Muslims of Cawnpore, including restoration of the demolished portion of the mosque and release of the persons arrested in this connection.

Mohammad Ali's first open clash with the British authorities came in 1913 when copies of the *Comrade* reproducing a pamphlet received by him from Turkey pathetically 'appealing to England for Christian succour against atrocities of the Balkan Allies in Macedonia', were declared forfeited by the Government under the Press Act of 1910. He appealed against this order to the High Court of Calcutta which, though not setting aside the order because of the all-pervasive character of the Press Act, pronounced a judgment which constituted a severe indictment of the Act and its authors and sponsors.

While Mohammad Ali was in Calcutta in connection with the case, the Magistrate of Delhi, where he had shifted his office following the transfer of the Government of India's seat to the same city, demanded deposit of the maximum security from the keeper of his press. To save the press from closing down his lawyers deposited the security which only a year later was declared forfeited and another security five times as much was demanded. These heavy blows which really resulted in the stoppage of the publication of the *Comrade* and closure of its press were occasioned by the most forceful ever article from the pen of Mohammad Ali entitled 'Choice of the Turks'. This article was written under most extraordinary circumstances and revealed Mohammad Ali's genius as a writer at its best. He was at the time bed-ridden owing to diabetic trouble.

Sitting up for forty hours at a stretch, forgoing sleep and rest and even food except some cups of strong coffee, Mohammad Ali wrote the most brilliant article of his journalistic career, running into twenty printed columns of the *Comrade*. It was a complete and effective reply to the fulminations of London

Times which, in an editorial under a similar caption, had, in a contemptuous tone, discussed Turkey's possible role in the War and had given it a gratuitous warning to keep aloof.

In his own words Mohammad Ali had surveyed the whole situation and had rapidly sketched the history of Turkey's relations with various European Powers, and particularly with England with a view to contrast the old friendly attitude, and its undoubled advantages to the two Powers one of whom had at its head a ruler who was the chief of the Faithful, and the Successor of their Prophet, while the other numbered far the largest Muslim population as members of its far-flung Empire.

In spite of the grave provocation offered by the London *Times*, Mohammad Ali after careful reasoning reached the conclusion that 'all truly loyal people had closed the chapter of civic controversy' and would not press for redress of their grievances, for 'concessions are asked for and accepted in peace.' The British authorities in the heyday of their power, however, were in no mood to listen to sane advice. Mohammad Ali's only offence was that he had held the approach of the London *Times* to be wrong and had urged the British Government to evacuates its forces from Egypt in fulfilment of Treaties and solemn pledges. The spokesman of a subject race had dared to speak with candour and the British authorities wanted to show him his place.

Immediately the article saw the light of the day Government came down with a heavy hand on the *Comrade* banned the article, declared the security of the press not only of the *Comrade* but also of its Urdu counterpart *Hamdard* which was not to blame in any way, forfeited. Enhanced security was demanded for which more than the required amount was immediately subscribed by Mohammad Ali's friends and sympathisers. He, however, decided not to risk a second forfeiture but to discontinue publication of the *Comrade* for the duration of War and to set up another printing press for publishing the *Hamdard*. In the last issue of the *Comrade* Mohammad Ali reiterated his journalistic faith with a classic farewell message: 'Whatever truth we had, we have declared freely and shared it with all. Everywhere that we could we have proclaimed it and even if truth has not always been proclaimed from the housetops, untruth has not been even whispered. No, we shall not die in the real sense of life and death. We have lived because we have dared, and we shall still dare, and we shall still live'

Broken in health, with his paper and press closed, Mohammad Ali sought some rest and was preparing to go to the hill station, Mussoorie, in the company of his friend and medical adviser, Dr. Ansari, in the summer of 1915 when the authorities served on him orders of internment in Mehrauli, a suburb of Delhi. From Mehrauli he and his brother Shaukat Ali who so far had taken no part in politics were removed to Lansdowne, a military station in Garhwal, north of U.P. With the approach of winter the Ali Brothers were transferred to Chhindwara, a God-forsaken place in the old Central Province of India. Here the two brothers applied themselves seriously to what Mohammad Ali called the discovery of their faith through a

proper study of the Holy Qur'an, the life of the Prophet and the works of Iqbal.

In his very revealing autobiography Mohammad Ali gives a vivid picture of the state of religious knowledge and training of an average Muslim youth in British India. Says he, 'They [the Muslim students] were progressive enough, and they were proud enough of being Mussalmans but they were also far too ignorant of their religion. No doubt, the ancillary position in which Aligarh stood as a College affiliated to a purely examining University rigorously neutral in religion and wholly colourless in ts learning—unless one may call it Western and English—did not permit it any efflorescence and orientation in the direction of more specialised Muslim culture and Eastern lore, such as one would expect from an educational institution mainly and primarily intended for Indian Muslims." Again, he says, 'At Aligarh there were frequent animate discussions among the students; but when they did not relate to Western literature, philosophy or science, they centred round Indian politics, which in my school and college days was far more concerned with the claims of the various contending comunities of India than with claims of the Indian people against the British Government. Our communal consciousness was, therefore, far more secular than religious, and although we considered Islam to be the final message for mankind and the only true faith, and could strenuously and even intelligently enough argue about the superiority of its chief tenets, we were shamefully ignorant of the details of its teachings and of its worldwide and centuries-old history.'

The enforced rest and peace of internment was a blessing in disguise for Mohammad Ali and his brother. It helped them fill in the gaps in their knowledge of Islam, its tenets and philosophy, for which of course they had always felt an attachment, albeit sentimental. This was a prelude to a revolutionary change in the thinking, the outlook, the sense of values, the mode of living and even the outward appearance of Mohammad Ali. He had never really been dazzled and overawed by the phenomenon of the intellectual and material 'progress' of the West. He could look beneath the surface of things even when he appeared to write and think and conduct himself socially as a Westernised product of a foremost English University. He now delved into the springs of thought, the spiritual founts of his own historical and cultural heritage. The more he studied, the greater was the fascination of his faith and cultural traditions for him. It was against the background of a divided society that he was getting prepared to function as a force destined to play a significant role in the remoulding of the social, intellectual and political life of his coreligionists.

The reverses suffered by the Muslim world in the second decade of the present century were inevitably affecting the Indian Muslims, and Western education, as Mohammad Ali says, was driving a wedge into the Indian Muslim society. It stood divided into the 'orthodox' section wedded to an 'empty ritualism' and

branding all modern activity as 'irreligiousness' and the men of 'New Light' claiming to be leaders of the collective life of their community, inspired by a zeal communal rather than religious, knowing little of their religion, sneering at the religious though not at religion, insistent on 'social reform' which meant in most cases merely unthinking adoption of Western ways. There grew among the men of 'New Light' a tendency to separate religion from life and to ridicule literal interpretation of sacred texts. For themselves they had a smug feeling of satisfaction that they were the 'reformed' though, as Mohammad Ali says, they never took the trouble of defining their 'reformed' beliefs and showing their consistency with the sacred texts. The society was faced with the challenging question whether Islam was only a label for the Indian Muslim or it had a living relationship with the worldly life.

Armed now both with spiritual fervour and rationalised knowledge of his faith and its tenets, Mohammad Ali felt that it was his duty to meet the challenge and also help his people to do the same. He had realised that Islam could ward off the onslaught against religion, because it had so little of dogma. He found that Islam had two characteristics which enabled it to meet the challenge of the West—firstly, the absence of 'any theory of separateness of the religious teacher from the common body of believers or of the consecration and authorisation for the performance of religious functions,' secondly, the link between religion and life because of the feeling of responsibility on the part of the individual believer and the consequent level of uniformity in Muslim society. In strengthening this sense of uniformity and in bringing the orthodox and the Anglicised together in a community of feeling and outlook Mohammad Ali was destined to play a vital role which changed the course of the Indian Muslim society. Paradoxical as it may seem, the process was helped hy the temporal misfortunes of Islam which forced the Indian Muslims to draw even closer to religion. The gap dividing the two sections was being rapidly bridged.

In the 'sylvan solitude' of Chhindwara where they were sujbected to even greater restrictions in the matter of receiving visitors the Ali Brothers found the reading of the Qur'an to be the greatest classic in the world, because it conforms to the standard by which a classic is judged, namely it is 'literature which reveals a fresh charm every time it is read and one is never tired of reverting to it.' While absorbed in his studies he often felt as if a particular passage read that day was revealed in response to his own prayer or to settle some point of doubt or controversy. After he had read the Qur'an through with its translation and explanatory notes he discovered that it invariably had the effect of 'intoxicating us with its simple grandeur, its intense directness and its incessant flow of motive power for the manifold activities of life.'

Islam, to Mohammad Ali, was no longer a bundle of dogmas and commandments. It had taken on a new meaning, a new coherence creating an effect of unity. His discovery of the meaning of Islam can best be

known from his own words : 'A single Divine purpose running through all creation from the remote genesis of the world to the very minute of our present existence. It was not a "far-off event," nor had we to wait for the advent of a Messiah and the realisation of a millennium when God's kingdom was to come. It had already come. . . . This was God's kingdom and every man was a servant of God and His annointed brought into the world for one human function—the service of his Maker and the fulfilment of his Divine purpose. . . The unity of the Creator postulated the unity of His creation and all was one vast theocracy with ALLAH for its king and Man for his earthly vicegerent. man made in the image of his Maker was not the sport of chance and slave of destiny but master of his fate. . .

'The keyword of the Qur'an was "Serve" and while man was free to serve whom he would his inborn inherent faith, the nature with which his Creator had endowed him at his creation told him that he was to serve none but the One God, the Creator, Sustainer, and Developer of all creation. . . . This rightless slave of ALLAH became free for ever and the equal of kings and emperors in the greatest of all republics and even superior to them if they presumed to resist the will of God when he had identified his own will with God's. Then as the vicegerent of God he had the full force of the universe at his back and had the entire Omnipotence of his Master at his beck and call."

The four and a half years of his internment thus saw a complete re-orientation in the spiritual outlook and life of Mohammad Ali. Islam and its mission became a burning passion with him. His life and personality became one intense expression of his convictions of Islam, its meaning and purposes. It even brought about a change in his mode of living and sartorial appearance. Mr. Mohammad Ali, the Oxford don of 1902, the Baroda State official of 1903-10, and the Editor of the *Comrade* of 1911, was now Maulana Mohammad Ali in flowing Arab robes, deeply conversant with Islam, its theory, history and philosophy and discoursing on these subjects with as much ease and competence both in English and Urdu as he could do on subjects of Modern History, Modern Thought, Politics and Literature and living close to the generality of his coreligionists.

Mohammad Ali was one of those spirits who, once his higher self was awakened, could not live in insolation ; his influence was infectious and pervasive. A whole generation of the young intelligentsia came under his spell and underwent a spiritual metamorphosis similar to his. In his inimitable style he gives a picturesque description of the change that came over the younger generation. He says : 'Young dandies who were on the outlook for the latest toilet preparations like European women of the smartest of the smart sets and were "fondly proud of a well-trimmed moustache as a European girl of her curls, are now to be seen in some cases with the most ungainly beards turning grey with the dust of an Indian summer."

It would, however, be wrong to suppose that Mohammad Ali developed

an outlook of dogmatism and fanaticism. He had, no doubt, a great deal of missionary zeal and was sometimes prone to express himself even aggressively, but he was certainly no obscurantist, and his view of Islam was characterised by an enlightened outlook, a breadth of sympathy and a deep and warm humanity. He describes his own attitude and that of the intelligentsia who followed his line of thought as follows : 'It must not be imagined that there has been any fanatical and irrational revulsion against everything Western. . . . . Their newly awakened spirituality has not driven them into an unthinking hostility towards the material progress without the gross materialism that would one day spell its ruin.' He regarded this change as rather an enlargement of their field of vision. They were brought into closer touch not only with conservatism and orthodoxy but also with the masses whose troubles they shared as comrades, and this paved the way for a levelling up and a greater community of thought and feeling in the Muslim society. In bringing about this consummation which was to have a profound effect on the destiny of the Muslims in the sub-continent Mohammad Ali undoubtedly had a large share.

To turn to the reasons of their internment, they were never definitely made known to Mohammad Ali and his brother, It was sometimes heard that in view of Mohammad Ali's attitude in regard to Turkey's participation in the War, Government could not take the risk of giving him freedom. There was also an allegation by Government circles that he had written a letter to the Amir of Afghanistan to invade India, but in spite of strong refutation and repeated challenge by Mohammad Ali it was never substantiated. Throughout the country deep feelings of sympathy for the Ali Brothers were roused and strong demand for their release was voiced. Mohammad Ali's friend and namesake, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, repeatedly raised the question in the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi but no satisfactory answer was given by Government.

Instead of meeting the public demand for justice, Government, as if to display their might and authority, transferred the Ali Brothers even from Chhindwara and lodged them in jail in Betul, thus depriving them of the little freedom they had at Chhindwara. Their only fault was that they had encouraged the Muslims of this place to build a mosque where they joined Friday prayers and delivered religious discourses. Attempts were also made by Government to extract from the Ali Brothers a declaration that they would refrain during the War from saying or doing anything which would directly or indirectly help the enemies of His Majesty's Government. The Ali Brothers' reply was that they were prepared to give such an undertaking on the condition that their religious obligations did not conflict with the Government. During his incarceration Mohammad Ali was honoured by his community through his election as President of the All-India Muslim League session at Calcutta in 1917. He could not preside but his portrait was placed in the chair. Moved to tears at the helplessness of Muslims

to secure Mohammad Ali's release, his friend Rajah Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan of Mahmudabad in the course of his speech recited the following:

بات کرنی ھمیں مشکل کبھی ایسی تو نه تھی

جیسی اب ھے تیری محفل کبھی ایسی تو نه تھی

All other Indian leaders who had been detained during the War were released; only the Ali Brothers, as if out of spite and vindictiveness, were detained even till after the cessation of hostilities. They were released only when general amnesty was declared in December 1919. They proceeded straight to Amritsar where the Congress and the Muslim League were holding their annual sessions. They were accorded a warm reception at both meetings, and immediately they threw themselves with their characteristic energy and enthusiasm into the whirlpool of the political struggle the twin aims of which were to secure rectification of the wrong done to Turkey as the spiritual leader of the Muslim world and to obtain Swaraj or self-government for India.

The War was over. Turkey lay prostrate and bleeding. There were talks of parcelling whatever was left of the Ottoman Empire among the Allies—France and Britain—and even the fate of Constantinople, the centre of Muslim power and unity for over five hundred years, seemed to hang in the balance. The Caliphate was in imminent danger of losing even the modicum of temporal power necessary to enable the Khalifah to protect the holy places of Islam and the Jazirat-ul-Arab. Nearer home, the hateful Rowlatt Act designed to curb public activity and the firing on unarmed people under orders of the notorious General Dwyer in Jallianwalla Bagh had caused the deepest indignation throughout India. The dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and threat to the temporal power of the Khalifah were deeply exercising the minds of the Muslims in India. The Montagu-Chelmsford constitutional reforms of 1919 had failed to satisfy even the most moderate section of Indian opinion. Under Mohammad Ali's leadership the Muslims of India took the stand that, according to the requirements of their faith, the Jazirat ul-Arab which included Hejaz, Palestine, Iraq, Syria and Turkey proper, must remain under the suzerainty of the Khalifah, immune from foreign control, and the Khalifa must be left with sufficient temporal power to protect the holy places of Islam including Jerusalem.

For this purpose the Khilafat Conference was organised. Its first step was to send a deputation of leading Muslims and Hindus to meet the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, and request him to convey the feelings of His Majesty's subjects to His Majesty's Government. The Viceroy's reply was to some extent sympathetic, but it did not deem to produce any effect on the attitude of His Majesty's Government. The Conference then decided to send a deputation to Europe to plead the cause of Khilafat with the participants of the Peace Conference and with His Majesty's Government. Within a month of his release, Mohammad Ali found himself sailing for Europe as leader of the deputation along with his colleagues, Maulana

Sulaiman Nadvi, Syed Husain and Hasan Mohammad Hayat. They toured through France and England. Mohammad Ali used all his powers as writer and orator to the maximum effect to press home the Muslim point of view and to plead the cause of Turkey in the name of justice and peace.

In the course of his campaign Mohammad Ali experienced an agreeable surprise in finding the eagerness of the large body of delegates at the annual conference of the British Labour Party at Scarboroug to hear him explain his religion and its requirements and to be chaffed on its reputed irreligiousness by a pagan evangelist. Though allowed only five minutes Mohammad Ali spoke for 20 minutes in response to the clamour and repeated applause of the delegates. However, the victorious Powers, flushed with victory and involved in the intricacies of their power-politics, were in no mood to listen to the pleas for justice, humanity and peace, and the deputation returned unsuccessful.

From now on Mohammad Ali had his 'home on wheels'. He, his brother and even his mother and wife were constantly travelling through the length and breadth of the country, carrying on intensive propaganda for the cause of Khilafat and Swaraj or self-government and raising public subscriptions for a mass movement. On the Muslims he and his colleagues impressed that their faith required of them to refrain from joining or serving in any armed forces which were employed against their brethern-in-faith or against the sanctity of the holy places of Islam. The country was echoing from one end to the other with the cry for rectification of wrongs done to the Khilafat, the Muslim States and the people of India. Never before had an entire people been aroused to such a pitch of awakening, enthusiasm and burning passion for freedom.

The credit for this unprecedented awakening and patriotic upsurge undoubtedly goes, in large measure, to Mohammad Ali's courage, sincerity, moral fervour and forensic ability and also to his brother Shaukat's drive and organising ability. The Muslims were the foremost in contributing more than ten million rupees. It was initially on the strength of this fund that Mr. Gandhi and other Congress Hindu leaders toured India and canvassed support for the non-co-operation movement. It is an undeniable fact that till that time Mr. Gandhi was not the dominant figure of the Indian political scene. It was the Ali Brothers who, in the exuberance of their sincereity and self-sacrifice in the larger cause of India's freedom, accepted and extolled him as the leader of the movement of 'national' liberation and enabled him to ascend on their shoulders to the 'gaddi' of 'national' leadership.

It was a mistake committed in all genuineness which the two Brothers were to regret only a few years later. However, the Congress and the Khilafat Conference jointly decided to launch a movement of what was called 'non-violent non-co-operation' under the command of Mr. Gandhi. There was some opposition to Mr. Gandhi's ideas and methods, particularly his penchant of giving a religious twist and colour to political programmes and

activities jointly supported by communities drawing inspiration from different and even conflicting religious sources which was soon to result in bitter controversies and conflicts. But with Mohammad Ali's powerful support arising from emotional effervescence Mr. Gandhi overcame the opposition and imposed his doctrines on what was claimed to be a movement of national liberation. The movement called for boycott of law-courts, schools and colleges and foreign cloth, renunciation of titles conferred by Government, resignation from Government posts, in short non-co-operation with Government in every way with a view to forcing its hands to abdicate its authority.

With unbounded enthusiasm and indomitable courage Mohammad Ali was travelling all over the country, popularising the movement when he was arrested at Waltair in South India on 14th September 1921 and brought to Karachi to stand his trial on a charge of conspiring to seduce Muslim troops from their allegiance to Government. The charge was based on a resolution passed at a meeting of the Khilafat Conference earlier held at Karachi under his presidentship in which an appeal had been made to Muslim soldiers to refrain from participating in attacks on Muslims of other countries and holy places of Islam as enjoined by their religion. The trial was held in Khaliqdina Hall of Karachi. In the course of a memorable speech lasting two days, Mohammad Ali argued his own case basing his defence on Qur'anic dictums. He and his brother were sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and lodged in Karachi Jail. In those days rigorous imprisonment was very much so, for there was no difference in the treatment of political prisoners and ordinary criminals and no A, B or C class of prisoners.

It was in this jail that Mohammad Ali planned to write a monumental book on the life of the Prophet, but could not do so due to lack of facilities. Instead, he attempted to produce a less ambitious volume entitled 'Islam, Kingdom of God:,' intended to be an exposition of Islam for the ordinary man, but even this work he could not complete. He had written only some notes, setting out his own educational, cultural and religious antecedents and dealing with the misunderstanding between Islam and the West, when he was released; and then he never had the time and leisure to complete the work. These notes have appeared under the title *My Life*: *A Fragment*.

A word may be said about the failure of the non-co-operation movement. It was due to four reasons : first, it was based on an ephemeral unity of the different communities, especially the Hindus and the Muslims, resting on emotional ebullience arising from the negative feeling of resentment against the tyranny of a foreign power rather than a realisitic appreciation of the internal situation and a solid understanding and accord between the communities regarding their rights, interests and claims ; second, it was a mixture of religious fervour and political struggle with the result that different communities subscribing to different religious creeds had different notions, expectations and ambitions leading inevitably to misunderstand-

ing and conflict at a later stage; third, it comprised a programme which was not based on adequate appreciation of the human capacities, limitations and aptitudes of the different communities ; fourth, Mr. Gandhi's leadership failed at the crucial stage of the movement.

It has been pointed out that the Muslims had taken the initiative in the preparations for the movement. Smaller in numbers and poorer by far in material wealth, they supplied the bulk of the funds. and when the time came they filled the jails in larger numbers and were foremost in renouncing titles and relinquishing Government posts. In a fit of misguided zeal some of them even migrated to Afghanistan whence they returned famished and disillusioned. Then a full-scale attack was launched on the Muslim University at Aligarh. Mr. Gandhi, supported by the Ali Brothers, visited the University and appealed to the Governing Body of the University to sever connections with the Government and refuse Government grant-in-aid and to the students to boycott the University.

Aligarh proved to be the test case. It provided the clue to the different motives which inspired the Hindu and Muslim leaders. While Mohammad Ali and his followers were prepared to go to any length to ensure the success of the freedom movement, even to the extent of sacrificing Aligarh far which Mohammad Ali's great love could never be doubted, Mr. Gandhi and other Hindu leaders were careful not to touch the Hindu University at Benares. The attack on Aligarh was an attack on a very vital part of the life of Islam in India, and later events showed the correctness of this view. The contrast between the Hindu leaders' attitude towards Muslim and Hindu institutions was too glaring to go unnoticed. What with the general levelling up in the ranks of the Muslims, the orthodox and the progressive, their energy, their boldness and self-sacrifice, they were becoming a power in the land, and Mr. Gandhi and other Hindu leaders got alarmed.

Taking advantage of a solitary incident of violence committed at a police station at Chauri Chaura in the district of Gorakhpur, Mr. Gandhi called off the movement just at a moment when the British Authority seemed to be unnerved, and a fearful reaction set in. The rightwing Hindu leader, Pandit Malaviya, had talks with the Viceroy, Lord Reading; Mr. Gandhi disclaimed responsibility for the strong tone of the Ali Brothers' speeches ; Shuddhi and Sanghtan movements were started to convert poor Muslims to Hinduism and to arm the Hindus; the facade of unity broke down and Hindu-Muslim riots started throughout the country.

These were the conditions which greeted Mohammad Ali on his release from jail in 1923. The Congress itself was divided into two factions—the 'no-changers' who stood uncompromisingly for non-co-operation and were opposed to entering the Legislatures and the other faction favouring 'responsive co-operation' and keen to join the Legislatures. It was against this background that Mohammad Ali was called upon to preside at the session of the Congress at Coconada in South India in 1923. The Congress was faced with the danger of a split. The 'responsivists' led by Pandit

Nehru, father of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, had threatened to quit the Congress if they were not allowed to contest elections to legislatures. Mohammed Ali, though himself a no-changer, brought about a compromise and saved the Congress from disintegration. He delivered a scholarly address on the occasion, giving a graphic review of the historical forces affecting India's destiny and a brilliant appraisal of the religious, social and political problems facing India. It may be recalled that it was at his instance that Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, then a comparatively young man, was elected as Secretary of the Congress at Coconada.

The failure of the non-cooperation movement produced a great reaction and disillusionment among the Muslims. They realised that it had resulted in nothing but ruin of the lives of hundreds of Muslims; misery for Muslim families, wastage of their sacrifices set-back to their educational and economic advancement and increasing aggressiveness of the Hindu majority in all spheres. Conscious of these discouraging developments, Mohammed Ali manfully strove to preserve the ideals of inter-communal harmony and cooperation. He tried to induce the Hindus to show a little generousity to Muslims and the Muslims to show trust in Hindus.

He restarted his two papers the 'Comrade' and the 'Hamdard' to propogate his views. He never missed a chance to strive for bringing about an understanding and reconciliation between Hindus and Muslims with regard to their claims and interests in any scheme of self-governance for India, because he was fully convinced that without such a reapprochement there could be no progress towards real freedom and independence which could bring contentment to all elements of the body-politic. He organised unity conferences and sought to promote solution of the questions which caused friction and discord, for instance cow-sacrifice and music before mosque. Whenever riots occured Mohammed Ali promptly acted to pacify feelings and chided the Muslims for their faults, though Mr. Gandhi never uttered a word about Hindu excesses.

In 1927 he strongly supported the proposals, put forward by his namesake, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, for the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question, The Delhi proposals, as they were known, provided for separation of Sind from Bombay, as raising of N.W.F.P., to the status of an autonomous province, introduction of reforms in Baluchistan, statutory recognition of the slight Muslim majorities in the Punjab and Bengal and reservation of one-third seats for Muslims in the Central Legislature. He got the Madras session of the Congress to endorse these proposals and it seemed as if the history of the Lucknow Pact of 1916 would be repeated. But the force of Hindu domination headed by Mr. Gandhi were working in the contrary direction. An All-Parties Conference was called at Bombay in 1928 which appointed a special committee with Pandit Motilal Nehru as its chairman to frame a constitutional scheme for India. The scheme produced by this committee, popularly know as Nehru Report, dashed all hopes of a fair settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question, because it completely

watered down the Delhi Muslim proposals.

Mohammed Ali and his namesake, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, still did not lose hope. They made a final effort to persuade the Hindu leaders to adopt a reasonable attitude and secure a few modifications in the Nehru Report with a view to meeting the just demands of the Muslims at ihe second All-Parties Conference at Calcutta in December 1928. Both, however, met with a rebuff which completely disillussioned and sadened them. Mr. Jinnah had left the Congress earlier, though he had not ceased to work for Hindu-Muslim rapprochement. For Mohammed Ali this was the point of no return. He left the Congrcss which he had nursed with his blood, never to return again. His fault was that, though yielding to none in his devotion to the cause of freedom of India as a whole, he was not prepared to agree to the vassalisation of Muslims in a Hindu-dominated India, and for this he was spurned and cast aside by Mr. Gandhi and other Hindu leaders who owed so much to his support and sacrifices.

Even when he was in the Congress Mohammad Ali never surrendered his soul and was never apologetic in stating his view on the questions of religion and politics. In the course of his stirring speech at the Round Table Conference he boldly declared, "It is a wrong conception of religion that you have, if you exclude politics from it. It is not dogma, it is not ritual, Religion to my mind means the interpretation of life. I have a culture, a polity, an outlook on life-a complete synthesis which is Islam. Where God commands I am a Muslim first, a Muslim second and a Muslim last and nothing but a Muslim. If you ask me to enter into your Nation by leavlng that synthesis, that polity, that ethics, I will not do it."

Having lost all hope of friendly understanding and accord Mohammed Ali boldly came forward to expose the designs of Hindu leaders and warned the Muslims of the dangers facing them. In a characteristic parody of the words used by Government street-criers to announce the dual sovereignty of India before notifying any Government order, Mohammad Ali said, "Under the proposed regime of the Nehru scheme of Mr. Gandhi the Government street-criers will anounce the new dual sovereignty of India by declaring the formula. Khalq Khuda Ki, Mulk British ka, Hukm Mahasabha Bahdur ka." (People belong to God, country belongs to the British. Government belongs so the Hindu Mahasabha Bahadur.)

Presiding at a public meeting in Bombay in 1930 Mohammed Ali did some plain speaking. He said, "Mr. Gandhi is working under the influence of the communalist Hindu Mahasabha. He is fighting for the supremacy of Hinduism and the submersion of Muslims. He has never consulted the Muslim community on the question of starting Civil Disobedience Movement. He wants to triumphantly pass over the head of the Indian Muslim community. We have not broken any pledge, pact or treaty. We are not traitors of India. The Musalmans have been oppressed and persecuted by the excesses of the Hindu majority in the last ten years but Mr. Gandhi

never tried to improve matters or condemn Hindu terrorism against Muslims. He never denounced the movements of Shuddhi and Sanghthan which openly and clearly aimed at annihilation of Muslims and Islam in India. He pudiated and broke the Madras Hindu-Muslim agreement. Now we have no option but to follow the Quranic teaching, namely 'if you fear treachery and pledge-breaking from any community, then throw her treaty on her face. Allah does not approve the action of traitors and pledge-breakers."

It would be interesting to find out the real attitude of Mohammed Ali on the question of the relationship of communities and groups that went to make up the complex structure of the body-politic of pre-independence India. As far back as 1911 he declared in the first issue of the 'Comrade': We have no faith in the cry that India is united......The problems of India are almost international...... We may not create today the patriotic fervour and the fine national frenzy of Japan with its 40 million of homogeneous people. But a concordat like that of Canada is not beyond the bounds of practicability. It may not be a love marraige born of romance and poetry. But a *marriage de convenance*, honourably contracted and honourably maintained, is not to be despised."

Again on commenting on "Separate electorate" he wrote, "The problems of India are not so national as international. And in International Law, the strength of a country or power does not count, for the basic principle of that Law is the equality on all nations. The Mussalmans stand on a par with the smaller powers of Europe and can even claim like those Powers absolute equality in all inter-communal controversies. But they do not do so, and limit their demand to such a representation as is adequate and effective for the preservation of their existence and honour."

In 1912 Mohammed Ali again asserted, "A United India does not exist today. We have to create it and the first necessary condition before it can be created is to recognise that it does not exist." He warned the pseudo-nationalists of India in the following words. "We would warn our countrymen against playing the sedulous ape in their methods of nation—making as we have warned them in the matter of choosing their political goal......In India political unity can be achieved not so much by annihilating smaller units that may appear to conflict with the ultimate scheme of unity but by recognising their force and inevitableness."

There is another glimpse of his vision of the India of the future in the following paragraph of his book, 'My Life. A Fragment' : "I had long been convicned that here in this country of hundreds of millions of human beings, intensely attached to religion, and yet infinitely split up into communities, sects and denominations, Providence had created for us the mission of solving a unique problem and working out a new synthesis. It was nothing less than a Federation of Faiths. The lines of cleavage were too deeply marked to permit a unity other than federal and yet the cleavage was not territorial or racail in character but religious and I had been dreaming for sometime dreams of a United Faiths of

India."

Mohammed Ali's final view of the problem of India was expressed in his last letter to the British Prime Minister from his sick-bed in London as follows: "The Real problem before us is to give full power to Muslims in such provinces as those in which they are in a majority, whether large or small, and protection to them in such provinces as those in which they are in a minority, and in order to be absolutely fair to the Hindu community also, precisely the same thing must be done with the Hindus." This, in other words, was also the essence of the Pakistan Scheme.

If Mohammed Ali's vision of a 'United Faiths of India.' did not materialise it was not for want of any effort on his part. If he failed to realise his dream it was because of the existance and operation of these inexorable historical factors and forces which with the best of intentions in the world, it was impossible to reconcile. It is clear from the extracts given above that Mohammed Ali definitely regarded the Mnslims as a nation and the body-politic of India as a conglomeration of nationalities. His view was that a composite nation might arise in course of time if the different nationalities treated with each other on a footing of equality and eschewed all idea of absorption or domination. But since the Hindu majority could not show the spirit of accommodation this consummation could never come off.

In his own life-time Mohammed Ali saw his dream of a 'Federation of Faiths.' shattered. His soul, however, must be happy in the knowledge that his namesake, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in whom he had hopes of leading the Mussulmans to their cherished goal, successfully foiled the combined manoeuvres of Hindu leaders to subjugate the Muslims.

Mohammad Ali's last days were marred by ill-health as well as mental and spiritual agony. He had his short-comings which great man has not. But these were the faults of his qualities. He was generous to a fault, trusting to a fault, emotional and enthusiatic to a fault, and prone at times, to go to extremes in controversies.

Khilafat, which was his spiritual anchor rather than a mere political creed, came to a grievous end. His life-long efforts for a Hindu-Muslim concordat foundered on the rock of Hidu intransigence. He was misunderstood and mis-represented even by his erswhile colleagues and his co-religiounists. Indian public life had descended to such a low level and had become so devoid even of elementary decency that the incident of the Viceroy's surgeon going to see Mohammed Ali as he lay seriously ill at Simla in 1930 was pounced upon by the Congress press as evidence of Mohammed Ali's complicity with the British and betrayal of India's cause !

Knowing that he was a dying man with chrohic diabetes and a dilated heart, he yet decided to go to England to attend the Round Table Conference and make his final contribution to the solution of India's constitutional problems. He incurred the displeasure of his erstwhile admirers as he left the shores of India, but only a month later they were to receive the shock of their life from his last heroic utterance at the Con-

ference which silenced all criticism and won him an indeliable place in the history of freedom movements of the world.

Sick in body, unable even to stand on his feet, Mohammed Ali made a speech which took in its sweep the entire gamut of Indo-British and Hindu-Muslim relationships, the intricacies of the constitutional problems, the faith and aspirations of the Muslims, and revealed his intense convictions both as regards the freedom of the peoples of India and the ideolegy of Islam. The speech showed such cheerfulness of spirit, such happy phraseology, such delightful wit and humour, such a penchant for interesting anecdotes that one could hardly believe it came from the lips of a sick man hovering between life and death.

It was in the course of this speech that he made the famous prophetic declaration, "If you do not give us freedom in India you will have to give me a grave here." He proved true to his words. He did not return to a slave country. His death reminds one of the famous line of Ghalib which he himself was very fond of reciting :—

رکھ لی مرے خدا نے مری بیکسی کی شرم
مارا دیار غیر میں مجھکو وطن سے دور

On 4th January 1931 he died in London of brain haemorrhage caused by excessive mental effort in dictating a long letter to the British Prime Minister setting out an original scheme for the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem. As a true Muslim he had the rare good fortune of being buried at the foot of the graves of the Prophets of old in Jerusalem.

Of the innermerable eulogie showered on him by all the great men we may recall the tribute paid by H.G. Wells, one of the greatest intellectuals of the present century ; "Mohammed Ali had the pen of Macaulay, the tongue of Burke and the heart of Napoleon."

Mohammed Ali belonged to that rare band of Men who suffer and die that others may live in freedom and happiness. He stood for and exemplified in his life certain values and qualities by which the present age does not seem to set much store. These are selflessness, self-sacrifice, even self-effacement in pursuit of moral idealism, and sincerity, courage and fearlessness stemming from God-consciousness. Their intrinsic worth, however, is universal and eternal, and our people will have to return to them if at all they wish to achieve anything worthwhile. Nevertheless, Mohammed Ali's example will shine as a beacon in surrounding darkness. The whole tenor of his life is illustrated by a quatrain which he often chanted to himself :

فریاد و فغاں بلبل ناشاد کئے جا
مہمان قفس خاطر صیاد کئے جا
فریاد ھو یا نالہ ھو یا آہ جگر سوز
جو ھو سکے تجھسے دل ناشاد کئے جا

———

محمد علی جوہر : ادیب اور خطیب

سید ہاشم رضا ، سی ایس پی ،
سکریٹری محکمہ صحت و سماجی بہبود حکومت پاکستان (راولپنڈی)

بر صغیر ہندوستان و پاکستان میں انیسویں صدی کے آخر میں دو سال کے عرصے میں دو ایسی ہستیاں پیدا ہوئیں جنہوں نے مسلمانوں کی تاریخ کا رخ موڑ دیا دونوں کے ناموں میں محمد مصطفے اور علی مرتضے کی برکتیں شامل تھیں - ایک کا نام نامی محمد علی جناح تھا جو ۱۸۷۶ء میں پیدا ہوئے دوسرے کا اسم گرامی محمد علی جوہر تھا جن کا ورود ۱۸۷۸ء میں ہوا - دونوں نے بر صغیر میں اسلام کا نام دوبالا کیا - دونوں نے مسلمانوں کو خواب غفلت سے جگایا اور عمل کی راہ پر لگایا - دونوں نے مسلمانوں کی نجات کی کشتی کو حوادثات اور طوفانوں سے بچایا - مولانا محمد علی نے اپنا خون اور پسینہ ایک کر کے اس کشتی کے مستول اور بادبان درست کئے - اس کے ملاحوں کو محنتی اور نڈر بنایا - اس کے مسافروں کو ہمت دلائی - اور قائداعظم محمد علی جناح نے اپنی بے مثل رہنمائی سے اس کشتی کو ساحل مراد تک پہنچایا - محمد علی جوہر نے مرنے سے چھ ہفتے پہلے جس آزاد مملکت کی تمنا کی تھی محمد علی جناح نے ۱۶ برس بعد اس آزاد مملکت کو دنیا کے نقشے پر متعین کر دیا اور اس شان سے کہ یہ دنیا کی پانچویں بڑی مملکت کہلائی -

آج اس مرد مجاھد کی وفات کی تیسویں برسی ھے جو رامپور میں پیدا ہوا - جس نے دہلی کراچی ، بیجاپور - چھندواڑہ اور بیتول کی جیلوں میں قید و بند کی سختیاں جھلیں ، جس کی روح ۴ جنوری ۱۹۳۱ کو لندن کے ایک ہوٹل میں قفس عنصری سے پرواز کر گئی اور جس کا جسد خاکی فلسطین کی متبرک سر زمین میں محو خواب ھے - کل ۵۳ برس کی زندگی میں انہوں نے وہ کارھائے نمایاں انجام دئے جو بڑے بڑے لیڈر سو برس میں کر کے نہیں دکھا سکتے ، وہ مشرقی ماحول اور انگریزی تعلیم کا بہترین امتزاج تھے - وہ مسٹر بھی تھے اور مولانا بھی ، جزباتی بھی تھے اور فرزانہ بھی ، انگریزی اور اردو نثر اور نظم دونوں پر کامل دسترس رکھتے تھے ان کے پہلو میں شیر کا دل تھا اور منہ میں بلبل کی

زبان، وہ جب چاہتے محفل کو کشت زعفران بنا دیتے اور جب چاہتے ہنستے ہوؤں کو رلا دیتے ۔ ان کی شخصیت میں جاذبیت بھی تھی ۔ اور رعب بھی، ان کے جسم پر انگریزی لباس اور عربی جبہ یکساں طور پر سجتا تھا ۔ اور قیدی کے لباس میں بھی جامہ زیبی کا وہی عالم رہا کہ ۔

دوڑ کر سب نے کلیجے سے لگانا چاہا

ان کے دماغ میں سیاست کا سودا تھا ۔ ان کا سینہ قرآن کے نور سے بھرا ہوا تھا ، انہوں نے کانگریس کی صدارت بھی کی اور وہ مسلم لیگ کے صدر بھی منتخب ہوئے ۔ جب مسلم لیگ کے سالانہ جلسے کا وقت آیا تو وہ مسند صدارت کے بجائے قید فرنگ کے بورئے پر تھے اور چونکہ ان کی جگہ پر کرنے کے لئے کوئی تیار نہ ہوا لھذا ان کی تصویر صدارت کی کرسی پر رکھ دی گئی اور یوں اُن کی غیر موجودگی میں بھی ان کی ذات ساری محفل پر چھائی رہی ۔ میں آج کی مختصر مجلس میں ان کی ہمہ گیر شخصیت کے دو پہلو پیش کروں گا ۔

ادب کی افادیت کا جب سوال اٹھتا ھے تو یہ بحث چھڑ جاتی ھے ۔ کہ ادب برائے ادب ہو یا ادب برائے زندگی ، جوھر کا ادب برائے زندگی تھا ، کامریڈ اور ھمدرد کے صفحات کی ورق گردانی کیجئے تو آپ پر جوھر کے قلم کے دو نمایاں پہلو واضح ھو جائینگے ، ایک تو ان کا اسٹائل اور دوسرا ان کا مشن ، ان کے اسٹائل کا یھ عالم تھا کہ ایک مرتبہ سی آئی ڈی نے حکومت کو ایک خط پیش کیا اور رپورٹ کی کہ خط مولانا محمد علی نے امیر حبیب‌اللہ والی افغانستان کو لکھا تھا ۔ یہ وہ وقت تھا کہ خلافت اور ترک موالات کی تحریکیں سارے ھندوستان میں آگ کی طرح پھیل رھي تھیں ، اس خط میں امیر کابل کو دعوت دی گئی تھی کہ ھندوستان پر حملہ کریں اور یہ وعدہ بھی کیا تھا کہ حملے کی صورت میں ھندوستانی مسلمان اپنے افغانی بھائیوں کی ھر ممکن امداد کرینگے ، حقیقت میں یہ خط جعلی تھا اور حکومت کی خوشنودی کے لئے تیار کیا گیا تھا ۔ چونکہ اس زمانے میں حکومت مولانا محمد علی کے خلاف ھر الزام کو درست سمجھتی تھی لہزا یہ خط وائسرائے کی خدمت میں پیش ھوا اور وائسرائے نے گورنروں کی کانفرنس میں اس کا ذکر کیا ۔ ایک گورنر نے جو Comrade کے صفحات کا باقاعدہ مطالعہ کیا کرتا تھا کہا کہ میں وثوق سے کہہ سکتا ھوں ۔ کہ یہ خط محمد علی کا نہیں ھے کیونکہ یہ انگریزی محمد علی کی نہیں ھے ، وائسرائے نے اس رائے سے اتفاق کیا اور اس خط پر کوئی کاروائی نہیں کی ، لیکن اگر مولانا کو اس جعلی خط کی پاداش بھی اٹھانا پڑتی تو شاید وہ اپنا یہ شعر دھراتے ۔

هم کو خود شوق شہادت ہے گواہی کیسی
فیصلہ کر بھی چکو مجرم اقراری کا

مولانا کے مشن کے دو پہلو تھے -

(۱) دنیا کے مسلمانوں کی سر بلندی

(۲) ہندوستان کی آزادی

ایک مرتبہ ایک مصور نے مولانا کو ایک oil Painting پیش کی جس کے نیچے لکھا تھا - ''جامع مسجد دهلی'' اس تصویر میں مسجد کی سیڑھیوں پر ایک گداگر عورت کو دکھایا گیا تھا - جو برقعہ اوڑھے دو بچوں کی انگلی پکڑے کھڑی تھی - مولانا نے تصویر اس شرط پر خریدی کہ اس کے نیچے کی عبارت کے بجائے مولانا کے یہ الفاظ درج کر دئے جائیں -

"Her Fathers Built it"

یہ مسجد اسی خستہ تن کے آباؤاجداد نے تعمیر کی اب یہ پینٹنگ جامع مسجد دھلی کی تصویر کے بجائے ایک تصویر درد بن گئی

مسجد مچھلی بازار کانپور کے ایک حصے کے انہدام پر مسلمانوں کے جذبات میں جو ہیجان پیدا ہوا - اور جس کے احترام کے لئے کئی سرفروشوں نے اپنا خون بہایا اس کی داستان ''ہمدرد'' کے صفحات میں بر صغیر کے مسلمانوں کی بیداری کا مظہر بن گئی -

۱۲ اگست ۱۹۱۳ء کے 'ہمدرد' میں مولانا نے لکھا :-

''کانپور کے حادثہ قلق انگیز و خون ریز کے بعد سرجیمس مسٹن (گورنر صوبہ متحدہ آگرہ واودھ) کی انصاف پسندی حق گوئی اور رحم دلی پر بھروسہ کر کے ہم روزہ دار کی طرح گوش برآواز تھے کہ جناب والا قدر کی تقریر آگرہ نے اس آخری آمید پر بھی پانی پھیر دیا، اس تقریر سے عمر بھر میں پہلی مرتبہ ہم کو یہ معلوم ہوا کہ رسم عزاداری میں کشتگاں محبت کے وارثوں سے الٹا گلا بھی کیا جاتا ہے،

هز آنر کے اس اظہار حیرت سے دو سوال پیدا ہوتے ہیں - اول تو یہ کہ بیرونی اصحاب نے لطف تماشا کی غرض سے گورنمنٹ اور مسلمانان کانپور کے درمیان بدمزگی پیدا کی اور دبے دبائے معاملے کو سوئی ہوئی بھڑوں کی طرح جگا دیا، دوسرے یہ کہ خود کانپور میں بے حرمتی مسجد کے متعلق نہ کوئی احساس تھا اور نہ کوئی جوش مگر چاروں طرف کی ہائے پکار سے احساس بھی پیدا ہو گیا، جوش بھی موجزن ہو گیا اور شہیدان محبت اور دیوان گان عشق سنی سنائی باتوں پر مرنے مارنے اور جان ہارنے پر کمر بستہ ہو گئے - اگر بنائے حیرت پچھلی وجہ ہے تو خود ہمیں اس پر کچھ حیرت نہیں ہے کیونکہ حضورموصوف سے پیشتر ''لندن ٹائمز'' اور بعض دیگر اهل الرائے جنگ ترکی اور بلقان کے متعلق ہمیں قصوروار ٹھیرا چکے ہیں کہ ہم ترکوں کو ان کی مرضی کے خلاف لڑاتے جاتے ہیں - اور

اب بھی اینگلوانڈین اخبارات اسی قسم کے آوازے کس کر مسلمانوں کے فریاد کوش گلوں میں سرمہ ڈالنا چاہتے ہیں - لیکن اب کہ گورنمنٹ نے وقتاً فوقتاً مسلمانوں کو مانگنے اور گلہ پھاڑ کر مانگنے کا سبق ازبر کرا دیا ہے، اور اب کہ مسلمان یہ بخوبی سمجھ چکے ہیں کہ ہمارے منصف مزاج فرما روا حضرت مسیح علیہ‌السلام کی تعلیم ''دروازہ کٹھکھٹا اور وہ تجھپر کھولا جائے گا'' پرشد و مد کے ساتھ کاربند ہیں - اور ہم سے بھی اسی تعلیم کی پیروی کرانا چاہتے ہیں ہم افسوس کے ساتھ لکھتے ہیں کہ مسلمان اس سبق کو کبھی نہ بھولیں گے، اور جب تک ان پر دروازہ کھولا نہ جائے گا وہ اسے برابر کھٹکھٹاتے رہیں گے۔ خواہ دروازہ کھلنے پر ان پر گولیوں کی بوچھاڑ یا پھولوں کی بارش ہو لیکن اگر اس سے مراد مسلمانان کانپور کے احساس و جوش کا عدم ثابت کرنا ہے تو ہم ہزآنر کا ذہن ان عذرات کی طرف منتقل کراتے ہیں جن پر ہزآنر نے توجہ نہ فرمائی تھی، اگر اس وقت وہ مسلمانوں کے زخمی دل کو ملا خطہ نہ کر سکتے تھے تو اس وقت تو وہ شہدا کے دہان‌زخم سے ضرور فریاد سنتے ہوں گے''

جب بادل ناخواستہ مولانا کو ۱۹۲۹ء میں 'ہمدرد' کو بند کرنا پڑا تو'' الوداع آخیر کے عنوان سے مولانا نے جو مضمون لکھا اس کے چند اقتباسات یہ ہیں :-

''اخبار کی گرم بازاری عاشق کے گھر کی رونق سے کسی طرح کم نہیں - دونوں ایک ہنگامے پر موقوف ہیں اور دونوں کے لئے نوحۂ غم ہی سہی، نغمہ شادی نہ سہی

''میں تو ایک گدائے بے نوا ہوں - بے سروسامانی میرا سامان ہے، میرے پاس اگر کوئی پونجی ہے تو صرف اسقدر کہ دل میں چند ارادے اور دماغ میں چند افکار ہیں جنکی تکمیل کا بھروسہ خداوند کریم کی توفیق فرمائی پر ہے، اس کے سوا نہ کوئی ساز رکھتا ہوں اور نہ کوئی سامان ، اس پونجی کو لے کر بازار جہاں میں نکلا ہوں، ان چند افکار کے سوا میرے ہاتھ خالی ہیں، نہ تو میری جیب میں دولت ہے، جس کا مجھے غرور ہو نہ میرے پاس طاقت ہے ، جس کا مجھے گھمنڈ ہو...................... دو سو روپیہ سے زیادہ کا خسارہ جنوری میں ہوا، فروری اور مارچ کے خسارے تقریباً ۲۵۰ روپیہ ماہوار کے حساب سے ہوئے، اب سوائے اس کے اور کیا چارہ ہے کہ میں 'ہمدرد' کو بند کردوں .... لیکن جو کام اب میں نے ساری عمر کے لئے اپنے لئے تجویز کیا ہے خواہ وہ دھلی میں بیٹھکر کیا جائے یا کہیں اور جا کر، وہ پہلے مسلمانوں میں اور پھر ساری دنیا میں فکر اسلامی پیدا کرنے اور کفروالحاد کے اس سیلاب کے مقابلہ کرنے کا ہے جو یورپ سے وطن پرستی اور جنسیت‌وقومیت کی شکل میں امڈا آ رہا ہے، اور جو ترکی اور ایران شام اور عراق ہی نہیں بلکہ افغانستان اور ہندوستان میں بھی نوجوان مسلمانوں کو خدا اور آخرت دونوں سے انکار کی طرف مائل کر رہا ہے .... اس لئے میں بار بار کہتا

هوں کہ خدا نے انسان کو بنایا اور شیطان نے قوم کو بنایا ۔ یہی وہ فکر اسلامی ہے جس کی نشروتبلیغ ہر مسلمان کا فرض ہے تاکہ دنیا میں جنگ‌وجدال کا خاتمہ ہو۔ اور ساری خلقت بلا کسی تفریق حسب‌ونسب مرزوبوم اور زبان‌ورنگ کے دین فطرت پر چلنے لگے، اور سارے عالم میں نوراسلام پھیل جائے ....

ہمیں عصرنو کی اس فکر جنسیت کو دنیا سے مٹانا اور تمام دنیا کو ایک کر کے جنگ‌وجدل کی جگہ اسلام اور سلامتی کو پھیلانا ہے، افسوس ہے کہ میں اب تک اس کام میں بھی ناکام رہا، اور

یک الف بیش نہیں صیقل آئینۂ ہنوز
چاک کرتا ہوں میں جب سے کہ گریباں سمجھا

لیکن اب تو اسے گریباں سمجھ چکا ہوں ' پھر دست وحشت کو کس طرح روک سکتا ہوں کہ اسے چاک نہ کرے ' صیقل آئینہ کی کمی اور بیشی خدا کے اختیار میں ہے ، قارئین ہمدرد سے اب رخصت ہوتا ہوں اور ان سے التجا ہے کہ میرے آئینہ قلب کی صیقل اور دست وحشت کی کامیابی کے لئے دعا فرمائیں کہ یہ گریبان ایک نہ ایک دن چاک ہی ہو کر رہے" - - - - - - میں نے جس کسی کا قصور کیا ہے اس سے استدعا ہے کہ وہ مجھے معاف کرے نہیں تو اسے اختیار ہے کہ جو جی چاہے مجھے کہہ لے ' مگر میرے لئے دعا ضرور کرے کہ خدا مجھے حق گوئی ' حق نگاہی اور حق پرستی کی توفیق عطا فرمائے ۔"

خطابت کا زور عموماً وہاں دیکھنے میں آتا ہے جہاں کھلی فضا ہو ' مقرر اور سامعین ہم خیال ہوں ، جہاں لاکھوں کا مجمع ہو ' اور جہاں خوف ، طمع یا مصلحت کیوجہ سے زبان پر پابندی نہ ہو ۔ لیکن مولانا نے غلامی کے دور میں جب ہر طرف حکومت کے کارندے ان کے ایک ایک لفظ کی گرفت کے لئے تیار ہو کر آتے تھے ، جب حکومت کے خوشامدی ان کو زک دینے کے لئے بات کا بتنگڑ بنانے پر تلے ہوئے تھے ' کبھی اپنی طبع کی روانی میں رکاؤ نہ آنے دیا ، وہ گھنٹوں بولتے تھے اور لوگ ہمہ تن گوش ہو کر سنتے تھے اور چاہتے تھے کہ ان کی تقریر ختم نہ ہو ' انہوں نے سارے ہندوستان کو "ہائڈ پارک کارنر" بنا دیا جہاں جس کا جو جی چاہے بغیر مزاحمت کے کہتا رہے ۔

طنز ' ظرافت ' مزاح ' ان کی تقریر کی ترکش کے تیر تھے ، ایک مرتبہ جب مولانا کی تقریر اپنے شباب پر تھی تو ایک طرف سے آوازیں آئیں کہ سنائی نہیں دے رہا ہے، اس پر مولانا نے گرج کر کہا کہ جن لوگوں تک میری آواز نہیں پہنچ رہی ہے ان کے کانوں پر حکومت برطانیہ کی مہریں لگی ہیں ، وہ میری تقریر کبھی نہ سن سکیں گے ، لہذا

وہ خاموش ہو جائیں ۔ اس کے بعد پنڈال قہقہوں سے گونج اٹھا اور مولانا اطمینان سے بولتے رہے ۔ کراچی کی عدالت کی بند فضا میں ملزم کے کٹھرے سے انہوں نے اسی بے باکی سے اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کیا جس جرات سے شامیانوں اور پنڈالوں میں تقریر کرتے تھے، مولانا اور ان کے چھ ساتھیوں کے خلاف چارج یہ تھا کہ انہوں نے ہندوستانی فوج کے مسلمان افسروں اور سپاھیوں کو حکومت برطانیہ کے خلاف ورغلانے کی سازش کی ، مولانا نے اپنے بیان میں جج سے کہا کہ ''ہر مسلمان پر خدا کے حکم کی تعمیل لازم ہے نہ کہ ملک معظم کے حکم کی خدائی قانون کے مقابلے میں کوئی قانون بھی انسان کی عزت و تکریم کا مستحق نہیں ، اس مقدمے کا عنوان محمد علی اور اس کے ساتھی برخلاف حکومت برطانیہ نہیں ہونا چاھئے ، اس میں ایک طرف خدا ہے دوسری طرف انسان ہے، ایک انسان کے لئے سب سے پہلے اپنے خدا کا وفادار ہونا ضروری ہے، وہ انسان جو اپنے خدا سے بغاوت کرتا ہے وہ انسان نہیں ہے ، جہاں تک میری ذات کا تعلق ہے قرآن میرا قانون ہے ۔ میرے خلاف سرکش و جبار لوگ ہوں یا نہ ہوں جب مجھے خدا کا حکم ہو گا میں لڑوں گا ، یہی میرا قانون ہے اور یہی حق ہے، میری سولی پر لٹکی ہوئی لاش بھی یہی پکار کر کہے گی''۔

جیوری سے خطاب کرتے ہوئے مولانا نے فرمایا ۔ ''ایک مرتبہ ایک یہودی نے حضرت علی کے سامنے خدا اور اسلام کی تحقیر کی ، حضرت علی نے آناً فاناً اسے پچھاڑ دیا اور یہودی کو جب یہ یقین ہو گیا کہ اس کی موت قریب ہے تو اس نے حضرت علی کے روئے مبارک پر تھوک دیا ، اس حرکت ناشائستہ کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ حضرت علی اس کے سینے پر سے اتر آئے اور اسے چھوڑ کر جانے لگے، یہودی کو اچنبھا ہوا اور اس نے پوچھا کہ یا علی میرے چند الفاظ سے تو آپ اتنے ناراض ہو گئے تھے کہ مجھے قتل کرنیوالے تھے اور جب میں نے آپ کے بارے میں گستاخی کی تو آپ ہٹ گئے، یہ کیا بات ہے ؟ آپ نے جواب دیا جب تم نے اللہ کی تحقیر کی تو تمہاری سزا یہی تھی کہ تم کو قتل کر دیا جائے لیکن چونکہ تم نے مجھے خود ناراض کیا اگر میں تمہیں قتل کرتا تو رب ذوالجلال کے لئے نہیں بلکہ اپنے جلال کی وجہ سے اور یہ اللہ کے سپاھی کا شیوہ نہیں، ارکان جیوری ہم دونوں بھائیوں کے نام علی کے بر گزیدہ نام پر رکھے گئے ہیں اور میرے نام میں تو ایک اور نام شامل ہے جو علی سے بھی برگزیدہ تھا ۔

میں اپنی ذاتی خصومت کیوجہ سے کسی قوی ہیکل کو بھی نہ ماروں گا لیکن اگر اللہ کی بات آئی تو میں سب کو قتل کرنے کے لئے تیار ہو جاؤں گا اور کسی کو بھی نہ چھوڑوں گا ، ایسی حالت میں اپنے بھائی کو قتل کردوں گا، اپنی بزرگ اور عزیز ماں کو قتل کر دوں گا اور اپنی بیوی بچوں کو قتل کر دوں گا ، اللہ مجھے استقامت عطا فرمائے ۔

جس وقت مولانا نے اپنا بیان ختم کیا اس وقت ان کی آواز بھرا گئی اور ان کی آنکھوں سے آنسو رواں ہو گئے۔

مولانا کانگرس کے سر برآوردہ ممبروں میں تھے اور ۱۹۱۰ء سے ۱۹۲۸ء تک انہوں نے کانگریس کے پلیٹ فارم کو مضبوط کیا، ترک موالات کی تحریک نے ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں میں اسی وقت زور پکڑا جب مولانا شوکت علی اور محمد علی میدان میں آئے ترکی کے ''مرد بیمار'' کے لئے مولانا نے مڈیکل مشن بھجوایا اور خلافت کی تحریک کو گھر گھر پہنچایا، وہ ہندو اور مسلم اتحاد کے علمبردار بنے لیکن جب ۱۹۲۸ء میں کانگریس نے کلکتہ میں نہرو رپورٹ کو قبول کر لیا اور مولانا کو ہندؤں کی نیت سے پوری آگاهی ہو گئی تو انہوں نے کانگریس سے علیحدگی اختیار کر لی، انہوں نے اس وقت فرمایا ''ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی کے عہد میں منادی کی جاتی تھی' خلق خدا کی، ملک ملکہ کا' حکم کمپنی بہادر کا، نہرو رپورٹ کا مقصد یہ ھے کہ خلق خدا کی' ملک برطانیہ کا، حکم ہندو سبھا بہادر کا، درجہ نو آبادیات کا'' ایک مرتبہ ایک مجمعے کو مخاطب کرتے ہوئے فرمایا۔ ''حضرات' آپ نے بارہا سنا ہوگا کہ سمندر نے جہاز کو ڈبو دیا اور طیارے کو ہوا نے گرا دیا، کبھی یہ بھی سنا ھے کہ جہاز نے سمندر کو ڈبو دیا یا طیارے نے ہوا کو گرا دیا۔

اے انگریزو! تمہیں اپنے جہازوں اور بم بار طیاروں کی طاقت پر گھمنڈ ھے اور ھمارا اس خدائے قادر و قیوم پر بھروسہ ھے جس کے قبضۂ قدرت میں سمندر کا پانی اور فضا کی ہوائیں ہیں وہ اپنے سمندر کو حکم دے تو وہ جہازوں کو غرق کر دے وہ ہواؤں کو اشارہ کرے تو طیاروں کو زمین پر دے ماریں، تمہارے جہاز اور طیارے سمندر اور ہوا کا کچھ نہیں بگاڑ سکتے' مگر خدا کا سمندر تمہارے جہازوں کو اور اس کی ہوا تمہارے طیاروں کو آن کی آن میں فنا کر سکتی ھے، ھمارا اعتماد تمہارے گھمنڈ سے کہیں زیادہ وزنی ھے''

لندن کی ایک میٹنگ میں ہندوستان کے سب سے بڑے عہدیدار کے بارے میں ان خیالات کا اظہار کیا۔

''مجھے یہ شکایت نہیں کہ مجھے لارڈریڈنگ نے جیل کیوں بھیجدیا، میں تو صرف یہ انسانی حق چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر لارڈ ریڈنگ کسی جرم کے مرتکب ہوں تو میں بھی انہیں جیل بھیج سکوں''۔

نومبر ۱۹۳۰ء میں راؤنڈ ٹیبل کانفرنس کو خطاب کرتے ہوئے مولانا نے وہ یادگار الفاظ کہے جو جریدۂ عالم پر ثبت رهیں گے، آپ نے انگریز ممبروں کو مخاطب کر کے کہا۔

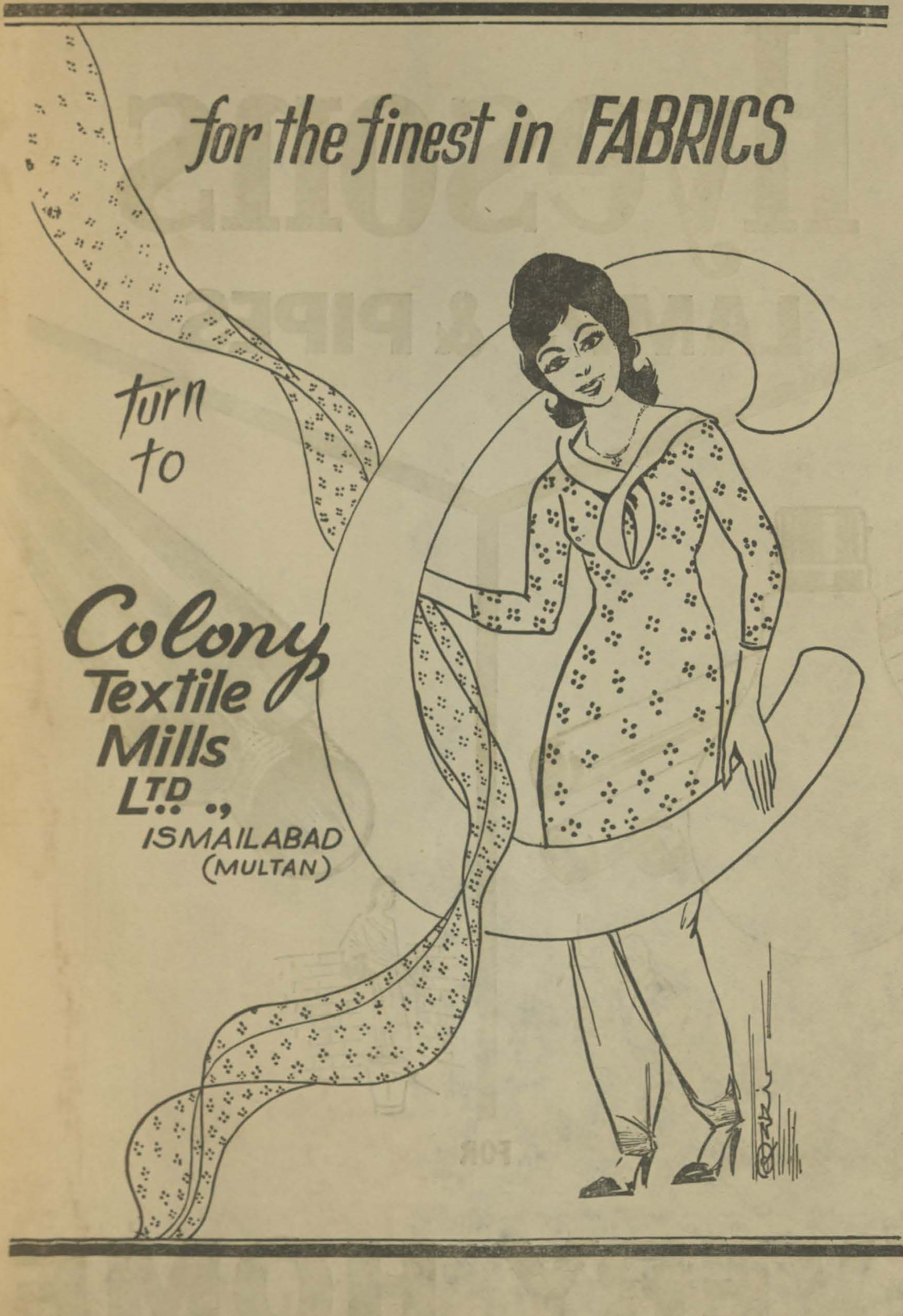
''میں اپنے ملک اس وقت تک واپس نہیں جانا چاھتا جب تک کہ آزادی کی سند نہ مل جائے - میں ایک غلام ملک میں واپس نہیں جاؤنگا - مجھے دیار غیر میں مرنا منظور ھے - اگر وہ دیار آزاد ھو ، اگر آپ لوگ ھندوستان کو آزادی دینے کے لئے تیار نہیں ھیں تو آپ کو میری قبر کے لئے دو گز زمین دینا پڑے گی ' اس پیشینگوئی کے چھ ھی ھفتے بعد ۴ جنوری ۱۹۳۱ء کو انہوں نے لندن میں اپنی جان جان آفریں کے سپرد کر دی ' لیکن اپنی قبر کے لئے ان کو انگریز کا مرھون منت نہ ھونا پڑا ' ان کی آخری آرامگاہ وھیں ھے جہاں اسلام کا قبلۂ اول تھا ، علامہ اقبال نے ان کے آخری سفر کا ذکر یوں کیا ھے -

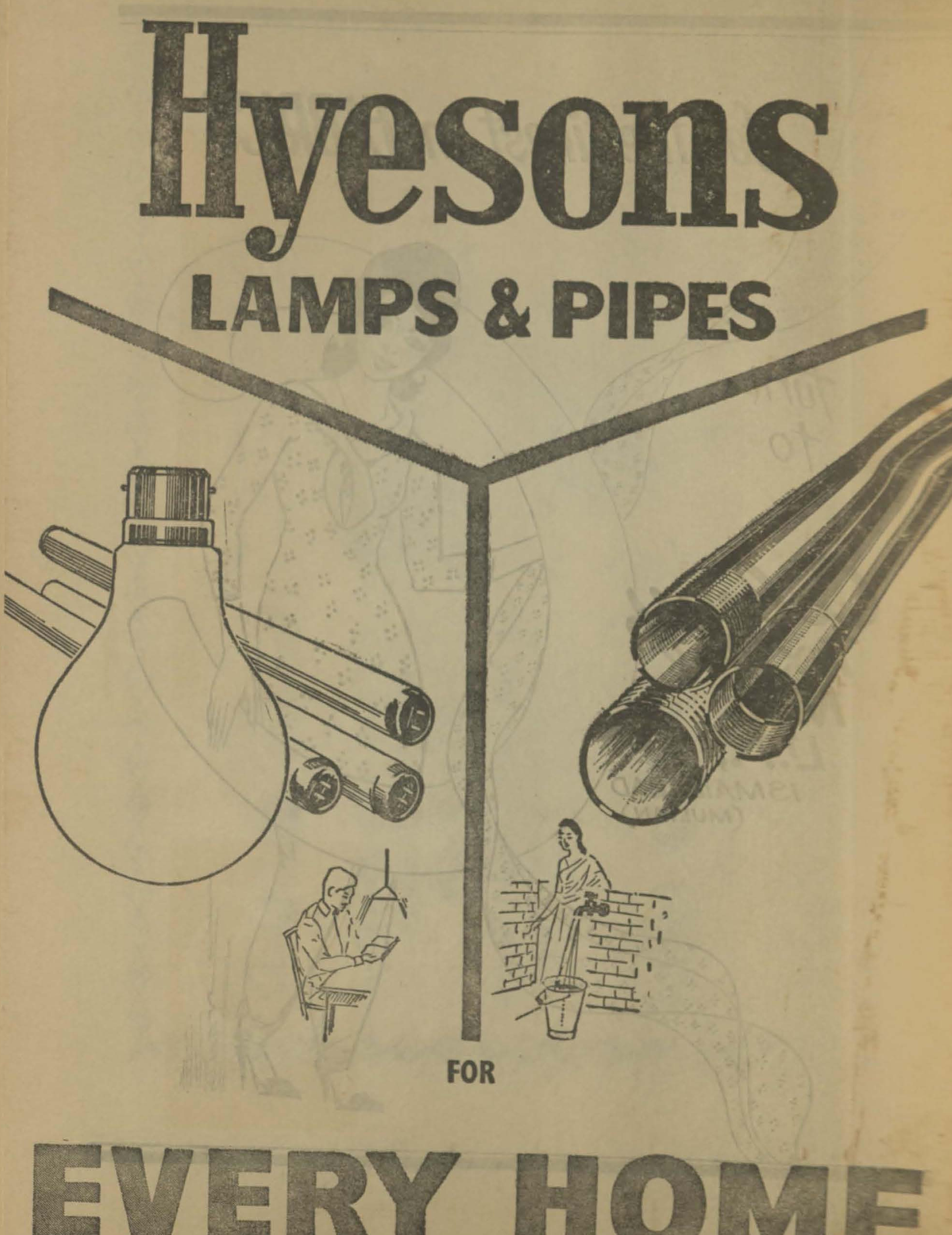
خاک قدس اور ابہ آغوش تمنا در گرفت
رفت در فردوس زاں را ھے کہ پیغمبر گذشت

کیا عجب ھے کہ اس سفر میں ان کی روح انہیں کا یہ شعر پڑھ رھی ھو -

ھے رشک ایک خلق کو جوھر کی موت پر
یہ اس کی دین ھے جسے پروردگار دے

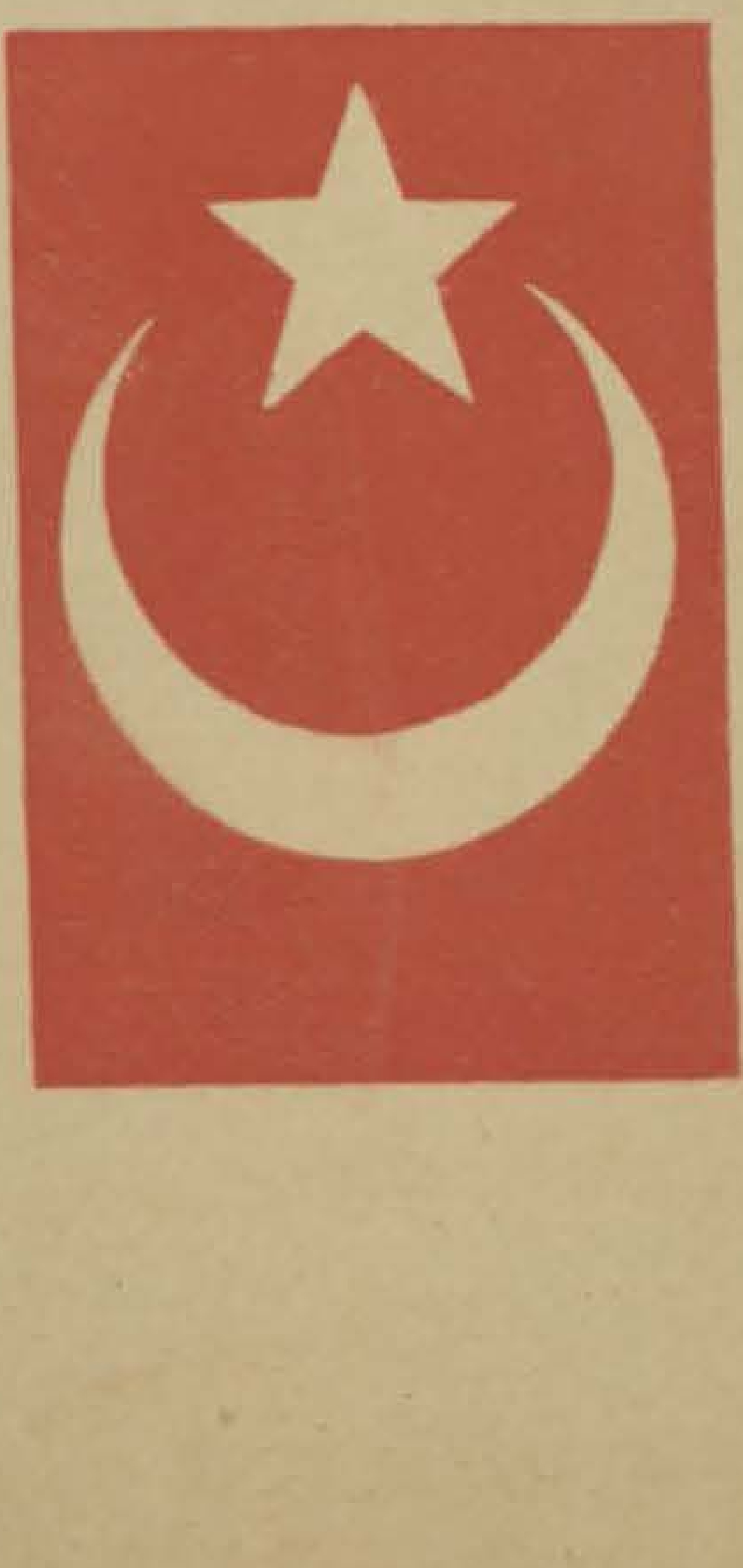
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A Weekly Journal. Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share;
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere;
They only live who dare!

—*Morris*

کہتا تھا وھی بات سمجھتا تھا جسے حق

یہ زہر ہلاہل کو کبھی نہ کہہ سکا قند !

SOME PERMANENT FEATURES OF THE COMRADE





EDITORIALS

1st July 1911

THE SPECIAL MARRIAGE BILL AND THE MUSSALMANS

One of the shortest leaders on record that any journal published was, we believe, written by a Northern India paper at a certain stage of the famous Gorham case. The case had dragged its weary length for a considerable time and the news columns of the papers had continuously been usurped by the evidence and arguments recorded in the case. If ever a journal truly expressed public opinion with admirable, if unusual, brevity it was in this instance. The leading article was compressed into four words: 'D— the Gorham Case.' We fear our readers who have been treated to several leading articles, notes and letters on the subject may be inclined to suggest to us that a similar brevity may be the soul of wit in dealing with the Hon. Mr. Basu's Bill. But one of its advocates does not evidently think so, for Mr. Kopargam Ramamurti who contributed several letters to the *Indian Social Reformer* on this subject has now begun to favour us similarly. We published a lengthy and, to a large extent, irrelevant letter of his last week as we did not wish to appear desirous of choking criticism But this week Mr. Ramamurti seeks again the hospitality of our columns with lesser consideration for the accommodation at the disposal of the host than he exhibited last week. We, however, publish his letter in toto once more and solicit the indulgence of our readers this once. Mr. Ramamurti's letter and our comments close the controversy.

Mr. Ramamurti has combined in his letters a remarkable wealth of reasoning with an astounding poverty of relevance, and if we cover the whole ground that he has skipped over on a light fantastic toe, we fear we shall exhaust all our space as well as our readers' patience. He has devoted a good deal of his letter to show that in many matters the laws of Islam or the practices permitted by it are not enforced in British India to-day. How this can help him is more than we can say. It is obvious that Islamic law cannot be binding on non-Moslems, and if the constitutional law of Moslem theocracy or the provisions of the penal code and the adjective law in force in Arabia in the days of the Prophet of Islam and the earlier Caliphs are not observed by the British Government in India, that is no reason why the personal law of Mussalmans which affects only themselves and which the British Government is pledged to apply to them should be modified by legislation. Zakat and the prohibition of intoxicants are binding on Mussalmans in British-India just as much to-day as they were under the Caliphs of Medina, Damascus or Baghdad. They do not lose their force if there is no Bait-ul-Mal to collect

the Poor Rate of Islam or Muhtasibs to ferret out the wine-bibbers and punish them. What was crime as well as sin before has ceased to be a crime now, but still remains sin for Mussalmans. The British Government, not being bound by Moslem law, does not undertake to collect Zakat and punish the use of intoxicants as a Moslem theocratic State would have been bound to do. Thus, what may have been a legitimate grievance of Mussalmans against the Turkish, Persian or Afghan Governments cannot be one against a government such as ours. But it is a grievance in Mauritius that Islamic and Hindu laws of matrimony and inheritance which affect no other communities nor the government of the Colony, but only Mussalmans and Hindus themselves, are not recognised by the Courts in that Colony; and it will be a grievance in India if the personal law of Islam ceased to be applicable to Mussalmans, or was modified by legislation in such a way as to extend the benefit of Islamic succession to those who refuse to consider the Islamic law of matrimony binding on them.

Mr. Ramamurti's reference to the changing interpretations of Moslem law in the matter of interest and slavery are equally wide of the mark. We ourselves said in our issue of 20th May that 'he who is not satisfied with the particular interpretation of the divine word is at liberty to interpret it differently,' and that 'the varying interpretations will no doubt reflect the mind of the age and the country.' But to interpret a law in a particular way is one thing, and to repudiate it as having no binding force is another. Those who, like the Right Honourable Mr. Amir Ali, may interpret Islamic law in such a way as to make the marriage of a Muhammadan male with a Hindu female legal, cannot be denied the appellation of Moslem nor the rights as well as duties involved in the acceptance of Islam. But those who follow the Hon. Mr. Basu and his supporters in repudiating the matrimonial laws of Islam as not binding on them and resort to a marriage according to provisions of the special Marriage Bill cannot claim for their children any rights of succession as Moslems, no matter what they consider or call themselves, and whether they hope for a Moslem or a non-Moslem paradise.

Mr. Ramamurti refers to 'an immemorial custom in some noble Hindu families for the male members thereof to have a Mussalman "wife," in addition to the legally married Hindu wife without prejudice to the Shastra of the husband or the Shari'at of the so-called wife' and adds that 'the issue of such informal union are married into respectable Mussalman families.' He gives the instances of the present Prime Minister of Hyderabad and a late Jam Sahib of Jamnagar. There may be other such cases, but of the two instances given by Mr. Ramamurti, there are grave doubts about the first and the second is clearly no evidence at all. If a Hindu Prince chooses to marry a Mussalman wife and the Hindu State of Jamnagar recognises the issue as a legal heir to the Guddee it is no concern of Mussalmans, nor has any bearing

on their law. The question is, how does such an 'immemorial custom' help Mr. Ramamurti? The still more immemorial custom of Moslem Princes and Kings having Hindu wives, which exists to this date at least in Palanpur and in some of the Kathiawar States to our knowledge, has already been declared by us to have not the least effect on Islamic law. The very fact that Mr. Ramamurti distinguishes between the Mussalman and Hindu wives as a wife in inverted commas and a wife without them, calls one 'the so-called wife' and the other 'legally married,' and finally characterises the marriage of a Hindu male and a Moslem female as an 'informal union,' goes to show that such cases may prove a custom but have no bearing on Islamic Shari'at. What then does he mean by the phrase 'without prejudice to the Shastra of the husband or the Shari'at of the wife?' Of course, a Mussalman does not cease to be a Moslem simply because his or her actions are against Islamic law and therefore sinful. A Moslem female who lives in what Mr. Ramamurti calls 'a sexual union of an informal and unhallowed character' with a Hindu may certainly do so 'without prejudice to her religion,' that is, without ceasing to be a Moslem. But whatever the 'respectable Mussalman families' of Mr. Ramamurti may think of them, Islamic law regards the union as no more legal than concubinage and the issue of such union as a bastard. In saying this we do not wish to make any reflection on the morality or immorality of such unions. We are concerned here only with their legal aspect according to Islamic jurisprudence. From the 'salvational point of view' to which Mr. Ramamurti refers they can be argued only by theologians and decided upon only by God.

Another argument of our correspondent is that Mr. D. H. Ahmad and the Hon. Mr. Haque support the Bill. We never denied this before nor have any inclination to deny it now. But it is somewhat inconsistent on the part of those who, like Mr. Ramamurti, would 'soften the rigours of the Shari 'at' to demand from all others an unthinking and rigid conformity to the opinions of certain individuals. The word of God is apparently the only word that can be differed from and modified, while the word of two Mussalmans must command a greater obedience than Wahi and Hadis. The Hon. Mr. Haque has not to our knowledge claimed the honours of a religious reformer, and he would perhaps be embarrassed by the companionship of one who, if anyone would let him, would most willingly bring in an Amendment Bill to-morrow for a complete recasting of the Holy Qur'an.

If the support of those Mussalmans who approve of the Bill cannot be binding on others, the opinions of the Right Hon. Mr. Amir Ali can be of still lesser use to the supporters of the Bill against its opponents. We heartily associate ourselves with all that Mr. Ramamurti has said about 'the eminent lawyer and no less eminent champion of Islam.' But every Mussalman is not bound to agree with his religious views, nor every lawyer to follow his juristic opinions. But if

all agreed with him, and believed that there are no religious tenets in Islam to-day in the matter of inter-marriages, what would happen? Why, there would be no need of Mr. Basu's Bill for Mussalmans. If Islamic law permits such marriages, why legislate at all? But if it does not, then the legalisation of such marriages without the declaration required by the law as it stands to-day is a distinct interference with the laws of Islam.

Not satisfied with the support of politicians and of lawyers, of faddists and of free-thinkers, Mr. Ramamurti ventures to seek help from the Prophet of Islam. He quotes the opinion of an unnamed author that 'though a regular contract of marriage is, on the whole, the most convenient and laudable preliminary to sexual union, it is perhaps not an invariably necessary condition for the establishment of legal paternity.' We do not know who the writer is, but whoever he may be we can assure him that if he would join forces with Mr. Ramamurti in a social reform in favour of the recognition of such 'legal paternity,' and if he could induce Sir Roland Wilson in England to use his juristic talents in the good cause and the Hon. Mr. Basu to support with his oratory a Bill on these lines in the Supreme Legislative Council, he and his ardent supporters would earn a more ardent gratitude in certain quarters of every town in India. But Mussalmans have no reason to be grateful to Mr. Ramamurti for concluding from the novel doctrine of this rebelliously original writer that the institution of marriage is such a 'thoroughly secular and non-religious question' that 'no true believer can do wrong who heeds the Prophet's own admonition: 'I am no more than man; when I order you to do anything respecting religion, receive it; but when I order you about the affairs of the world, then I am nothing more than man.' Can Mr. Ramamurti seriously think so? Or is he—a Hindu Social Reformer—laughing in his sleeve at the misguided Mussalmans who regard marriage not as a sacrament according to the rigid orthodoxy of Hinduism, but only as a civil contract regulated by the laws of Islam? If marriage is non-religious, may we ask whether the sumptuary laws of Islam forbidding the use of certain meats and drinks and the provisions of the Holy Qur'an about the prohibited degrees of relationship in the matter of matrimony equally non-religious? Again, if marriage is non-religious and secular, what shall we say of succession? Mr. Ramamurti little knows that the tradition of the Prophet of Islam which he quotes refers to the 'secular and non-religious question' of fruit culture, and that the Prophet wished only to distinguish between his prohibition of the licence which accompanied certain processes in date-farming in Medina from his opinion about those processes themselves. Is it ignorance or perversity which places the Qur'anic law of matrimony on the same plane as the Prophet's opinions as a layman on fruit culture? Surely, the clear logic and simple humility of the tradition was worthier of imitation than perversion.

Apparently the only relevant piece

of reasoning is the instance of the succession of Borahs, Kuchhi Memons, and Khojas. But an essential difference is ignored. These are distinct communities which have kept up some of the separation of the Hindu castes from which they were converted. If, for instance, issue of the marriage of a Borah male with a Borah female succeeds, not according to Moslem law but according to the practices of the caste when some of its members were converted, such succession in no way affects the rights and interests of anybody outside the pale of the Borah community. On the contrary, if a Moslem male married a Hindu female in violation of the Islamic law of marriage, the issue would claim succession to the father and his relations according to Islamic law, and would thereby affect the rights of members of the Mussalman community, which may not be desirous of accepting the issue of such a union as a member, because such issue is the result of a violation of the Islamic law of matrimony on which Islamic succession is based.

It is this which has evidently escaped the comprehension of Mr. Ramamurti. But that is the main, if not the sole, ground of Moslem opposition to the Bill as it stands. A society formed for the mutual benefits of its members admits all into its circle who would recognise its rules and regulations. One of the rules is that the members should marry in a particular manner and not otherwise. In return for this the society guarantees to the issue of such marriage succession in a particular manner, and the State, which substitutes its own Courts and its own Court zees for the law officers of that society and its levies, pledges itself to apply those laws of matrimony and succession to the members of that society. Now, a rebellious member ceases to regard the society's laws of matrimony as binding on him and contracts a marriage in violation of its legal provisions. What right has he, while freeing himself from the duty of obeying its matrimonial laws, to demand for the issue of a marriage not sanctioned by the society the rights of succession like members of that society?

It is not a question of asking the Government to issue Fatwas of Kufr against the rebels, nor of copyrights to a name and a label. The question is one of rights and duties, and no sensible man would deny that a society such as this is justified in denying the rights of succession to those who deny by word and deed the binding force of its matrimonial provisions. At a time when so much value is attached to the lable of 'Hindu' and the numbers of 'Hindus' are swelled by a nominal inclusiveness, it would not be to the political advantage of Mussalmans to deny the title of 'Moslem' to those who married in violation of Islamic laws, and thereby to reduce their numbers still further. But such political tactics, reprehensible at all times, would be still more reprehensible if the issues of marriage under Mr. Basu's Bill would claim the right of succession under Islamic law to the prejudice of the issues of Islamic marriages. We fear we cannot compliment Mr. Ramamurti on his legal acumen which could distort this simple objection into an opposition

to the 'intolerable incubus of an *entente cordiale* leading to criminal misappropriation by others of their sacred law of inheritance.' Islam is not so ungenerous as to close its door against those who seek shelter under its roof. Hitherto the accusation against it has rather been one of excessive hospitality and entertainment of unwilling guests. Mussalmans could not regard the appropriation even of the whole of their sacred law by non-Moslems as a criminal misappropriation. But they cannot play in the game of the adherents of the Bill in which the participants are allowed to reject Moslem rules which do not suit them and to claim the protection of those rules which happen to favour them. Those who wish to share the benefits of Islam must first share its liabilities, and we do not for a moment believe that any court of law in British India would go against this equitable principle and accord to the issue of those who have married under Act III of 1872, after having declared themselves to be non-Moslems, the benefit of Moslem succession as the progeny of Moslem 'dissenters.' The very fact that since 1872 not in a single case has such a decision been given is proof enough of the judges possessing a truer sense of justice and equity than the nihilists of law and advocates of matrimonial anarchy who masquerade under the guise of an *entente cordiale*.

Evidently Mr. Ramamurti is hopeless of Hindu orthodoxy and can see no sign of the passage of such a Bill. What could then be better than a tirade against Islam? But if the Mussalman must follow Mr. Ramamurti's advice and must forget 'the glories of his coreligionists in Morocco' and refuse to 'sympathise and fraternise with his coreligionist in the wilds of Morocco and Algeria' —all for the sake of nationalism—then the Hindu must also learn to remember the miseries of his 'coreligionist' of the depressed variety, and to sympathise and fraternise with the Untouchables that is such a unique feature of 'civilised' India. It is not so much by narrowing the sympathies of Moslems as by extending those of the Hindus that India would achieve a unity she never possessed before. Now, as ever, the touchstone of Indian nationality is the treatment of the Untouchables.

8th July 1911

MOROCCO

It was only three weeks ago that we described the situation in Morocco, referring to 'the disinterested' mission which Spain is carrying out as her share of 'the Algeciras Act, and the ominous instructions to the German Legation at Tangier to investigate the circumstances of the expulsion by the French of an expedition, representing German mining interests, from Debu. 'Here is excellent material,' we wrote, 'for diplomacy to work upon and in the last resort for the sons of Mars to settle.' It looks now as if Cassandra-like our prophecies of evil are coming true. Although officially France has not perhaps gone further against Spain than calling upon her to explain her action and motives, the French Press has been indignant at what it regards as a 'flagrant breach of the Algeciras Act, the Madrid Treaty of 1880 and the Secret Treaty concluded between France and Spain in 1904.' And now it has to complain, though, of course, in milder tones of Germany's 'unfriendly action.'

It must be remembered that when in 1859, Abdur Rahman of the Hassanian dynasty, which is still ruling, died, and his successor, Sidi Mohammad, had to defend himself against other candidates for the throne, some raids by Moroccan troops upon Spanish and Franco-Algerian territory gave to Spain the not unwelcome opportunity of taking up the sword against her old opponent in the Islamic world. War was declared, and in the following year, the Spaniards, advancing southwards from Ceuta towards Tetuan, gained a victory in the vicinity of the latter city. The peace negotiations which followed this defeat of the Moors led to no result, but another defeat forced them to accept an amnesty which led to the peace of Tetuan on 26th April 1860. A small tract of land was surrendered, Spanish missionaries were allowed to pursue their vocation throughout Moroccan territory, and the war indemnity of 400 million rials was imposed. In the reign of Mulai Hassan, in 1880, a Conference was held at Madrid to determine the extent of the protection which may be afforded by foreign Consuls to Moroccan subjects. In 1893, a Spanish fort near Melilla was attacked by the Kabail, and when they had been finally reduced to submission by the combined Spanish and Moroccon troops, Morocco concluded, in 1894, a treaty with Spain, whereby the Sultan Pledged himself to punish the Kabail, to establish a neutral zone round Melilla, and to pay a war indemnity once more of 20 million pesetas. This is the histroy in brief of the Spanish connection with Morocco during the last century. What the secret treaties between France and Spain contain we cannot say, but in April 1904 Great Britain in consideration of a free hand in Egypt recognised by treaty the predominance of France

in Morocco and practically consented to ultimate annexation. Germany, as is well known, intervened; a Conference of thirteen delegates representing Morocco, the European Powers and the United States was held at Algeciras in 1906, and ultimately the Algeciras Act was signed by the Sultan, Abdul Aziz, and ratified by the Powers. Under this agreement a Moorish police force, 2,000 to 2,500 strong, commanded by Moorish Kaids, assisted by French and Spanish instructors and officers, and inspected by a Swiss Inspector-General was to be formed and distributed among the eight Moroccan ports. This arrangement was to continue for five years. A State Bank with a concession for forty years was established to issue bank notes and act as Treasurer and Paymaster of Morocco, and the financial agent of its Government at home and abroad. Its working was to the observed, but not directed, by four censors appointed by the Imperial Bank of Germany, the Bank of England, the Bank of Spain and the Bank of France. Mulai Hafid was declared Sultan in 1907 and 1908 at various centres of Morocco, and was recognised by the Powers early in 1909, on undertaking to recognise the Algeciras Act and abide by the engagements entered into by his predecessors. To prevent misunderstanding, France and Germany defined their respective interests in Morocco soon after this recognition of Muali Hafid, and declared that they would neither pursue nor encourage any measure of a nature to create in their favour, or in favour or any other Power, an economic advantage.

We have seen how France has acted, and how the English mail has brought news in greater detail of the circumstances preceding the occupation of Alcazar by Spain. The *Times* correspondent wires from Tangier on the 9th June that 'at 11-30 on the night of 7th June a mysterious band of about thirty tribal horsemen galloped to the walls of Alcazar and discharged a few shots and immediately retired. At present their identity is suspected and no doubt it will be shortly known. On the following morning the Spanish Consul at Larache announced to the other Consuls that 500 Spanish troops would be landed the same evening at 7 o'clock. The landing took place, and at midnight the troops left for Alcazar situated about twenty miles inland. By a curious coincidence, Sid Belgrabit, the native Secretary of the French Legation, and M. Boisset, the French Vice-Consul at Alcazar, who were returning from Fez, passed through the outskirts of Alcazar on the night of the supposed attack on the town. The most perfect tranquillity reigned in the environs.' The Pairs correspondent of the *Times* wired on 11th June that according to accounts which had then been received, the midnight demonstration was organised by the people of Erremiki, about whom we had mentioned in the issue of 27th May on the authority of English papers that he is a Moor—though a Spanish subject—and is obligingly preparing for future events by stirring the tribes to make the necessary incident. A *Matin* telegram added that the horsemen were led by Spanish non-commissioned officers of the Police force at Larache who were inadequately disguised by some kind of 'fancy' imitation of the Arab burnous. Of course, in

Madrid the occupation of Alcazar was defended as 'a necessary measure of protection for the town,' and as 'intended to uphold the Sultan's authority.' The Spanish Government proclaims its innocence of all aggressive and unworthy motives, but the French are frankly sceptical of the sincerity of such protestations.

We think the *Nation* has gauged the situation correctly, and we reproduce some of its comments as an excellent summing up of the facts of the case. It says:

'There is no fiercer passion in human nature, than the rage of a second-rate artist against his third-rate imitator. To see the defects of the model exaggerated in the copy, to witness insincerities mimicked and distorted into flagrant absurdity, is of all experience the most humiliating. It is this which has befallen the French authors of the expedition to Fez. What they did with an indifferent journeyman's skill, Spain has done with flagrant clumsiness. What they achieved with all the respectability of a trained diplomacy, an enterprising press and efficient army, Spain has imitated on a petty scale with scanty resources. The mendacity of the French adventure was at least expensive, elaborate and well organised. It required months of preparation, the collaboration of intelligent conspirators, the countenance of friendly powers, the confirmation of facts which were not all untrue. The mendacity of the Spanish escapade is puerile, conventional and cheap. France is the wholesale merchant and she worked a dubious operation with a score of thousands of well-equipped troops, with cruisers and camel corps; light railways and portable bridges Spain is the retail huckster who has repeated the same trick with a shabby stock-in-trade. She has "queered the pitch," "given the show away," vulgarised the whole manoeuvre in a way that only slang can express. The rage of the French Jingoes would be superb if it were not ridiculous. But it is the rage of men who have recognised their own portrait in the caricature.'

The *Nation* refers to the two grounds put forward by Spain for her intervention. One is the attack of the thirty horsemen on Alcazar, a town containing some thousands of inhabitants and guarded by troops. The second is the murder of Al Malek, a Spanish protege, who was well known to the diplomatic world in Morocco. Like all the more notable brigands he has always been a European protege and when he became too disreputable for German use the Spaniards took him over. It was the men of his own village, weary of his robberies, who ultimately killed him. The parallel, says the *Nation*, is too painfully exact.

'Was not the Sultan a German protege until France acquired him? And when his own tribes rose against his robberies, it was to save him that General Moinier marched. Five hundred Spanish infantrymen have marched to avenge the little brigand, al-Malek, as twenty thousand French soldiers marched to save the big despot, Mulai Hafid. The pretext is no better and no worse

than the other fiction about the perils and privations of the Europeans in Fez, who met their "deliverers" with a proud record of their almost bloodless victories and made them welcome to their ample stores of ammunition and food.'

The comment of the *Nation* was so pertinent indeed that we ventured to reproduce it at some length. But if the details are considered it will be found that its sarcasm is amply justified. The *Times* correspondent wired that the arrangements between France and Spain embodied in the Secret Treaty of 1904 contained 'a delimitation of the Spanish and French spheres of interest in the event of the collapse of the Shereefian authority,' and that 'under present conditions the Franco-Spanish Treaty does not permit Spain to take any action in any part of Morocco without having previously "concerted" such action with France.' Now, it may well be asked that if 'the event of the collapse of the Shereefian authority' has not occurred, why is France occupying Fez and Mekinez to-day? And after all, the sin of Spain is not that she has intervened at Alcazar but that she did not 'concert' the intervention with France.

As regards the Algeciras Act, the French Foreign Minister, M. Cruppi, replying to an interpellation on the 14th June said that it was quite true the present action of France was in part not covered by the Algeciras Act, which did not entrust France with the maintenanceoforderthroughout the whole of Morocco but only in certain seaports. He claimed that the advance to Fez had been prompted by the call of humanity, by the duty of relieving the garrison and the foreign colony, and that it was formally justified by the urgent appeal of the Sultan of Morocco. 'We went to Fez,' M. Cruppi declared, 'with the approval of the civilised world, and with the cordial sympathies of our ally, Russia, and our friend, Great Britain.' France's policy, according to M. Cruppi, was 'thoroughly Shereefian.'

Now, as regards humanity, Spain can say in the parlance of the schoolboy, that 'two can play at that game.' Then, the garrison was the Sultan's even if some of the instructors were French, and France owed no duty to fight for those who had of their own free will entered the service of a foreign potentate with all its attendant risks. As for the foreign colony, it was in no greater danger than the town of Alcazar. All that remains as a distinctive claim of France is the 'urgent appeal' of the Sultan. We have heard so much of such appeals that we would have believed in their spontaneity, had not the experience of Western domination in Eastern lands cured us of such dangerous credulity. But it is not only we who have our doubts about 'the urgent appeal.' The correspondent of the *Matin* in an interview with Mulai Hafid on the 9th June pressed the question whether, as had been reported, the Sultan had solicited French protection. If the question itself betrays a good deal of doubt of the honesty of French official declarations, the reply as communicated by the Paris correspondent of the *Times* exhibits the 'spontaneity' of Mulai Hafid still more clearly. He writes: 'Mulai Hafid, after a pause, diplomatically replied, "every-

body knows—and I have no reason to conceal the fact—that I asked for the assistance of France." To the Marquis de Segonsac, the correspondent of the *Echo de Paris*, the Sultan said that he did not desire to dictate the methods by which this French co-operation should be pursued. He could not yet say when it would be desirable or possible that the French troops should leave him to his own resources.' This appears 'spontaneous' enough !

The last claim of France is the 'approval of the civilised world' and the 'cordial sympathies' of Russia and Great Britain. So far as the sympathies of Great Britain are concerned it is well known that a blank cheque was given to France fully seven years ago, and no matter what she may do, Great Britain, in consideration of a free hand in Egypt, would have nothing but 'cordial sympathy' with France. The 'approval of the civilised world' must include Spanish and German acquiescence. Even if Spain ever approved of French intervention at Fez she is evidently not of the same mind to-day. But in reality M. Cruppi referred only to German approval, for Germany is the only 'civilized world' outside 'our ally, Russia, and our friend, Great Britain.' This is evident from the repeated references to Berlin in the Parisian Press.

As regards the German attitude, the Berlin correspondent of the *Times* wired on the 13th June that 'Germany is watching events in Morocco with calm and reserve. The Press extravagances do not reflect official views, and it is held that the fomentation of international excitement is both unreasonable and dangerous. With regard to the Spanish action, an inspired telegram from Berlin to the *Cologne Gazette* points out that Germany has 'simply taken cognizance of the Spanish communication concerning the Spanish military occupation, its motives, and temporary character. So far as my information goes Germany had no occasion to express any approval or assent. Least of all is it true that the Powers including Germany are being drawn into direct contact with the events in Morocco by objections on the part of France.' Some German journals such as the *Fankfurter Zeitung* regarded Spanish action as irreconcilable with the Algeciras Act, attributing it to a desire to produce a situation which would restore to the Powers that freedom of action which Germany says would result from breaches of the Algeciras Act.

This was almost all the news that the English mail brought. But it also brought some current history in caricature, and in the two cartoons about Morocco published by two of the Turin papers, quite a different story is told of the 'calm and reserve' with which Germany was supposed to be watching events in Morocco. In one the Kaiser is all attention, while France and Spain are quarrelling just outside a Moroccan dwelling. He is made to say, 'When you are all embroiled it will be time for me to assert my rights.' In the other a German soldier is depicted seated on a camp stool and smoking a pipe. A French soldier with marching kit is on the move pointing towards a similar Moroccan dwelling. Germany

is made to tell France, 'Yes, go ahead and do everything for the best; then it will be my turn to take quiet possession.' It seems now that the time has come to assert German 'rights' and take 'quiet possession,' for Germany has ordered the gunboat *Panther* at present in Moroccan waters to proceed to Agadir in South Morocco. Spain is jubilant, and it was even officially stated at Madrid that German troops had landed at Agadir, though the *Cologne Gazette* published a semi-official message from Berlin that no landing is at present intended. France is not so indignant as afraid. For Germany is not Spain. As Reuter states, this latest move of Germany 'is the subject of temperate comment in the French Press,' which considers that Germany has taken the step in order to hold a strong position in the discussion on the Moroccan question.

But how does Germany explain her change of attitude? She says she has to protect the interests of German subjects in such Morocco and that her action was due to the request of interested Germans. The *Cologne Gazette*, which is semi-official, explains that developments in Morocco forced Germany into action. The situation had become chaotic and the Sultan's authority was gone. France and Spain had both exceeded the terms of the Algeciras Act and had established stations in the interior. Germany must follow suit, but the 'measure is not aimed at Morocco nor is it intended as a counterstroke to French and Spanish action.'

Whatever filth we ever placed in international morality must now disappear, for the mendacity and sanctimoniousness of three of the most civilised Powers of Europe have shown how much reliance can be placed on European veracity in matters of international politics. Evidently France does not believe a word of the Spanish and German contentions. Similarly, Spain has no faith in the sincerity of France and Germany; and, finally, Germany cannot trust either France or Spain. With such a triangular contest of disbelief how is it possible for other nations and communities to believe in any one of the three? Germany uses the same pet phrases of diplomacy as France was called by humanity and an unprotected foreign colony, and came at the urgent request of the Sultan. Spain only wished to protect the town of Alcazar and intended 'to uphold the Sultan's authority.' Now, although it is stated that France and Spain have exceeded the Algeciras Act, the dispatch of the *Panther* to Agadir is 'not intended as a counterstroke to French and Spanish action. All the three Powers agree in declaring that permanent occupation is not intended, that they will withdraw 'when order is restored.' Those who have studied the history of the British occupation of Egypt, and are acquainted with the repeated declarations of British statesmen about the evacuation of that country, will know what significance to attach to this well-known diplomatic assertion. As a rule it is meant to signify the dawn of the millennium. Although the German papers make much of German commercial interests, it may be stated that whereas the imports of British goods into Morocco in 1907 were nearly 1¼ millions, and the French exceeded a million, German

imports only came up to a paltry £162,898. Moroccan exports to England and Germany were about equal being less than half a million sterling, while those of France totalled considerably over that figure. German papers, however, contend that British imports into South Morocco are mainly German goods shipped via England. This may or may not be true, but it is clear that the German action is no more due to commercial requirements than to any fear of the safety of German subjects. The *Times* is inclined to regard it as 'simply a little rattling of the sabre to meet the exigencies of domestic politics.' But German attitude does not favour such a theory. Germany would seek 'compensations' elsewhere, or turn the map of Morocco into a patchwork quilt of European occupation.

So far as our own Government has taken no part in this game of occupation in Morocco, nor could it do so with any grace after the agreement with France in 1904. But the *Daily Chronicle* says that 'when the partition comes, Great Britain will have something to say. She cannot allow Tangier to fall into the hands of another great Power.' This may or may not reflect the mind of Sir Edward Grey; but if it does, British action of such a character would remind us of the well-known lines of Cowper, 'Pity for Poor Africans.' We give an extract below for the perusal of Sir Edward Grey—if he has forgotten them—and of our readers who will find therein much food for reflection and a great deal of political wisdom.

A youngster at school, more sedate
than the rest,
Had once his integrity put to the test;
His comrades had plotted an
orchard to rob,
And asked him to go and assist in the
job.
He was shocked, Sir, like you, and
answered 'Oh, no!
What! rob our poor neighbour; I
pray you don't go;
Besides, the man's poor, his orchard's
his bread,
Then think of his children, for they
must be fed.'
'You speak very fine, and you look
very grave,
But apples we want, and apples we'll
have,
If you will go with us, you shall have
a share,
If not, you shall have neither apple
nor pear.
They spoke and Tom pondered—'I see
they will go;
Poor man! what a pity to injure him
so!
Poor man! I would save him his fruit
if I could,
But staying behind will do him no
good.
If the matter depended alone upon
me,
His apples might hang till they drop
from the tree;
But, since they will take them I think
I'll go too,
He will lose none by me, though I get
a few.'
His scruples thus silenced, Tom felt
more at ease,
And went with his comrades the
apples to seize,
He blamed and protested, but joined
in the plan ;
He shared in the plunder, but pitied
the man,

ALBANIA

While Europe is openly professing to believe that the Young Turk is only the Old Turk rejuvenated and more virile, a study of the Albanian question and its developments rather emphasises the fact that Europe is no great respector of character than of age and will treat the Turk just as it has always treated him whether he has the wings of an angel or the cloven hoof of the devil. So long as the Turkish troops met with difficulties and news reached Europe every day that another fresh tribe had been induced to join the rebels, Europe looked on complacently as we generally do in the troubles of others. But when the better organisation and more effective arms and ammunition which Turkey now possesses combined with the old doggedness and patience of the Turk began to tell in the campaign, the diplomatists of the European Powers began to fidget in their bureaux. With everything against him the Turk had won and, in the words of a writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, it seems as if the victory was likely to cost him more than any defeat.

From time to time we have shown what it is that has caused so much trouble in that afflicted province of the Turks, and it is surprising that Powers known as civilised should attempt to stay the hand of the Turk when all that he is doing is to reform his Empire on the lines of Europe itself. But it seems as if the little altruism that was shown at the time of the Young Turk Revolution has now evaporated and the old selfishness is once more as rampant as ever. The Turks have been accused of Ottomanising Albania, but we fail to understand what this expression really means. During the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid the old Turks were abused for giving preference to some members of the Ottoman Empire at the expense of others, and now the Young Turks are abused because they are bent upon removing those inequalities. If Ottomanising means only the consolidation of the Ottoman Empire to be secured by equalising the rights and duties of all the Ottoman subjects we fail to understand the logic of Europe. As Ben Kendim has explained in the *Blackwood's* article, extracts from which we have recently reprinted, the cry of equality is very popular when it means that the Moslem has to step off his pedestal and to stand upon the same level with the Christian, but it is disliked when it involves the surrender of Christian rights. It is not equality but superiority which the Christian demands. The Christians say that if they suffered under the old regime with patience it was not that they desired simply

to be relieved from persecution. They looked beyond and sought to crown the work of their forefathers and to win what their prophets and poets had promised them. Their grievance is not that the Young Turk is not a sincere reformer, but that the reforms will make him stronger and put an end to the hopes and ambitions of the Christian population which only seeks Christian dominance. As the writer in *Blackwood's* says, can saint, philosopher or politician suggest one reform in Albania that does not create a dozen grievances, and is a compromise possible where one party desires homage and the other insists on tribute? Is a people whose tradition is anarchy, whose life is unrestricted individualism, to be conciliated by a programme of order and made tame by a threat of discipline? Can the Turks consolidate their Empire by treating the Albanians not as subjects but as the occasional and not always dependable allies of the Government? These are the questions which the humanitarians of Europe must consider before they offer friendly advice or unfriendly admonition to the rulers of Turkey.

The damands of the Albanians are that they should be free from taxation, that they should bear arms but be relieved from fighting for the Empire, and that while they are quarrelling among themselves in determining what is the exact language of Albania and the script in which it is written, Turkish language and the Arabic script should find no entrance into their province. No judges should punish them for breaches of the law of which they know little and for which they care less; and, finally, there should be no roads which may give the Central Government least chance of ruling Albania. Now, we ask, if any European Power could concede any of these demands to any portion of its subjects or any province of its Empire. The *Fremdenblatt* and Count Aehrenthal may lecture Turkey to be conciliatory towards that Catholic Malissoris who are the proteges of the Dual Monarchy, but in the first place, every suggestion from the Power which swallowed up two provinces of Turkey to mark the coming of age of the Young Turk must be suspected to be tainted with interested motives and, in the next, the Turks must be convinced that the concessions desired by the friends of the Christian portion of Albania are consistent with Ottoman control. It is all very well to talk as the Austrian journal has done 'of the olive branch of civilising solicitude.' But the 'friendly' Powers must suggest a compromise and a concession which should not only prove an olive branch but also be the means of civilising Albania. The Catholic organs of Austria had demanded intervention on behalf of the Albanian insurgents long ago. But Austria, that excellent second in a duel, could not go directly against the views and interests of Germany, and the more sober journals were, therefore, silent. But just as these Catholic organs had proved the heralds of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the summer of 1908, so now too they led the vanguard of intervention in Albania.

Whether the other journals follow early or late, they are sure to follow the lead of these land-grabbers whose motive is neither friendship of Turkey nor humanity but self-aggrandizement. The *Vaterland* concluded an article entitled 'Make Order' which seems to be an echo of the impassioned and misdirected eloquence of Mr. Gladstone and the canonical oaths of Canon Malcolm McCall and Bishop Parker. 'Europe will have no rest,' wrote the *Vaterland*, 'until the eternal Balkan crises are radically solved once for all and the alien element driven from the site of the Eastern Rome.' It is indeed a relief after this to read in the *Clerical G.rmania* of Germany 'that it is unlikely that the Porte either will or can give ear to the counsels of *Fremdenblatt* and change its course in Albania.'

No less frank than the *Vaterland* is the *Zeit* which, while being more practical than the *Fremdenblatt* in suggesting the concessions that Turkey should offer, declares the motive of the advice. It says :

> In virtue of our protectorate, Count Aehrenthal must lay before the Porte a positive programme of reform—for instance, the autonomy of Northern Albania under a Vali ; the permission to bear arms, freedom from taxation and from military service ; the appointment of Christian officials; liberty of language and worship ; and, above all, the cessation of the campaign. This he must demand and obtain and that rapidly and strikingly not in order to preserve European Turkey, which is the concern of the Turks themselves, but in order to preserve our influence ever the Christian races of European Turkey.'

Could anything be franker and simpler ? The only comment that suggests itself to us is an equally frank and simple question. Suppose if Turkey consented to place Albania under the administrative control of the Dual Monarchy, as Bosnia and Herzegovina had been placed, would Austria-Hungary grant to the Albanians the concessions which its journals demand for them from the Turks ? We already know how the Magyars had to secure their emanc.-pation, and we also know how muc h freedom of language and worship they are now prepared to allow to other races within the empire. Tha t knowledge cannot lead anyone to believe for a moment that even this concession could be given to the Albanians under Austria. As for the freedom from taxation and military service, it is puerile even to think of them.

Although there could be no doubt about the motives of European intervention after the remarks of the *Vaterland* and the *Zeit*, still we may add one more confirmatory piece of evidence which illustrates not only the 'friedship' and 'humanity' of European Powers, but also their desire to create a corner in these altruistic feelings. The Russians, who have always regarded themselves as the defenders of the faith in the Turkish Empire, vehemently resented the Austrian policy as displayed in the minatory article of the *Fremdenblatt*. The *Novoye Vremya* said that 'the policy followed in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina was being repeated wity greater effrontery and that it was a brilliant move of

diplomacy in defiance of international morality and law.' It anticipated from the articles in the *Fremdenblatt* 'that petitions would be presentared to the Austro-Hungarian Caessar from the real or fictitious representatives of Albania to protect their long suffering population.' This is indeed amusing. To think of the Muscovite preaching to any other Power about international morality and law! The *Zeit* was perfectly right in suggesting that Count Aehrenthal 'talked Russian to the Turk,' and imitation, although it must be flattering, is for obvious reasons not in this instance much to the liking of the Slav.

What has been the reply of Turkey to the threats and the advice? In the first place, as we have already stated, her troops have driven the insurgents away from Albania by their old persistence combined with the new military skill which, according to M. Cherradame, has made it a formidable and an unsettling feature in determining the balance of power in Europe. This has been characterised as barbarism and brutality. We should like to know what procedure the moral code of Europe prescribes for rebels up in arms against their sovereign. The campaign in Albania was not the choice of Turkey. Last year, and again this year, it has been forced upon the Young Turks, and unless we suspect that they have lost their senses completely, we must believe that they would never have courted the hostility of a province that has always given to Turkey her bravest soldiers. But once the need of suppressing open revolt is recognised it must be acknowledged that the Turks have taken only those steps which all armies take in the open field. We have no positive instances of any unusual occurrences. An American traveller may publish accounts of old men, women and children being butchered, and a newspaper correspondent may vouch for his veracity. The question is, who shall vouch for the veracity of the newspaper correspondent? We have already drawn attention to the mendacity even of the responsible agents of great Powers about Moroccan affairs, and the tirade of the *Novoye Vremya* against the *Fremdenblatt* and the Austrians shows how much trust is reposed in the veracity of newspapers in dealing with international affairs. We are prepared to believe that the rebels are being killed as they in their turn had killed others, though long obituary notices of the latter were not published by the European Press. We are also prepared to believe that the homes and the property of those who still resist their sovereign either by carrying on the fight in Albania or by crossing over the Montenegrin border have been destroyed by the Turkish troops. But we ask, what else did the insurgents expect? War is sometimes necessary but even then it is a necessary evil; and if it is an evil for the victor, as is clear from the plight of the Turks, it must be a still greater evil for the vanquished. The Albanians are a warlike people, and we are sure they know only too well that bloodletting and kid-gloves do not go together. In fact, it is not the Alabanians that express any surprise at the result of their defeats, but their champions in the editorial sanctums and chancellories of Europe. It was the duty of

the Turks to teach a lesson to the insurgents, and they seem to have taught it well.

But Albania is not Greece, and the other duty of the Turks is to pacify an important province of the Ottoman Empire after having taught it to respect their authority. They have not been slow to do this, and the recent visit of the Sultan to the plain of Kossovo Polye, where his ancestor defeated the combined forces of Servians, Bulgarians and Bosnians and established the Turkish power in the Balkans, has been as bold an experiment as it would have been successful, were it not for the mischief of the mischief-makers. To have travelled from Constantinople to Albania at such a time, to have stood in the midst of 150,000 Albanians, and to have talked to them as a patriarch talks to his children, showed not only the courage of the Turk but also statesmanship and faith in the success of straightforward dealings. The Sultan offered them not only an amnesty, but gave to them £10,000 for building their houses and otherwise repairing the inevitable damage done to their property during the campaign. What is more, he gave them £30,000 for the settlement of their blood-feuds which were contrary to their religion and had made them the lawless, undisciplined nomads which they were. The period for a return to their allegiance has twice been extended, and in addition to this they have been promised suitable measures to ensure their welfare and prosperity which can be adopted after taking into consideration local conditions as well as the losses resulting from the present events.

The third step which Turkey has taken was to say in an unmistakable manner, 'Hands off from Albania.' In a Circular Note addressed to the Embassies abroad, based on the reported despatch of the Montenegrin General Miyusheviuh to St. Petersburg in order to bring about a conference of the Powers on Albanian affairs, the Porte declared categorically that it would not tolerate any foreign intervention in its internal affairs.

Although Turkey has taken all the three steps that the situation made imperative, the end of the revolt has not yet come. But we have not far to go in search of the reasons. Montenegro has all along been the guide, philosopher and friend of the Albanians and King Nicholas is trying his old tricks even to-day. When even Austria suggested to him to use his good offices in bringing about a surrender of the Albanians he assumed what the European Press is pleased to call 'a correct attitude.' It is suggested that the use of his good offices 'would impair the thesis' that the troubles in Albania are no concern of Montenegro or of any foreign Power. This reply displays a considerable sense of humour, but it shows no respect for truth. The 'thesis' has already been impaired by the mischief-making of Montenegro, for having stirred up the tribes in Albania at the beginning of the revolt, and given them refuge when beaten out of Albania, it has now done the only thing still in its power by marching the Albanian refugees on into the interior to prevent their learning about the promised amnesty and to hamper negotiations. It is worthy of the *Times* correspondent

in Constantinople to hope that this view of the action of Montenegro is 'unnecessarily pessimistic,' and to say that it is explicable 'as being inspired either by a desire to show deference to the wishes of certain Powers or by a wish to clear the border of certain "bitter-enders" whose presence is calculated to encourage the Malissori to further resistance, or perhaps by both motives.' The Cettinje correspondent of the *Times* says that a semi-official communique was issued stating that the Albanian immigrants in Montenegro had received with suspicion the Turkish promises, and he concluded that this exposition of Albanian views also represented those of the Montenegrin Government. Another correspondent of the *Times* who travelled on the Montenegrin border says thay the Albanians vehemently declared that they would netreturn home even if the Sultan filled their houses with gold. They had been free forfour hundred years and would never submit to the Turkish yoke. King Nicholas was their only friend and they would remain there even if he gave orders to cut their throats. They refused to return home unless King Nicholas got a guarantee of their safety. We do not know whether even after this the Press of Europe can have the hardihood to talk about the thesis that the Albanian trouble was the concern of Turkey alone and that it would be impaired if King Nicholas intervened by persuading the refugees to return home. The voice of Montenegro can easily be detected in the statements of the Albanians. Germany has not shown any inclination to join hands with Austria, Russia and Italy in lecturing the Turks, and as a matter of fact it was believed that, on the contrary, Germany suggested that Montenegro should be bidden to behave correctly in future. But the *Times* correspondent in Montenegro considered that such a lecture would not conduce to the maintenance of peace !

Austria, Russia and Italy, however, seem to have veered round once more to the position they had taken up before the Sultan announced his concessions in Kossovo. Austria perhaps still insists that the Malissoris should retain the right to bear arms, and the other concessions, which are understood to be the same which were offered last December, are regarded as insufficient. These were : firstly, an amnesty for offenders ; secondly, the appointment of Albanians only as local kaimakams and mudirs; thirdly, compensation for arms surrendered to the Government ; fourthly, the reduction of the sheep-tax to one piastre per animal ; fifthly, the exemption of men over twenty-three from military service, and of the conscripts from serving outside the vilayet of Scutari in time of peace, except at Constantinople ; and, sixthly, the rebuilding of houses destroyed during the operations by the Government. These terms were ratified by Bedri Pasha, the then Vali of Scutari, but the Albanians say that they have remained a dead-letter, and the *Times* correspondent in Montenegro thinks that the Albanians, 'who differ from other Oriental peoples in the strictness of their ideas regarding the pledged word,' require some guarantee of the fulfilment of these terms. If these are the terms which the Government has now offered, we can only say that

they are far more generous than any of the European Powers would in similar circumstances be likely to grant. It is absurd to call them vague. If that term is applied only to the words of the proclamation of Kossovo, we can well understand that with varying local conditions it would have been absurd for the Turkish Government to have embodied in a general proclamation details of the concessions which may vary in different localities and for different tribes in accordance with local and tribal needs.

Turkey has done all that she could reasonably be expected to do. But If she cannot mutilate herself by giving to an outlying province complete autonomy—which is certain to lead its falling a prey to one or more of the Powers of Europe on her frontier—or allow a wedge of internationalisation to be inserted in her Empire by permitting the Powers to guarantee the concessions which she offers to the insurgents, who can blame her? A great Asiatic and a Semite once gave to the world a golden rule of conduct, Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto ye. It is a commentary on the changing ideals of mankind that those who profess to be followers of that great teacher in a special manner, are often reluctant to give to a non-Christian Power the liberty of action within her own dominions which they enjoy in the fullest measure within their own—and often even in those of others. It is not possible to adhere in practice to the ideal preached by Christ in his Sermon on the Mount, for in such matters as national honour and interests even arbitration is mostly unthinkable in Europe. Turkey was often too weak to do more than make a virtue of necessity, and had to turn the other cheek also to the smiter. But with returning strength have come to her the wisdom and virtues of modern Christians, and her answer to the Powers was the order for general mobilisation. King Nicholas followed suit, but postponed the mobilisation because the Powers had realised that they had strung the bow too sharply and there was danger of its snapping. This was a welcome diminuendo after the crescendo culminating in the threats of Austria. We hope the Powers are less inclined now to lecture Turkey or interfere in her internal affairs. It is at times like these that one realises how much Turkey has gained in strength under the Young Turks, and belief is also strengthened in that best commonplace of modern politics, that preparedness for war is the security of peace.

22nd July 1911

EGYPT

Reuter had prepared us for the announcement that Viscount Kitchener would succeed the luckless Sir Eldon Grost as the British Agent at Cairo, though a fortnight ago hardly anyone would have thought such an appointment possible. It is not a little strange that a Liberal Government should have so far conquered its aversion to soldiers in charge of civil administration. Even Lord Salisbury used to say that if soldiers had their way they would occupy Mars to prevent its annexation by the Man in the Moon. The British generally have a horror of allowing the last word to a soldier even in military matters, and it is characteritic of Liberalism that, far from entrusting a civil charge to a soldier, it should tolerate and even admire the semi-despotism of a lawyer at the War Office. Yet in the 'Land of Paradox' it is a Liberal Government that appoints the first soldier in the realm to a post requiring intimate knowledge of civil administration and demanding a diplomatic temper and training which no one associates with a Field Marshal.

It is not for us to discuss whether the motive of the appointment is the desire of Lord Haldane to bear, like the Turk of Europe's hallucinations, 'no brother near the throne.' The appointment has now been made and we have to accept it as a fact. Without pretending to be able to judge Lord Kitchener's merits as a soldier, we may still safely say that his talents are not those of a commander of troops whose dash, heroism, and popularity with his men result in brilliant victories. He is essentially a soldier whose great gifts are shown to the best advantage in the bureau rather than in the battle-field. Far from the din of battle and the clash of arms such a man works with his brain, silently and systematically, winning half the battle before the first shot is fired.

Talents such as these are as useful in civil government as in warfare, and we have no doubt that Viscount Kitchener will prove as successful an organiser in Egypt and the Sudan as he proved in India. Here he had to deal with military finance and after the abolition of the post of the Military Member he had to bear the whole brunt of the work which such a large spending department as the Army entailed. We do not think Egyptian finances would prove too heavy a burden for him, and we even hope that he would wipe off the deficit of the Sudan and save Egypt the expenditure on that territory which brings her no commensurate gain. Much of Egypt's prosperity depends on the proper administration of the department of Public Works and Lord Kichener's advice would perhaps in this matter be much more useful than Lord Cromer's or Sir Eldon Gorst's has been. In the matter of education Lord Kitchener

has already shown his solicitude in founding immediately after his victories in the Sudan the Gordon College at Khartoum, and we cannot believe that he would not wish the more advanced Egypt to do what he himself did for the backward Sudan. In the general administration his lynx-eyed vigilance is sure to detect errors and delays and we know Lord Kitchener too well to think he would not insist on necessary reforms and have such as are possible carried out at the earliest moment. The Egyptian Army does not exceed 20,000 and the Army of Occupation is about a fourth of that number. This is a mere handful to one who had for so long commanded a quarter of a million troops in India and is considered by many to be the best commander in the Empire for more than twice that number which constitutes the military defence of Great Britain.

But, it would be said, these are not the duties of the British Agent in Egypt, nor does the post need the talents which are required for the proper performance of such duties. Negations of this character are easy to hazard, but it is quite another matter to say in what the duties of the British Agent precisely consist. Egypt is still a province of Turkey to which tribute is paid, with a Turkish High Commissioner in Cairo, and Stamboul is not likely to-day to look on as calmly on the doings in Egypt as used to be the case under the old regime. There is still a hereditary Governor or Khedive in Egypt, who is supposed to rule the country with the help of his Minister. As if this was not anomalous enough, the ruin of Egytian finances in the reign of Ismail Pasha, an excellent tool of the 'financiers' of Europe, led in 1879 to the appointment of two Controllers-General representing France and England, and since the Arabi rising in 1882, which led to the occupation and quartered an Army of Occupation in the country, the British Agent alone acts as the bailiff of those whom Mr. Chesterton has recently called tyrants in England and traitors in France. It is true that the further complication of French rivalry does not exist to-day and the Anglo-French convention of 1904 has left England to do what she can. But there are still the old Capitulations which, though they are considered to be absolutely necessary in Turkey, are declared to be an intolerable source of worry to the British Agent at Egypt. The right of foreigners of every shade of character to be tried in Mixed Courts—where the maximum penalty is a fine of £1 or a week's imprisonment—and their exemption from all taxation not approved of by their own Government complicate matters and do not give to Great Britain the free hand she would desire to have. The result is that both legislation and administration are a matter of diplomacy in which the British Agent has to deal with the representatives of a dozen Powers. Even France's self-denying ordinance —agreed to for similar consideration in Morocco—does not permit England to change the political status of Egypt. Who, then, can define the duties of the British Agent in Cairo except by saying that he is in the midst of a diplomatic and administrative muddle, and is expected to muddle through ?

Lord Kitchener did not talk much of efficiency in India, but he worked

for it all the same and achieved a great success. As we have said before, he can achieve it in Egypt also. But his long residence in India and association with two Viceroys of such different types and temperaments as Lord Curzon and Lord Minto must have convinced him that efficiency in civil government cannot be achieved in the same way as in the government of the Army. Discipline must be maintained everywhere; but if the discipline of schoolboys is not the discipline of University men then the discipline of soldiers is not the discipline of citizens. Subjects cannot be dragooned like soldiers; and in Egypt it is the aspirations of the people for self-government rather than Finance or Agriculture that will provide the most difficult problem. Lord Kitchener is the hero of Khartoum, but we have yet to see whether he has the capacity to conquer Cairo as well.

In this Viscount Kitchner will find his Indian experience of considerable benefit. He knows on what rocks Lord Curzon's bark was shattered and we may be sure he will avoid the shoals and quicksands in his own voyage. In fact, we believe he was far more intimately concerned with the recent scheme of reforms of Lord Minto than is customary for a Commander-in-Chief, and the success of those reforms must have been a source of even greater satisfaction to him than the denouement of his controversy with Lord Curzon. No doubt, the Tories expect him to out-Curzon Lord Curzon in Egypt. The *Outlook* of London, which called even poor Sir Eldon Gorst 'a standing menace to the success of British rule,' wanted the appointment of 'a resolute man of calm judgment.' But the resolute man of the Tory journal was evidently intended to be one who had already resolved to be the whole-hogger committed to the programme prepared for him by the Special Egyptian Correspondent of that paper. This programme differs little from that which the politicians of the 'D—n Nigger School' have so often made for India. The Press should be suppressed; the Legislative Council and the Assembly which, though instituted at the suggestion of Lord Dufferin, have begun to assert themselves only recently—the latter refusing to accept a renewal of the present arrangement about the Suez Canal—should either be abolished or emasculated. Egyptian officials and teachers should be substituted for by British officials and teachers; the Khedive's Ministers should be only such as are entirely under the control of the British Agent; education on Western lines and the sending of students to Europe should cease ; Copts who number no more than seven lakhs to a Moslem population of a crore and four lakhs (92 per cent of the total population) should be raised to a counterpoise against the Mussalmans; and more Egyptian money should be spent on the development of the Sudan which was conquered by Egyptian troops and for which Egypt has ever since paid the annual deficits, but which, in the words of the *Outlook's* correspondent, is 'Nominally under the joint jurisdiction of the Egyptian and English Governments,' British influence being in reality 'Paramount.' This is not all. The Army of Occupation should be increased, and the seat of the Mediterranean command should

be transferred to Cairo. The writer to whom we have referred wrote that 'the recent visits of high military officials to Egypt lend colour to the belief that a step of this kind is in contemplation.' What would he say now that the greatest soldier of the Empire is to be the first man in Cairo? But he, too, feels that the Capitulations under which Egypt suffers along with her suzerain, the Ottoman Empire, make administration and legislation almost an impossible task. To induce the Powers to consent to their abolition he suggests that Egypt should be annexed to the British Empire, Turkey being contemptuously ignored and the Khedive turned into a tame Rajah in a gilded cage. With England well astride on Egypt, the Powers would be assured of justice and fairplay and would give up the iniquitous privileges which their subjects now enjoy.

This is the kind of programme that the junior sub-editor of any European paper could prepare without knowing anything more about Egypt than that she is a veiled protectorate and would do excellently as a British dependency. Whether the Egyptians and the Khedive would like it, whether Turkey would acquiesce and the Powers would consent, is quite another matter and one with which, according to such journalists, no writer has any concern.

The great similarity between conditions in India and in Egypt, however, makes it easy to suggest a liberal programme of reforms for the latter similar to that which has recently been sanctioned for the former. It is said that only 85 per mile are literate in Egypt, and that representative institutions are therefore impossible. But it is forgotten that here in India we have only only 55 literates out of every thousand of the population. In one important matter the problem of Egypt is far easier. In spite of the factious Coptic agitation which became more vigorous after the appointment of Boutros Pasha, a Copt, as the Prime Minister, Egypt is homogeneous and is not the battle-ground of contending creeds. Those who know how this religious rivalry hinders the progress of India can easily understand how much easier the problem of Egypt becomes in the absence of such struggles.

But there is, on the other hand, a difficulty peculiar to Egypt. We in India are the subjects of His Majesty the King of Great Britain and the Emperor of India. To him alone we owe allegiance, and any benefit, like the grant of the recent reforms, makes us even more loyal to his person and his government. But to whom should Egyptians be loyal ? To Abbas Hilmi Pasha, to Mohammad V, or to Viscount Kitchener of Khartoum ? The British connection with India is now a matter of nearly two centuries, and, whatever we may think of the motives and methods of the East India Company, India is a country conquered and annexed by the British and then brought under the Government of the British Crown. On the contrary, British connection with Egypt is is only a matter of yesterday. A rising of the Egyptian Army less than thirty years ago, which could have been suppressed either by the grant of reforms or by force by the Khedive himself, had he been either sagacious or possessed of vigour, gave an

opportunity to a third party tointervene. Turkey failed to assert herself and take back a province of her Empire, which had become semi-independent because Ismail Pasha's ancestor, Mohammad Ali, had possessed all those qualities in a remarkabledegree which Ismail Pasha seemed to lack. France and England were equally concerned as bailiffs for the 'financiers' who had entrapped Ismail Pasha; but France did not care to interest hereself in the struggle of the Egyptian Army against the Khedive. So the British Fleet bombarded Alexandria, and Tel-el-Kebir sealed the fate of the insurgents. But that is not the same thing as a war between Egypt and England, for neither the Khedive nor the Egyptian people had a share in these struggles. This is as unlike the story of a defeated ruler and a conquered people as it could be, and who can say that an Egyptian is disloyal and seditious if he asks for the evacuation of Egypt? Neither Turkey, nor the Khedive, nor the people of Egypt ever dreamed in 1882 that the Army which fought against Arabi at Tel-el Kebir would be occupying Egypt thirty years later.

It is true that Egypt has progressed much during the occupation; but it was not for ruling Egypt benevolently that Great Britain was invited or went to that country. It may be that Egypt would advance still more under the British as India is doing; but that is not why the Army of Occupation and the British Agent are there. Egypt is the main source of cotton supply of Lancashire, and, what is far more important, it is through Egypt that the great Imperial highway of the Suez Canal runs. It was not long ago that Sir Eldon Gorst wrote in his report: 'British intervention in the affairs of this country is directed to the sole end of introducing and maintaining good administration, and gradually educating and accustoming the Egyptians to carry this on for themselves. Although even this is not the same as Mr. Gladstone's famous words: 'The occupation of Egypt is in the nature of a burden and a difficulty, its permanent occupation would not be agreeable to our traditional policy. It would be inconsistent with our good faith towards the suzerain power. It would be contrary to the laws of Europe.' There is no shadow of doubt that it is wholly inconsistent with the declaration of Sir Edward Grey made in response to the clustering advice of Mr. Roosevelt: 'The British occupation must continue in Egypt more so now than ever.' But in one respect the Minister and his Agent were in full agreement. Neither of them confessed that they had gone to Egypt partly to help the Khedive and partly to safeguard the interest of Ismail Pasha's creditors, and that they remained there because the interest of Great Britain made occupation necessary. For Sir Edward Grey added: 'It is not a question of British interest in Egypt. It is simply this: we have gone on doing better and more and more good work year after year; that good work depends upon our stay there, and we cannot abandon Egypt without disgrace.' All this is excellent in its own way; but can Viscount Kitchener convince a single Egyptian that it is not because of British interest that he is there? And if he cannot do so, how is it possible even by giving them

good government, to satisfy those who want self-government in an unconquered country coming as the gift would do from those who never conquered Egypt nor were ever invited to occupy it in its own interests? We do not know how Lord Kitchener proposes to convince the Egyptians. We doubt whether he has even convinced himself. What message of change can he bring to Cairo? If he goes there simply because Lord Haldane could not have him in the War Office and he could not remain idle, we do not think that would improve matters in Egypt. In that case it would have made no difference, as an English journal suggested, if Sir Edward Grey had left it to Cook's Agency to choose the British Agent.

7th October 1911

MOHAMMADAN EDUCATION IN BENGAL

It is no exaggeration to say that the 5th October, 1911, will stand out in the history of Moslem education in Bengal as a distinct landmark. There are already in existence several Moslem associations of some antiquity, but they are too moribund in condition to give promise of a bright future. His Excellency the Viceroy showed an almost uncanny knowledge of the real condition of these societies when he refused of receive an address of welcome from them—almost the only object which they seem to have in view in their calculating senility. We do not mean to belittle the good work that they have done in the past. In their earlier days they did not a little for Mohammadan education under the leadership of men like the Rt. Hon. Mr. Amir Ali, the late lamented Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif Khan and Nawab Amir Hasan Khan. As the poet says :

> Weakness never need be falseness,
> truth is in each degree,
> Thunder-pealed by God to nature,
> whispered by my soul to me.

But the one defect of these bodies was the isolation which they imposed on the Mussalmans of Bengal. The ideal of independence is eminently deserving of praise ; but it is sometimes apt to degenerate into self-sufficiency, which is seldom a virtue and often a vice. The attitude of the Mussalmans of Bengal towards the attempt to educate them made by that distinguished administrator, Warren Hastings, many of whose great merits have been tarnished by a great political callousness and cynicism, was most unfortunate, even though we may recognise it to be natural and even though we may confess to a sneaking sympathy with their stiff-neckedness. With much political sagacity the hindus of the province took easily to English education, and thus practically monopolised all the multifarious advantages arising out of the choice of Calcutta as the future metropolis of the British Indian Empire. Far be it from us to suggest even remotely that the Hindu community of Bengal was in any way to blame for this. Whatever blame there is must fall to the lot of Mussalmans, and too well have they paid for the wrong choice of their predecessor a century ago. With an educational disparity so tremendous as existed between the two great communities of Bengal, it was all the more necessary for the Mussalmans of this province to seek aid from their co-religionists in every part of India. But for some reason or other, Bengal segregated itself from the vitalising movement of the greatest Mussalmans of the nineteenth century, and the results are only too obvious to-day. Whereas the Mussalmans of the United Provinces are now a good deal ahead of the Hindus in the matter of higher education, and those

of the Punjab, which derived almost as great a benefit from Aligarh as the province in which the College is located, is fast advancing to a position of equality, the Mussalmans of Bengal are deplorably backward. Out of 13,875 students who have graduated from the Calcutta University ever since its foundation, only 675 or less than 5 per cent have been Mussalmans, while their population in the two Bengals is about 50 per cent. Out of the 45 colleges of Bengal no less than seven have been founded by the Hindus and are maintained by them ; but the Mussalmans have 'progressed backward,' and even the Calcutta Madrassa has recently abolished its college classes. In Western Bengal 6,500 Hindu students were on the rolls of the various Colleges in 1909-10, against which the Mussalmans numbered less than 500 or 7·6 per cent when their proportion should have been 17 per cent. In Law they were only 3·52 per cent, in Engineering 2·90, and in Medicine only ·42. In High Schools, Hindus numbered 74,508 and the Mohammadans 9,275 or 12·45 per cent. But the successes in the Entrance Examination reduce this somewhat hopeful proportion to a mere 6·86 per cent. As the President of the sixth session of the Provincial Mohammadan Educational Conference said in his address, 'the intellectual output of our community, which is the only test of our success in the field of High Education, may easily be estimated by the number and nature of newspapers and books that are published in this province. Compare the number of newspapers, both English and vernacular, which are owned and edited by the Hindus and think of the books, both in English and Bengali, which are written and published by Hindu authors of Bengal.'

Bengal resisted the vitalising influence of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan for long and paid the penalty of its isolation. But in 1899, a year and a half after his death, his successor, the late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, induced some of leaders of Bengal to invite the All-India Mohammadan Educational Conference to Calcutta, and to some extent brought Aligarh nearer to Bengal. But one such conference was not sufficient. More than a decade had passed when His Highness the Aga Khan, who is most anxious to bring the Mussalmans of the two Bengals into line with their more advanced co-religionists, decided to open his campaign for the Moslem University in the metropolis of the Indian Empire. Some people regarded this as a rather unfortunate choice, and although the amount promised and still more the amount realised may appear to confirm this view, we have not the least doubt that the decision of the Aga Khan has greatly benefited the Mussalmans of Bengal. The scales of isolation have fallen from their eyes. They are no longer self-sufficient and contented with their miserable position. The myopea which afflicted them seems to be a thing of the past, and they now see with a clear gaze where they stand in comparison with other communities and with their co-religionists in other parts of India. This is the first symptom of recovery. A healthy discontent with their present condition has now been created, and they have at last decided to seek aid from their brethren in Aligarh. It was a

direct result of the visit of H. H. the Aga Khan that the Mussalmans of Bengal invited one of the leading workers at Aligarh to preside over the sixth session of their Conference, and they found in the Hon. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan not only an earnest worker, but one whose acquaintance with the true facts of Moslem education in India is unrivalled.

We say again that the 5th of October, 1911, will stand out as a landmark in the history of Moslem education in Bengal, for it has now brought Aligarh and Bengal so close to each other that nothing can possibly separate them. The reception that Calcutta gave to Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan on the morning of the 4th instant was a warm one, but it was nothing compared to the ovation all Bengal gave him at the conclusion of his final speech when summing up the work of the session. Our own experience of Calcutta is too meagre, but we are informed by some of the oldest residents that never before did the Mussalmans show a tithe of the genuine enthusiasm in the cause of education which moved them on the last day of the session. The Presidential Address, to which we shall refer in greater detail later, was deserving of all the applause that it received. In it the Hon. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan first dealt with the three factors of the present situation—the English Government with its great and unique powers 'engaged in the grand task of regenerating India,' the Hindus with 'a clear and definite idea about their destiny and striving with a set purpose to reach the goal,' and the Mussalmans, 'small in numbers and scattered in various and distant provinces under uncongenial and unfavourable circumstances plunged in apathy and steeped in ignorance, and with all this engaged in an ever-increasing friction with the other great community of the country.' He put an important question to his audience and one that demands an immediate answer. 'How far are we prepared to take our proper and legitimate share in the solution of the Indian problem ?' As he very truly said, it was not merely the destiny of 70 million people that hung in the balance on the answer to this question. 'Through us it is our beloved faith which is on its trial ; it is the name and reputation of Islam which are at stake in this great experiment . . . . What contribution shall we, the followers of Islam, the most energising force that ever moved humanity, make towards the solution of the great Indian problem ? This is the test which the civilised world of to-day as well as our own posterity will apply to all our achievements as a community in this country.' He regards a 'rational and earnest faith' in the Moslem religion and 'sound education and training' as the two great agencies of Moslem salvation. 'In my humble judgment,' said the President, 'in order to acquire the grit and force which are indispensable for a living and successful people in the present age the framework and the constitution of our ideas and characters should be based on the latest knowledge and experience of humanity, but the spirit and soul should be Islamic. Our religious faith without effective life and character would remain crippled, and our life and character, however modern

or enlightened, without religion would be lifeless.'

He emphasised the two aspects of the character of the Prophet of Islam and of every one of his followers, '*abdiyat* or submission to the Divine will, and *niabat-i-ilahi* or the position of a vicegerent of God on earth with a distinct duty and a message of great meaning.

Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan acted wisely in giving copious extracts from the speeches of Viceroys and Lieutenant-Governors of the days of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan on the subject of Aligarh and its ideal of a Moslem University. When we find some of the leading journals of Calcutta labouring under vain delusions and possessing a rather hazy notion about the character of Aligarh as it was designed to be and as it actually is to-day, we can well sympathise with Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan's difficulty. As he says, 'Judging from certain writings in the Anglo-Indian press, it seems clear that the generation of Englishmen who knew and appreciated the work of Sir Syed has now practically passed away, and it is now time that their opinion of Aligarh and its movement be placed before the public and particularly those who are taking interest in our University movement.' It is' indeed, a wearisome task to discuss first principles with all sorts of people whether friends or foes of India, when after the labour of forty years the coping-stone is to be put on the great fabric of the Molem University, the foundation of which was laid in 1871, and the use, purpose and necessity of which have been talked about and written about almost *ad nauseam*. But things being as they are, it is necessary to publish broadcast the facts of Aligarh's history and make clear to all whose opinion is known to carry weight, whether deservedly or not, what an impetus the Moslem University would give to Moslem education. The contrast between the present position of the Mussalmans of Bengal and the establishment of a Moslem University is so staggering that people here are apt to be misled into hostility or at least indifference. But if mummies are to be galvanised into activity it is not the addition of a limb or two that is needed but a heart beating in unison with the life around it, and the tidal wave of the University, even if it could be felt in its greatest force at Aligarh itself, will not leave the most distant creek stagnant.

But while the President dealt at length with this all-absorbing question, he did not do so disproportionately. Nearly half of his address was devoted to the position of Mohammadans in Bengal. We are in hearty agreement with him that the bane of Bengal is the Madrassa system of education. It is not merely on *a priori* reasoning that Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan bases his forcible judgment of this antiquated system. He has brought into the witness-box some eminent people of Bengal itself whose acquaintance with its conditions is first - hand. The only remedy is the establishment of an efficient and well-equipped residential College for Bengal, and we have every assurance that one of the first efforts of the authorities of the Moslem University would be to bring such a College into existence. This consummation is devoutly to be wished, but it will not be possible if any reactionary

efforts are made in the direction of the isolation of the past. Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan has not been content with delivering addresses and helping the delegates to pass resolutions. He has interviewed the real workers every day at his residence and offered them sound practical advice. But it is not only the Mussalmans of Bengal or the rest of India that have a duty to perform. The Government of the Province owes them a great duty, and we are not so sure if it is as conscious of it as it should be. The Mussalmans may or may not be 'the favourite wife,' but it is the general experience of polygamous humanity that it is not the favourite of the Harem that has the best of times. It is the termagant and the untamed shrew that always carries her point.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE MOSLEM KINGDOMS

'Mohammadnasim,' said Mr. Montagu the other day, 'produces and teaches a sort of extraterritorial patriotism—if I may strain the words to describe it—love of a religion which seems almost to laugh at distance and material neighbourhood, in breathing and praying mutual sympathy.' His own advice to the Indian Moslems was that 'you need abandon not a jot of your fervour if you help and to share the destiny of the country in which you live.' Once more we see the Indian Mussalman showing unmistakably his 'extra-territorial patriotism' and illustrating the living force of a religion that 'seems to laugh at distance and material neighbourhood in breathing and praying mutual sympathy.' His heart throbs in unison with the Moor of Fez who sees his country passing into alien hands, with the Persian of Teheran who feels the grip of the Russian Cossack on his throat, and with the Turk of Stamboul who has to watch an act of shameless brigandage with impotent rage. But he need abandon no jot of his fervour simply because he owes allegiance to a European and a Christian sovereign whose rule is a blessing that Providence has vouchsafed to him in order to work out his material and moral salvation. His loyalty is not such feeble stuff that the least political disturbance in Asia or Europe in which one party is Moslem and another Christian could effect it adversely.

If proof were needed, no better illustration of the combination of territorial loyalty and extra-territorial patriotism could be furnished than the spirit which actuated the Indian Mussalmans in 1897 when the fruits of victory had been snatched from the hands of the Mussalmans after the Graeco-Turkish War, partly, at least, at the urgent instigation of an English statesman, and when the Indian Government was dealing with serious disturbances on the North-West Frontier of India. It is worth while recalling the words of Lord Elgin, who visited Aligarh on the 26th November, 1897, and, addressing its Trustees, said :

'During the last few months, and at the present moment, the Government of India has most unwillingly been forced into an open conflict with the tribes who belong to your community and there have not been wanting those who have alleged there was a real and growing antagonism between British rule in India and its Mohammadan subjects. Gentlemen, these matters—the causes of frontier wars and the causes, such as exist, of internal disquiet—are far too large for me to enter upon with any view to discussion on such an occasion as this ; but I would only just like to say this, that I, for my part, have never believed that the Mohammadan

of India would fail to recognise the benefits which he derives from the Government under which he lives, or the obligation of loyalty to the sovereign in whose name that administration is carried on and whose care for her Mohammadan subjects is known throughout the world. Gentlemen, in the course of these unfortunate disturbances we have again seen what we often have seen before—the loyalty and gallantry of Mohammadan subjects and soldiers of the Queen and I am glad, here on this spot, on a more peaceful occasion, to recognise and to know that there is growing up in this College under peaceful circumstances the same spirit of loyalty and devotion which has been shown in the field.'

We can confidently say that the same spirit of loyalty and devotion actuates the Indian Mussalmans to-day, and, in fact, they understand better to-day than they did in 1897 that the future destiny of their community is bound up with the maintenance of an increasingly powerful and popular British administration. But if the Indian Mussalmans firmly believe this, one of the chief reasons for their belief is that they know their Government to be no less firmly convinced that nothing should be done which should needlessly offend their susceptibilities or wantonly go against their cherised ideals. One of the ideals which the Indian Mohammadans have cherished for long is that the British Government, which rules over the largest number of Mussalman subjects, should be bound in an alliance with Mohammadan powers and kingdoms so that their own territorial loyalty and extra-territorial patriotism should work in the same direction. It must be remembered that Great Britain has in the past often fought side by side with Moslem nations. She went to war against Russia in the Crimea in spite of her total unpreparedness for such a campaign, and although she did not fight against Russia in 1878, many Englishmen, including our late Viceroy, Lord Minto, volunteered their services in the field of battle, and it was the British fleet that saved Constantinople. Since the last Afghan War a solid alliance has been established between Afghanistan and India which has stood the test of time for more than a generation. Although a single frontier delimits the boundaries of Persia and British India, there has never arisen an occasion for resorting to the arbitrament of war. In Egypt, Great Britain had to interfere ; but she never fought against the Sultan or the Khedive, and it was only the criminial extravagance and stupidity of the rulers of Egypt and the negligence of Turkey that led to the interference and the British occupation. Looking, therefore, at the past history of the relations of Great Britain and the Moslem kingdoms, there does not appear at the present moment to be an inheritance of hostility, a sort of vendetta requiring the settling of ancient scores, which could come in the way of a general alliance between Great Britain and the Moslem kingdoms.

An arrangement so obviously desirable from the point of view of an Indian Musalman, so clearly practicable from the point of view of diplomacy, it is also strategically

beneficial. As we have remarked more than once, the Empire of Britain, which is the largest than the world has ever seen if it needs coaling stations in distant seas, needs still more the oases of friendship and amity which prove invaluable in a desert of hostility. There was a time when British statesmen talked of the 'splended isolation' of Great Britain. But the lessons of the South African War were many, and one of them was the lesson that in politics to love sylvan solitude is to court destruction. Since then British diplomats, including our present Viceroy, have been busy making Continental friends for their country, and the most successful of them was His late Majesty, King Edward himself. From the days of the Armada, Catholic Spain had been hateful to Protestant England ; but so far did the needs of the political situation carry English statesmen that a Protestant Princess was permitted to change her faith and given in marriage to the King of Spain. Similarly, France with which England had always been on terms of neighbourly hostility from the earliest times, barring a short respite during the Crimean War, and with which Lord Salisbury was prepared to go to war on the slight provocation of the Fashoda incident, became the friend of England. And last, but not least, Russia, the bogey of British statesmen and soldiers, was attracted to the *entente cordiale* by France, the common friend of both. Even Italy among the Mediterranean Powers, was not left to herself, and wedge of cordiality between England and Italy was inserted into the Triple Alliance. Turkey, enfeebled by misrule and internal disturbances caused by external enemies, was still a European Power ; and although the insensate hostility of Mr. Gladstone and the cynical attitude of Lord Salisbury who confessed that they had been backing 'the wrong horse,' had thrown the late Sultan into the arms of Germany, the Revolution changed all this, and created a new Turkey almost gushing in its friendliness to the old friend of all constitutional governments and nations struggling to be free.

Thus had the pendulum swung from 'the splendid isolation' of the Boer War in the direction of alliances, and it even came to be suspected that a cordon of alliances was being placed round the German people. It must be remembered that it was not Sir Edward Grey—although he came with a tremendous reputation for statesmanship and firmness—that had initiated this policy. He merely took it up and it now seems that he has followed it far beyond the limits originally contemplated. Although Mr. Lloyd George, the strongest man in the Liberal Cabinet, is well known to be inclined favourably towards Germany, and the Labour Party, which has to be reckoned with in the framing of all Liberal policies, is openly hostile to the anti-German tendencies of English upper and middle classes, it appears that in spite of these considerable factors Sir Edward Grey has a mortal horror of Germany and his foreign policy seems to be dictated entirely by these disproportionate fears.

The first step in the policy of Sir Edward's 'Blue Funk School' was the Anglo-Russian Convention. Its

justification could either have been that it secured the independence and the integrity of Persia, or that in case of its future dismemberment it secured to England a predominant, or at least a proportionate, share. On 5th September, 1907, the British Minister in Teheran explained to the Persian Government that the Agreement so far from infringing Persian rights was 'based on a guarantee of the independence and integrity of Persia. You will perceive from the above statement how unfounded are the reports recently put about in Persia concerning the political ambitions of England and Russia in that country. They have no sort of intention of attacking Persia's independence which it is their object in concluding this agreement to ensure for ever. The two powers above mentioned hope that in the future Persia will be for ever delivered from the fear of foreign intervention, and will enjoy complete freedom to manage her affairs in her own way, wherefore advantage will accrue to herself and to the whole world.' Need one ask how the promise has been kept ?

What is the net result of the Anglo-Russian Agreement ? As the Stokes affair and the action of Russia in the matter of the belongings of Shua-us-Sultaneh show, it has certainly not secured the independence, and it may even cost the integrity of Persia. But if it is to be the loss of Persia, are we sure that it will be the gain of England ? The worst of it is that even as a selfish concern the alliance would prove a failure. We cannot do better than quote the *Nation*, which is a Liberal paper and not likely to be unjust to Sir Edward Grey. It says :

'It would be a waste of indignation to criticise Russian policy. She is acting after her kind. We knew and predicted when the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed that it would end in the ruin of Persia and the humiliation of our own country. What is less a matter of course is the weakness of our diplomacy. We are satisfied that Sir Edward Grey did not contemplate and did not desire this outcome. We are sure that he would have wished to preserve the liberty and independence of Persia. We are certain that the last thing he desires is the return of the Shah, and that, left to himself, he would prefer to see the tranquil development of the constitutional regime with the aid of any expert foreigners whom it may fairly choose. But the more one admits and recognises this measure of goodwill, the more galling is the impotence of our diplomacy to give it effect. It has, in its continual dread of a German hegemony in Europe, decided that it must purchase Russian friendship at the price of Persian independence. In its dealings with an unscrupulous ally, it has lacked the adroitness and the firmness to keep him straight or to maintain its own policy. The whole enterprise is bad as morals and contemptible as business. It is, we are well aware, less than nothing to an Imperialist that a gifted race should be submerged, after a promising effort to secure for itself progress and freedom, beneath the conqueror who has

brought misery to Finns and Poles and Caucasians. But on the lowest plane of self-regarding calculation the destruction of Persia is an insensate folly. It means the end of our reputation as the friend struggling nationalities. It means the resentment of every awakening Moslem people. It means the setting for ourselves of a military problem such as India itself never presented. For a century we laboured to keep the snows of the Himalayas and the rifles of the Afghans between ourselves and Russia. To-morrow we shall face her in our Persian zone across a vague land frontier. That is the price, or a part of the price of our jealousy of Germany. So much we have paid to win the doubtful support of a rather weak and very uncertain ally. We might have had the friendship of Germany herself on much less onerous terms and with that friendship the end of a feud which burdens Europe and threatens the chief purposes of civilisation.'

The next step of the 'Blue Funk School' was the wretched inactivity of Sir Edward Grey, when at the instigation of Germany, which discovered in the Young Turks another strong link in the chain of British alliances, Austria usurped Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are inclined to reacall the memorable words of Mr. Lloyd George at the Mansion House Banquet on the night of 21st July last. He said :

'I believe it is essential in the highest interests not merely of this country, but of the world, that Britain should at all hazards maintain her place and her prestige amongst the Great Powers of the world. Her potent influence has proved many a time in the past and may yet be in the future invaluable to the cause of human liberty. It has more than once in the past redeemed Continental nations, who are sometimes too apt to forget that service, from overwhelming disaster and even form national extinction. I would make great sacrifices to preseve peace; I conceive that nothing would justify a disturbance of international goodwill except questions of the gravest national moment. But if a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement, by allowing Britain to be treated where her interests were vitally affected as if she were of no account in the Cabinet of Nations, then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure.

The pity and the irony of it is that these noble words were uttered not when Austria grabbed two provinces of Turkey while the Young Turks were working manfully in 'the cause of human liberty,' but when another European nation, which had tried to throw dust in the eyes of the civilised world, was depriving innocuous human beings of the liberty which they had enjoyed for long ages. It was the new British Ambassador that was cheered by the crowds after the

Revolution and not Marschall von Bieberstein. But after the behaviour of Sir Edward Grey, New Turkey discovered that she had chosen the wrong second in her duel against her enemies, that it was the Kaiser who was the Napoleon of the twentieth century and that the age of Pitts, Wellingtons and Waterloos had gone.

To-day the situation is this. On the one hand, France, one of the 'friends' of England has purchased the non-interference of Germany in Morocco, by giving away a portion of the French Congo, and this unholy bargain has been struck with the active support of Sir Edward Grey—the only act of courage in a pusillaminous career at the Foreign Office—and on the other hand, Italy, ranged on the side of Germany and bound to her by a longstanding alliance, is permitted to usurp Tripoli. Those who understand the position of a constitutional monarch know that it is not His Majesty who is averse to intervention but Sir Edward Grey. The common factors in the two arrangements are, firstly, that both are immoral transactions and, secondly, that in both cases the usurpation is of Moslem territory. Had the usurpers in both cases been 'friends' of England, we could have found some explanation, even if no excuse. But that is not the case. Are we then to believe that England is anxious to intervene in favour of a friendly usurper and averse to interference against a hostile bandit so long as the land is Moslem? We entertain no such belief ourselves, because we do not identify Sir Edward Grey with England. But that is just what the action of Sir Edward Grey would seem to establish, and we cannot believe that even he could be so far insensible to the mischief that the growth of such a conviction is likely to create. However, far from endeavouring to explain his inactivity, a colleague of his, Lord Haldane, the admirer of Curzonian methods for India, and a Liberal, like Sir Edward himself, of the palet complexion, has been sympathising with 'nations like Germany and Italy who have not had opportunities of territorial acquisition.'

The morality or immorality of Sir Edward Grey's activity and inactivity may for a while be ignored. But judged as business, too, it is, to use the words of the *Nation*, contemptible. In Morocco, England gains nothing. In Tripoli she may even lose, for, on the one hand, the British position in the Mediterranean is sure to be weakened by an improvement in the position of a member of the Triple Alliance, and, on the other, the land frontier of Northern Egypt would march along that of such a Power. There are not wanting people who fear that Sir Edward has not been merely benevolent to Italy, but that an understanding has already been arrived at between all the Powers whereby Lord Kitchener is to annex Egypt or at least declare it a British Protectorate as the first act of his Agency and as the price of his opposing the passage of Turkish troops from Syria by way of Egypt to Tripoli. We state the suspicion for what it is worth. But we should like to add that nothing would shock the Moslem world more than such a bargain between the enemies of Turkey and the rulers of 70 million

Mussalmans, and that only he could strike it who was either wholly ignorant of Moslem feeling or too callous to care for it. Every Friday, throughout the whole of the Moslem world, a hearty prayer goes up from every mosque : 'O Lord ! help him who helps the faith of Mohammad.' Hitherto not a single occasion has arisen for excluding the British nation from the category of those that have helped the faith of Mohammad, and we are confident that Sir Edward Grey has no ambition to be reckoned as the first British humiliator of that faith. British journals both in England and in India have with a remarkable unanimity condemned the inactivity of Sir Edward Grey, and we are convinced that it is they and not he or Lord Haldane that represent the true feelings of the nation. But if the seeming inactivity proves to be only secret activity hostile to Moslem interests we consider it our clear duty to England to say that Sir Edward Grey would draw upon his head execrations such as even Mr. Gladstone in his enthusiasm for Homer and as a disciple of Peter the Hermit did not merit nor receive. Oh, for a Disraeli, with an imagination large enough to comprehend the possibilities of a British alliance with Moslem kingdoms, and a persuasiveness to carry the habitually phlegmatic, slow-moving, and too matter-of-fact Briton with him. We appeal to the Liberal Cabinet, to the Parliament and to the British nation to consider the situation seriously and well, and we pray to the Lord of Nations to give them the guidance that they need.

11th November 1911

ANTI-COWKILLING AGITATION

We are afraid it would be an altogether futile effort to seriously set about to argue with those who are responsible for the extraordinary document which is to be submitted to the King Emperor, praying His Majesty to 'be graciously pleased to order that on and from the historic date on which Your Majesty will be pleased to hold a Coronation Durbar at Delhi, the slaughter of cows and she-buffaloes be stopped for the British Army within Your Majesty's territories in India . . . . 'From the perusal of this 'Memorial' it is evident that it is mainly on economic and humanitarian grounds that the plea for the desired prohibition is based. The 'sentiments' of the Hindus, which were thought to have invested the cow with a strong religious sanctity, are shown to 'rest in their origin on economic considerations.' We do not know whether the pious Hindu, who considers his faith and spirituality to rest on divine inspiration, will thank the 'Memorialists' for reducing a vital part of his creed to the level of a mere utilitarian expediency. In view of this interpretation of a universal 'Hindu sentiment,' the matter sinks to a mere economic heresy, without even the sanction of a deep-seated religious prejudice behind it. Shorn of unncessary verbiage and stated in plain terms, the attitude of the Memorialists would seem to be that the Hindus would waive all objections to the slaughter of cows if the plentiful supplies of the animal for the economic needs of the country were assured. Like everything else, which satisfies some definite human want, it would be best then to leave the question to adjust itself in accordance with the Law of Supply and Demand. There may exist some specious reasons to invoke protection where the natural play of economic forces fails, but it is exactly in this respect that the 'Memorialists' betray the utter weakness and irrelevancy of their 'cause.' Vague reference to the general rise of prices and the dearness of agricultural livestock, tempered with humanitarianism of a fugitive and sentimental type, can hardly be expected to convince any reasonable man that the protection of cows has become a grave economic necessity. We do not know why these gentlemen, so furiously anxious for the economic welfare of the country, should have selected the cow as their only term of reference while explaining the causes of the growing agricultural impoverishment of the land. There are several other animals of even greater economic importance and equally liable to slaughter and destruction. The root-cause of the economic change however, lies in a set of vaster and deeper conditions, which the growth of new factors of incalculable magnitude in the trade and other relations of the world have suddenly brought into existence in this country. But

the gentlemen, who have engineered the anti-cowkilling propaganda, have sought refuge under a crude 'economic' device to hide the deeper springs of their action and to draw a sort of red. herring across their trail. Those who wish to have a glimpse of the real 'sentiments' behind this agitation should try to get a copy of a picture prepared in Bombay, which is now, we believe, being distributed broadcast in every part of the country. It is a representation of the cow meekly standing with its head turned aside, while a huge inhuman monster, a Malechh, sword in hand, is rushing forth to kill the animal. A Brahman with a look of mingled wrath and horror is standing with upraised arms in front of the cow to ward off the blow of the monster. There are several other representations of gods and goddesses and common men drawn in symbolical configuration across the body of the cow, with appropriate writings and texts to explain their significance. Among them is a text from the Koran written in Devnagri characters and placed underneath the hinder feet of the cow, A mere glance at this picture unmasks the real spirit in which the anti-cow-killing agitation has been conceived. The monster, representing the beef-eating population of the country, is the measure of the spirit in which the sufferance of this class of the people is sought to suppress the slaughter of cows. The ufe of the text from the Koran in the manner in which it has been done will be resented by the Mussalmans, who would feel it an outrage on their religious instincts to see the Word of God placed underneath the foot of the beast. We have no quarrel with the Hindus, to whom the cow is sacred, if they want to stop the slaughter of it. But their methods of gaining this object are decidedly offensive and unfortunate. If these methods are persisted in, we have every reason to fear that the cows will be slaughtered in greater number than usual, and the religious and racial bitterness will unhappily grow rather than diminish. We are sure no sensible Hindu can for a moment expect that the State will interfere and prohibit the slaughter of cows. It is, therefore, all the more necessary that doubtful tactics should be entirely given up. A more honest and straightforward appeal to the neighbourly instincts of the other communities would smooth matters a good deal and produce a genuine desire to respect 'Hindu sentiment,' whereas, as things are, the activities of the 'Memorialists' and other 'cow-protection' bodies succeed only in causing unnecessary offence, bitterness and even ridicule.

10th February 1912

THE AGA KHAN ON THE RECENT CHANGES

We have no doubt that the views of His Highness the Aga Khan on the recent changes, which we are happy to publish elsewere, will be read with that attention and command that respect which his intellectual gifts no less than his unique position have earned for them through a brilliant public career in recent times. Those who come in contact with His Highness cannot fail to be impressed by his breadth of view and intellectual charm which remind one in a manner of Lord Roseberry. They are a good corrective of the narrowing tendencies of party politics and journalistic polemics and it will be difficult to overrate their value.

We would earnestly commend to the Mussalmans his view, that 'the gain of India must be the gain of the Mussalmans, provided no direct Moslem interest is attacked.' This is, of course, nothing new; but in the heat of controversy a truism is only too often neglected as obsolete and old-fashioned. On the other hand, we would like other communities also to remember that the gain of the Mussalmans is not the loss of India unless some great and universal interest of the country is thereby sacrificed. Where people are apt to be misled by party prejudice or ignorance of reality is that what is claimed for the nation so often becomes, when achieved, the privilege of a few or the private perquisite of a caste. We trust the magnanimity of the Aga Khan's view that the satisfaction 'of the great Bengali-speaking people ought to be in itself a cause of congratulation for all Indians, whether Hindus or Mussalmans' would be appreciated throughout the country and hasten that unity which every friend of this country must wholeheartedly desire. It may, no doubt, be said that minorities can ill-afford to be too magnanimous. But it must also be remembered that it is only the poor that are really charitable, and if the Mussalmans give the first proof of a noble spirit, so much the more creditable to them. But we would insist that there should be no sham charity, no cant of magnanimity, but the genuine article itself. The Mussalmans must show, not once nor twice, but frequently, that they make no virtue of necessity, and are sincerely and without secret reservations prepared to go a long way to meet the Hindus. If they cannot find it in their heart to do so, they shall not only be sacrificing sincerity, but also depriving themselves of the dignity which a community such as theirs must greatly prize.

As regards the recent changes, we have never disguised our strong disapproval of the procedure adopted by Government. Much can undoubtedly be said on behalf of the Government, but more can be said against them. The times are gone when everything could safely be done for the people and nothing by them.

With the increase of education the self-confidence of the people has also increased, and the spirit of the Arab says :

نحن رجال وهم رجال

(We are men and they are men), is the spirit not only of the non-official European community, but of educated Indians as well. The progress of social and political intercourse, in spite of its snail's pace, has increased the friendliness of the people towards their rulers. But increased familiarity has robbed the latter of much of their superstitious solemnity and public men are no longer content to say with Hafiz :

امور مملکت خویش خسروان دانند

(Rulers alone understand the affairs of their dominions). Government is no longer an Isis hid by the veil, although the loss of a dreadful divinity is more than made up by the gain of humanity. We believe that the financial interests of Government could have been protected even otherwise than by the secrecy observed by the authors of the change of Capital, and the argument that a public discussion of the changes would have given rise to endless controversy betrays a disproportionate assessment of the dangers of controversy and of the value of the co-operation of the rulers and the ruled. But whatever may be said for the Government's procedure regarding the changes announced at Delhi, there is not a vestige of argument in favour of the secrecy observed as regards the 'boon' announced at Dacca. It is indeed strange that when in England both Liberals and Conservatives are becoming discontented with the secrecy of the Foreign Office, we in India should be expected to reconcile ourselves to the methods of diplomacy in the settlement of the country's internal affairs. It was not an enviable frame of mind in which Macbeth resolved that,

> 'The flightly purpose never is
> o'ertook,
> Unless the deed go with it; from
> this moment,
> The firstlings of my heart shall be
> The firstlings of my hand.'

As regards the merits of the changes, we are disposed to agree in the main with the views of H.H. the Aga Khan about the transfer of the Capital, though we shall not minimise the immediate loss that would be suffered by the owners of house property in Calcutta who could have reasonably counted on the prescription of a century and a half. But the gain to India as a whole far exceeds the loss, and so far as the Mussalmans of India are concerned they have everything to gain and nothing to lose.

As regards the undoing of the Partition, however, are we to believe with His Highness that the old Partition was a mere sentimental grievance? The Government of India, at any rate, do not say so, and although they have failed to specify the reason why the Hindus of Bengal—not all the Bengali-speaking people—opposed it so vehemently, we have reason to believe that Government know them as well as we do. And however natural the opposition, are we sure that it is silenced now, and that the sentiments and interests which were then permanently alienated and offended are now satisfied and placated for ever? In 1905, the old Bengal and

Assam were given two Lieutenant-Governors instead of a Lieutenant-Governor and a Chief Commissioner. In 1911, they get a Governor, a Lieutenant-Governor and a Chief Commissioner. In 1905, they still had a single High Court, but after the announcement of 1911, it is certain that they will have two. In 1905, they had a single University, but in 1912 they get two, and there is every hope that in a few more years the loyal and sturdy Beharis, who now happen to be backward also, will ask, and rightly so, for a third. Our opinion of the Hindus of Bengal will certainly be wholly falsified if these 'boons' will be received in the spirit of unqualified thankfulness. On the contrary, the fear is—and we sincerely wish we may be proved to be a false prophet—that most of the reasons, weighty if also selfish, which masqueraded as 'the sentiments of the great Bengali-speaking millions of India' may still remain alienated and offended,and that more deeply, even if less openly, while the success achieved in the ripping up of one 'settled fact' may encourage their leaders to work for another and a still greater triumph. Should things turn out as His Highness the Aga Khan seems to predict, Lord Hardinge and his colleagues would have earned the gratitude of the whole of India, and we hope and believe the Mussalmans would not then betray a narrowness which is foreign to their traditions. But we must wait and see, and we trust that those who have now decided upon the undoing of the Partition have a good deal of the spirit of those who do good by stealth and blush to find it fame. All the same, in spite of the advice of Polonius to Laertes, 'never a borrower or a lender be,' we are prepared to give the Government a fairly long credit of gratitude, and it rests with the Hindus of Bengal rather than with Mussalmans whether our draft will be honoured by the people's bank.

We fully agree with His Highness the Aga Khan that the real needs of the Mussalmans can be summed up in one word—'Education.' But it is difficult to believe that the only form which the assistance of the Government to the Mussalmans of Bengal could have taken was the promised University at Dacca. While we are prepared to judge the gift on its merits, we are surprised that if this is the sole panacea for all the ills of Eastern Bengal, it did not occur to the Government during the six years when Eastern Bengal had a separate Local Government, and that it should have been carried out so suddenly just at the time when the costly buildings erected at Dacca needed an occupant. It is so easy to get rid of the feeling which underlies the verse of Ghalib?

جب میکدہ چھٹا تو پھر اب کیا جگہ کی قید
مسجد ہو مدرسہ ہو کوئی خانقاہ ہو

(When the tavern is deserted, what matters the place? It may be a mosque, a school, or the abode of the saints.) We are ready to accept that Eastern Bengal is not always fairly treated by the University of Calcutta and that Moslem educational interests would be better safeguarded by a University at Dacca and by the retention of the post of its Director of Public Instruction. But what guarantee is there that when the Government did not safeguard these interests in the Calcutta University in spite of the plenary powers which they

possess under the Universities Act, they would adequately safeguard them in the Dacca University? What the Mussalmans need is more liberal State assistance for poor but deserving Mussalman students and larger grants-in-aid to such institutions as attract Mussalman boys and girls. Another University does not necessarily guarantee all this; and even a Director at Dacca is not free from influences to which the Director at Calcutta has only too often succumbed.

But beggars cannot be choosers. The gifts horse must not be examined too closely and the most serviceable animal is one's own shanks' mare. The Hon. Chaudhri Muhammad Ismail Khan has set an excellent example, to his co-religionists, and we hope that instead of grumbling the Mussalmans would emulate his praiseworthy policy of self-help and self-reliance. We still believe that neither the Mussalmans of Western Bengal nor those of Eastern Bengal are so poor that they cannot found and maintain a first-grade residential college at Calcutta and another at Dacca, and if they do so they will be better able to give to the Government an opportunity of proving in an unmistakable manner their desire to give adequate encouragement to Moslem education. Had the Government at this juncture followed the policy to which the Sanscrit College owes its existence and prosperity, and reformed and enlarged the Madrassas at Calcutta and Dacca, all would have been well. Since they have not done so the Mussalmans should themselves attempt the more difficult task which we have suggested, and urge the Government to devote half the expenditure incurred by it on higher education out of public revenues as grants-in-aid to the proposed Moslem Colleges. In the meantime, the Mussalmans are too hungry to spurn half a loaf because a full loaf is denied to them, and they must accept the Dacca University and the Dacca Director with the gratitude that is really shown only by the meek in spirit.

As regards the effect of this 'boon' on the proposed Moslem University—alas! still 'proposed'—if the Dacca University cannot be a rival, it can much less be a substitute. The Mussalmans must have the direction of their secondary and higher education in their own hands, and this can only be effected by a University at Aligarh controlled by the Mussalmans themselves—though subject to the general supervision of Government—and with ramifications throughout India. So far as the Government have hitherto spoken out their mind, they do not seem to relish the idea of the Moslem University affiliating even efficient residential institutions outside Aligarh though conducted on Aligarh lines. Would the creation of a University at Dacca directly controlled by Government make it any easier for the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal to affiliate a College of their own to the University at Aligarh? Again, is there no fear that local Moslem charity, which Mussalmans cannot afford to make a local or provincial monopoly, may be altogether diverted from Aligarh to Dacca? Moreover, would not the favourite argument of the opponents of the Moslem University, that across their system it would cut its own deep ruts, and that it would break up or injure

the territorial University, be repeated with still greater bitterness when Bengal has two Universities than when it has only one? And then, if Dacca, thanks to its entenanted Secretariat, is to have a residential and teaching University, will not the Moslem University be depreciated in value because one of its distinguishing features will cease to be part of its differentia? These are questions that must be considered carefully before the sceptics can be convinced that Aligarh has nothing to fear from Dacca. The race between the bird and the fish of His Highness the Aga Khan's simile no doubt appears absurd. But if instead of a race we think of a meal, the appetite satiated by the chingri may not be whetted even at the sight of roast fowl.

Aligarh cannot certainly satisfy all the educational needs of Moslem India, specially on account of the tremendous distances. But Aligarh cannot rigidly be confined to the elite, nor should we attach too much importance to mere distance. All roads at one time led to Baghdad, as they did to Rome, and there were no mail trains annihilating distances in those days, nor was the imperialistic ticket-collector the only bit of nuisance on the roadside. And many a doctor and divine of Islam was the poor-man's son who studied borrowed manuscripts under the lamp of a mosque or the passing torches of aristocratic cavalcades. Practical difficulties are bound to make Aligarh in the main the centre of the elite of Islam, but hitherto Aligarh has done more to help the indigent Moslems even in outlying provinces than local State assistance, and it will indeed be an evil day if Aligarh, when it attains its full stature, forgets its past traditions and belies the fair promise of its childhood. We are sure that H. H. the Aga Khan would be the last person to suggest anything of the kind, and that is why we felt it necessary to correct a possible misapprehension. So much for education.

But although education, more education, and better education is the ultimate remedy for all Moslem ills, Mussalmans have their immediate needs no less than other communities, and these cannot be ignored. While the root malady that has undermined the constitution of the patient has got to be attacked, and none but a quack would neglect it, at a time when the patient appears to be sinking, immediate remedies, restoratives, and even artificial respiration, cannot be dispensed with. It is true that a Moslem majority in one province could not avail the Moslem minority of other provinces very much. But a majority even in one province is not a valueless possession, and if it has got to be acquired even for public purposes and is readily relinquished, it is by no means necessary that a present should be made of the compensation as well.

6th April 1912

THE PUBLIC LIFE IN THE PUNJAB

Provincial public life, we need hardly say, is not yet efficiently organised in any part of the country. Signs of public activities in various directions are to be found in abundance, but these activities are spasmodic, haphazard, and shortlived and lack the sustained inspiration of some great, over-mastering purpose. The reasons for this sad state of affairs are not far to seek. Provincial communities have not yet been welded into common civic life under the stress of common ideals. There are hopeless social divisions and differences of motive, of standpoint, of social outlook, along which a bewildering variety of beliefs and practices have dug deep lines of cleavage. Education and present-day environment have evoked unifying tendencies which may eventually lead to the development of organised efforts for common political existence. As things are, the lack of organised will and purpose in provincial public life is daily made manifest in all important public concerns, and nowhere more so than in the go-ahead and sturdy Punjab. Only a short time ago, the Chief Court of the province had issued a fiat fixing the number of the new pleaders to be yearly enrolled for practice within the jurisdiction of the Court. It was an arbitrary interference with the law of supply and demand. But even if the law had grown old-fashioned and the Highest Tribunal of Justice in the Punjab had felt itself called upon to correct the errors of natural processes, it ought to have hesitated before venturing to restrict the liberty of choice of profession which is supposed to be the birthright of every citizen of the British Empire. We do not know if artificial shifts like this can cure the evils for which they are ostensibly designed. What they would most certainly achieve is to discourage the study of the most useful, inspiring, and practical body of knowledge that human ingenuity has devised for the diverse purposes of human society. The practical results of the ukase in the Punjab would be to shut out some of the most gifted men from the legal profession simply because they could not happen to get so many marks after they had undergone the ordeals of a most clumsy system of examination. It will also interfere with the communal equilibrium which in view of the racial conditions is so necessary to maintain in the profession. Yet in spite of these glaring hardships that the whim of the Chief Court has imposed on one of the most important outlets for young careers, the public men of the Punjab have not raised a single voice of protest worth mentioning. The provincial papers deplored the action of the Court in funeral tones in which the tragedy of defeat was only too apparent. Not a single public meeting has been held in the province to consider the bearings of this extraordinary order. It seems as

if the Punjab has lost its public spirit and civic sense for taking common action in regard to the measures affecting the welfare of the community It is perhaps the mutual hostility of creed and race, the unedifying scramble for loaves and fishes that have reduced the public life of the province to such a nerveless and shattered condition. Will not some of the conventional heroes of the day rise above the petty grind of daily life and touch the will and purpose of the people with the spirit of tolerance, sympathy, and common endeavour?

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6th April 1912

THE NEW ORDER

Change of Capital and After-effects of the Partition of Bengal

The old order changeth, giving place to new, and although men may not perceive it to-day, when after many years they look back upon the 1st of April, 1912, they would recognise it to be the dividing line between two separate and distinct eras. In spite of the wailing and the gnashing of teeth in Calcutta, there is not the least doubt that the rest of India has accepted the change of capital as a measure fraught with great and beneficial possibilities for the country. Whatever exact their geometrical situation may be to-day, when the confines of India have been politically enlarged and neglected areas have been developed, throughout her long history. Hindustan has been the heart of India and Delhi the heart of Hindustan. We say this in no provincial spirit, for had we done so, outlying provinces such as Western India would not have been so cordial as they have been in their welcome of this great change. A valued correspondent of ours, Nawab Nizamat Jung of Hyderabad, wrote an ode on the Imperial Coronation, which, alas! reached us too late to reproduce on that auspicious occasion. We would, however, take this opportunity of quoting the opening stanzas inasmuch as they struck, in the light of subsequent events, a truly prophetic note which illustrates in a remarkable manner that the idea of Delhi as the Seat of Empire had not been removed from men's minds in spite of the ruin, the vandalism and subsequent neglect of Delhi.

Once more those golden gates unbar!
Once more undo the mould'ring chains that bind !
Hark ! o'er the Western waves afar,
A joyous strain comes floating on the wind.
Queen of the East ! no longer mourn
Thy broken sword, thy laurels torn,
Thy sceptre vanished, or the gem
That once adorned thy diadem.
Lo ! the dark clouds of ages roll away,
And brightly shines the rising day ;
And vanished scenes, for which thy heart did yearn,
Start from the faded past, and to thine eyes return.
Mark, 'midst yon City's crumbling piles,
Where the proud sons of Timur once bore sway,
The spot ling'ring Glory smiles,
And spectral Grandeur clothed in ruin gray.
There, there upon thine ancient throne
He sits whose heart is all thine own.
Let him a nobler throne obtain—
Ah, let him in thy bosom reign !
For he is one who neither pomp nor power
Much values, nor the glitt'ring shower
Of gold and gems the gorgeous Orient

brings
To scatter at the feet of her barbaric kings.

That wish has been amply realised and realised too in a manner that none could have dreamt of. These are not the days of conquests, though while we write this we know that on land-grabbing is going on a larger and in reality on more barbaric scale than ever before. When we say that these are not the days of conquest, we mean that our own Empire is large enough for us to cry 'halt' to the forces of territorial aggrandizement. It yet remains to be consolidated and improved and the real Empire-builder to-day would be one who would evolve a new and a firmer bond of amity and concord to bind the lands that already form part of our King's dominions rather than one who would add a few degrees of longitude and latitude to those dominions. Commercial and industrial centres such as Bombay and Karachi rejoice in the change of capital, and from Delhi herself the smoke of numerous chimneys rises to proclaim the victories of peace. Learning has made great progress, and the country has now reached that stage when it can calmly take stock of all that it has acquired and all that it has lost in the century and a half of British rule. Very wisely, both the great communities of India have now determined that while the new learning must advance, the ancient lore of the East should not decline and fade away. The great merits of the indigenous culture of the Orient are also being recognised, and a study of origins has taught the people that they must build the new superstructure on the solid foundation of the old, and must not be merely 'architects of ruin.' The new Universities, the Hindu and the Moslem, would both be within easy reach of India's capital and can prosper under the fostering care of the Imperial Government. The inundation from the West has already fertilised the soil of Eastern India, which had too long been neglected. It is now the turn of the parched but potentially fertile soil of the North to receive the beneficial moisture. And although it is true, as some people fear, that for some time to come the Government would be in a part of India where public opinion is much less articulate, it is also certain that the transfer of the capital would give that opinion not only a living force but also a tongue. We know that this would be beneficial but we also pray that good and honest use may be made of the new power and the newly found voice. It will indeed be a sad day if the North acquires the power of the giant and also uses it as a giant.

While on this subject we may express the hope that, as expected by H.H. the Aga Khan, the comparatively depressed Moslem community would take the fullest advantage of the transfer of the capital. Although the authors of the change rightly refer to the Hindu as well as the Moslem historical associations of Delhi, it could not but be that the people who last ruled at Delhi and were masters in the land for eight centuries before the British took over the Government should have the fresher memory of the two. In the midst of things that would constantly remind them of the past, it is possible for Mussalmans to dream of it and sulk as they did half a century ago.

But that way lies ruin, and we hope the lesson that Syed Ahmad Khan, himself an ornament of latter-day Delhi that redeemed its fame, has been too well taught for the community to forget it. If, however, the past shows to them unmistakably what they had done before and, given strength and faith, what they could do again, then their future is assured. The Empire of Delhi would no doubt not be theirs as it used to be in the days gone by. But new conceptions of Sovereignty and Nationalism hold sway to-day, and if they worked hand in hand with other communities, and if the Government chose to forget that it was an alien Government, the Empire of Delhi would yet be theirs as it never was in the days of Akbar or Aurangzeb. We earnestly appeal to them to scan the firmament and the charts and shape the course of their bark accordingly. Without abating a jot of their fraternal fervour for their brethren abroad who are bound to them not by common blood or contiguity of life, but by the far more rational bond of a common spirituality and culture and common institutions that go to the making of civilisation, they can yet work together with their neighbours in the thousand and one concerns of everyday life. A religion that insists on the rights of neighbours so emphatically as theirs cannot teach them to keep aloof from a majority in this country, even though its ideas are not their ideas and its gods not their gods. We have no false notions about Nationalism, and when we see its baneful results in the unredeemed rivalries of Europe, we have no occasion to regard it as the last word in human progress or even as the harbinger of a new heaven and a new earth. But we have a firm belief that modern Nationalism has in it elements of great utility for us in our present divided state. We think it possible to evolve out of the jealousies of to-day a political entity on federal lines, a unique constitution, because, in accordance with our unique constitution, because, in accordance with our unique situation it would be a federation of faiths.

For such a federation to come into being, it is necessary to have the guidance of Great Britain, and we firmly believe that in spite of much that is still unreformed in the British Administration, it is for us the best Government at present, and its existence is providential. We say this in no canting spirit, but in full belief that if a watchful Providence controls the destinies of mankind and it wishes us well at present, the Government that has supplied the materials. and in many cases even the motive power of progress, is one that must be ordained by Providence for the good of us all. But if its being different from us in our fallen state was essential for our progress, its insistence on that difference to-day and spasmodic and irrational efforts to perpetuate it are now the surest means of its own decay. While moulding us more and more to its own shape it should also lose its insularity and exclusiveness, for that way lie danger and death.

And lastly, we would appeal in all sincerity to those that form the bulk of India's population, that have on their side superior numbers, greater learning and more wealth, to pause

and consider whether much of what they wish to obtain cannot be secured by greater magnanimity towards the claims of the Moslem minority, and more toleration of its suspicions and even its prejudices than by the ruinous rivalry of to-day. A proud people seldom submit to force unless it is clearly beaten. That in their competition with the Hindus, the Mussalmans are not. The most that anyone can expect in this conflict is a stalemate; but have the possibilities of peace been altogether exhausted? There are other and stronger prejudices to be fought against and subdued than those of each other, and that cannot be done unless the forces of patriotism are combined. We appeal to all for greater sanity and more toleration, and above all we appeal for a complete dissociation of all the great communities of India from the bane of present-day poli-insicts, nicere sentiments and cant. Open foes can come to be friends, but insincere friendship can lead to nothing but disunion and disaster.

While the foregoing considerations apply everywhere, they do so with greater force in Bengal. Here not one but two changes have occurred, and in addition to the change of capital, which affects Bengal more directly than any other part of India except the North, we have here a territorial readjustment also which has acquired adventitious seriousness from the eventful history of the last six years. We do not care to go over a troublous past and no purpose can now be served by raking up the decaying refuse. We must face the future resolutely and, if possible, cheerfully, for after all it is that which matters. The chief reason—though we fear it is only the ostensible reason—assigned for the change of capital is that the Government of India look forward to giving the provinces of India administrative autonomy. Bengal, one of the oldest provinces of British India, has already received an earnest of such autonomy in the appointment of its first Governor, and considering that it is the second improvement in its status, the first having been the creation of Council Government, Bengal has no reason to be dissatisfied. With the Viceroy and his Councillors living in Calcutta even for four months in the year, Bengal problems had a tendency to become all-India problems, and the Partition of 1905 which did not concern any other province except Behar, Assam, Orissa and Chota Nagpur, exercised Indian politicians considerably. But now that the seat of Empire is removed to the North, and Bengal's provincial status has been improved, its re-partition in 1912 is not likely to be a subject of the same universal interest. Its people have therefore to settle down to a solution of their difficulties unaided by the support and undisturbed by the officious interference of men of other provinces. The question, then, arises : in what spirit are they to seek a solution of the Provincial Problem?

In one respect Bengal is fortunate. It has no linguistic difficulties to solve such as make polyglot Madras a hopeless puzzle and keep Gujerat, Sind and the Deccan separate entities in Western India with little cohesion. In the Punjab the difference between the literary vernacular and the patois of daily intercourse has given to the separatists a chance of creating mischief, while in the United Provinces the

main issue in politics is still whether efforts are being made to create another language by excluding even familiar words of Arabic and Persian origin and substituting for them unfamiliar Sanscrit words. In Bengal no such difficulty has yet arisen, but we fear that, if the jealousies of Hindus and Mussalmans continue, the same issue that separates Hindus from Mussalmans in the United Provinces, the Hindu inspiration of his religious literature, with essentially Hindu imagery and a good deal of Sanscrit vocabulary, will crop up. What the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal require is that where they preponderate school books should not be written in a manner forcing such inspiration, such imagery and such a vocabulary on them to the neglect of the essentially Moslem inspiration, Persian and Arabian imagery, and the vocabulary that is derived from these sources. The ground, they concede, must remain Bengali, but the pattern must be more in consonance with their traditions and their requirements. This is the main idea at the bottom of the differences about text-books in Bengal, and though we claim no direct knowledge of the subject, we trust and believe we have not erred in stating the case generally. But while we are on this subject we may mention that throughout Bengal the complaint is that no provision is made for teaching Persian and Arabic in schools and colleges, and in this way Mussalman students are being weaned off from the sources of their peculiar culture which they cannot wholly sacrifice to nationalism. This is done even in institutions which are partly aided from the Mohsin Fund and the case of the College in the Khulna District is one which would furnish the new Presidency Government an excellent opportunity of inquiring into this matter.

But while on the one hand there is such a neglect of Moslem requirements we find on the other that several Madrasas are maintained from Sate revenues which teach their Moslem alumni nothing but the ancient lore of Persia and Arabia, and that, too, is done in such an indifferent way that the students seldom acquire a reputation even among the 'Ulema of their own faith. Most of those who have received instruction in these institutions, far from raising the intellectual level of the community or enhancing its political prestige or productive power, swell the ranks of mendicancy, open or disguised, and even help to breed discord and inharmony. It is this remarkable divorce of the new learning from the old and the separation of the old from the new that has been responsible for the particular backwardness of the Mussalmans of Bengal and the new Government will have to make a searching inquiry into this matter, depending for the discovery of truth less on the old leaders that have done nothing to cure the evil and more on the masses of young graduates who have either been the victims of this system or at least know those who have fallen a prey to it and have no selfish reasons to disguise the facts.

The situation in the new Bengal to-day is this, that while the Mussalmans are in a majority, they possess no other advantage besides the doubtful benefit of a small but distracted and ragged majority. On the other hand, there is a very considerable

minority which has every advantage and has left the majority far behind it in the race of life. Too careful a regard for its own advancement in the past made it callous at first to the condition of the minority and subsequently to its interests and rights. In spite of all the fine talk of fraternal feeling and identity of interests, the fact remains that, unique among all provinces and communities, it is the Hindu minority of Bengal that has monopolised throughout the country and even abroad the cognomen of Bengali which should have been applicable to the Hindus and the Moslems of Bengal alike. During the 150 years of British rule in Bengal, the Hindus, having no inconvenient prejudices to hamper them have changed their community beyond recognition. On the other hand, the pride and the prejudices of the Mussalmans kept them aloof from the progress that was going on around them and wrought their complete ruin While one competitor in the race of life reached the winning post, the other has hardly yet left the pillar.

Now human nature being what it is, and caste and creed dividing India so greatly, it was not to be conceived that any mercy would be shown to the Mussalmans. They suffered every inconvenience and injustice that the poor and ignorant are bound to suffer everywhere, and the peculiar constitution of the Government and the political traditions of Englishmen made it difficult for them to do the Mussalmans bare justice. It was such a state of affairs which the Partition of 1905 incidentally affected powerfully. As we have said before, we shall not enter into what happened during the last six years. But there is no reason to withhold the fact that the outlook for the Mussalmans in Eastern Bengal became more hopeful, and although far too little was done to correct the communal balance in the administration, the educational facilities provided for the hitherto neglected area incidentally benefited the Mussalmans greatly. The partition is, however, now annulled, and unless other steps are taken to maintain its incidental educational benefits to Mussalmans, the result would be to throw back the community to is pre-partition condition and in viewt of the embittered feelings due to the partition quarrels, the second state of the Mussalmans would be wrose than the first.

When the partition was modified the Mussalmans could have as one of two alternatives refused to regard the new partition as a settled fact, and agitated for its revocation. In view of their poverty and want of education, and still more in view of their ignorance of the arts of agitation, both constitutional and otherwise, we must confess they could never have hoped to win. But they could still have made peace impossible and good Government itself a no easy matter. Many of the officials, too, would have recognised some justice at least in their claims and could not have treated their agitation as wholly irrational and unjustified. But, although the state of Moslem feeling in India was, for obvious reasons, far from normal, the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal bore this blow with praiseworthy patience and salf-restraint. Their leader, the Hon. Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and his energetic lieutenant, the Hon. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhry as well as other prominent

Mussalmans threw in the full weight of their influence on the side of a loyal acceptance of the change, without prejudice to their right of seeking the assistance of Government in the development of Eastern Bengal administratively, politically and educatioually.

When H. E. Lord Carmichael—who has already created a most hopeful impression on the minds of all with his simplicity, frankness and desire to get at the truth from all sides—landed in Bengal, the various communities that greeted him stood in the following position. There were the Hindus, regretful that the Viceroy should bade them a final good-bye, yet hopeful of autonomy under a new Government and full of triumphant courage as a heritage of the success of their agitation. There were the Mussalmans, to whom the transfer of the capital meant little but to whom the future, on account of the repartition, appeared dubious and the past discouraging, who knew not whether to hope more or fear more from the Government, and who stood in a still greater suspense as to the attitude which the victorious would adopt towards them. Then there were the non-official Europeans who had indeed lost the predominance of their claim on the Supreme Government's interest in the commercial and industrial welfare of Calcutta and were chagrined at the withdrawal of the Government of India from the zone of their political influence, but who had little fear about their commercial and industrial progress, and still looked hopefully forward to the exercise of considerable political influence on the new Government. Finally, there were the European officials at least partly hurt at the annulment of the Partition and somewhat doubtful about the attitude of the new Governor towards them.

His Excellency Lord Carmichael has already told the last of these that he hopes to get to know all of them and to learn what they are doing and thinking and to win their confidence. But with commendable candour he has also told them that it may be—and he thought it was perhaps inevitable—he who has grown up amid very different influences, at times will act as they would not wish him to act, but he was obviously sincere when he said that if it was so, it would not be for any ill-will towards them and that he would at all times be ready to consider any conclusions to which experience leads them. After all, it comes to this, that they must supply the long though naturally somewhat narrow experince, and be its corrective, a fresh mind open to accept that experience, or reject it as the result of unconscious prejudices or inapplicable to a new set of circumstances. We would earnestly repeat the advice of Sir Edward Baker to the Civil Service to give the new arrangement their loyal support and we turst there will be no efforts to 'capture' the new Governor. We may add we do not think he is easy to 'capture' and if 'captured' at all may prove a benevolent but shrewd and tenacious Tartar.

As for the non-official European community, what greater assurance could be given it than the simple assertion that, if anything, a British Governor was likely to be prejudiced in favour of the British commercial interests. But such an assertion need frighten nobody, for His Excellency

has pledged himself to regard British and Indian interests as identical and, if this is properly interpreted, there is the prospect of greater assimilation of these interests in the next five years.

But when all is said and done, the main factor of the situation is the Hindu-Moslem question. We are glad that His Excellency recognises that it is the very virtues of Mussalmans that have most seriously handicapped them, and this admission leads us to hope that in dealing with Moslem claims Lord Carmichael would not punish the Mussalmans for their virtues. As regards the Hindus, they have every reason to be satisfied with his assurance that he is not going to rule in the interests of any one creed or community but of all and would do his best to unify various interests rather than increase the separation. But, while we are confident that His Excellency has all the sherwdness of his native land and adds to it the 'directness' of his Colonial experience, we hope he will not accept beautiful sentiments for facts, for Bengal is a land of emotions which deceive the people of Bengal no less than others. We trust that when 'identity of interests' is being discussed, due regard would be paid to the immediate and narrower interests which are nowhere so hopelessly conflicting as in Bengal, and that when he is asked to listen to the 'voice of the people,' he would first inquire what the term 'people' signifies. It will be impertinence to endeavour to 'coach up' His Excellency and we have no desire to do so. But there are certain dangerous pitfalls and it is not easy for a newcomer to escape them. In view of the very large questions that have to be decided almost immediately, we risk even an unintentional impertinence which is, we believe, a much lesser offence than neglect of duty.

To the Hindus of Bengal we would say in all sincerity, 'You have so much that the Mussalmans lack. You have so many things to secure for Bengal that need the assistance of every community and all classes. Is it so unpolitic to be magnanimous, so impossible to be altruistic!' To the Mussalmans we would say, 'Let bygones be bygones. Wipe off the old scores from the slate and write up an altogether new account. Trust that you may be trusted. Believe that you may be believed.' A new era has dawned today. Is it to be better than the old or worse? That rests mainly with the people themselves, but partly also with the new Governor and his official advisers. Justice first and popularity afterwards; the interests of India before the interests of caste or creed, service or clique. These are the obvious considerations, yet which is the more likely to be neglected in party strife, the obvious or the obscure? We are hopeful of the future but duty demands that all must be vigilant. So much is at stake that the most hopeful have need of the greatest vigilance.

8th June 1912

A MOCKERY OF BRITISH JUSTICE

Fortunately it is seldom that we come across instances in which a gross and flagrant miscarriage of justice has taken place in this country. Scrupulous care and impartiality with which on the whole the law is administered in British India, constitute the real backbone of the peace of the country and the security of the British rule. England's record of achievements in this country is both varied and great. None can see without a certain feeling of hope and elation the rapidly shifting scenes of modern history, the expansion of intellectual horizons, the vitalising movements of thought, the growth of the ideals of political unity and social reconstruction, the wholesome stress and toil of efforts. All this intellectual and moral energy is due to the impulse that has been communicated to an inert society by a culture of new and vigorous type. The representative of this culture may well be proud of having initiated a process of such magnitude and scope. The real glory of England, however, is not that she has planted the seeds of fruitful, progressive and liberal ideas in this country, but that she has striven to lay, deep and solid, the foundations of equity in the relations between the society and the State. No one with a full knowledge of the great political systems that have perished in the gulf of time can for a moment imagine that a perfect harmony of such relations is within the scope of human achievement. Still, however, the conception of the law as something impersonal, as the expression of the social sonscience and absolutely free from the grip of the forces commonly known as 'privilege,' is essentially modern and this conception has materially helped in the shaping of the principles that have been applied to the government of this country. The magnificent system of law that has been laboriously reared for the administration of even-handed justice between man and man is, in the last resort, the only strength and the final vindication of the British rule. The number of Englishmen who fail to realise this and prate about efficiency is large, but it is because the people of India believe that they live under just laws and that those laws, in spite of their proverbial delays and the cumbrous and expensive procedure of the courts that dispense them, can be freely invoked, that the loyalty of India is such a constant, active and spontaneous element in her relation with England. It is the most vital duty of British statesmanship to keep this belief unimpaired. It needs no special gift of political insight to perceive that with this belief is bound up the existence of the British rule.

As we have already said, cases of flagrant and deliberate perversion of justice are happily of rare occurrence. The executive and judicial services of the country are, on the whole,

composed of men of great integrity, whoare mainly actuated by a high sense of public duty. We wonder if they have ever tried to inquire into the nature of the nostrums they prescribe. Their highest ambition is that the machine should work smoothly ; and they recommend, however, unconsciously, the application of brute force in settling grave moral and social issues. In short, they insist on expediency, which they conceive to be something different from justice, as the final test and justification of the policy of a State. It is, however, a very dangerous doctrine that they preach. It strikes at the root of the principles that have won for the British Empire in the East the only sanction—the acquiescence of the governed. Take away the sense of security that is based on the implicit belief of millions in the good faith and sense of justice of their rulers and the Empire will crumble like a house of cards. If that is not carefully maintained, it not only dishonours the individuals but also tends to discredit the great Service to which they belong. It is, therefore the most obvious and imperative duty of the Government to visit the offenders with swift and salutary punishment. Neither the Government nor the people can view with equanimity a state of things that might tolerate the existence of dishonest and unscrupulous officials or leave a patent wrong unrighted. The only prestige that should be guarded with jealous care is the prestige of British justice. We have been led into these general considerations at length, because we have read the report of a case of a peculiarly atrocious character from Burma, in which the guardians of the law themselves are alleged to have conspired to defeat the ends of justice. The facts of the case have been published by the *Burma Critic* in its issue of the 28th April. The Editor, Mr. Arnold, the son of the late Sir Edwin Arnold, seems to have collected the facts with marvellous patience, industry and devotion to the causes of right. He bodly vouches for their truth and we have no reason to doubt his transparent disinterestedness and his veracity. Before making any comments of our own we will briefly recapitulate the ghastly tale of woe and wrong as disclosed by the *Burma Critic.*

In the month of April 1911, a Muslim Malayan couple, Malassa and his wife Fatima, resident in Kampong Ten, Jah, Victoria Point, Tenasserim, sent their daughter Amiah to stay with one Me Sone, a neighbour. According to her mother, the age of the girl was under ten ; and according to medical evidence, which was based on a subsequent examination, the child was much below the age of puberty. Within a mile or two of her parents' house lived a planter, a certain Captain MacCornick. What type of man this planter is has been fully described by the *Burma Critic.* Says our contemporary :

'MacCornick is just the type of a man that any country—especially, an oriental one—is better without. An overbreaking, violent-tempered man, intemperate in his habits, a loose liver, boastful bully who has assaulted even Europeans, has thrashed the natives, has gone about armed with a revolver and, in short, has terrorised the neighbourhood.'

It would be well to remember that

e 'has been for a long time an intimate and apparently valued friend of Mr. G. P. Andrews, I.C.S., Officiating Deputy Commissioner at Mergu.' The girl Amiah appears to have attracted the attention of MacCornick. He had spoken of her as a 'beauty' and had made some efforts to get her, child as she was. The woman Me Sone, with whom Amiah was sent to live by her parents, was the mistress of a Mr. Clarke, then Assistant to MacCornick who called at Clarke's. He found the child playing with another child in the compound. He forthwith lifted her up in his arms and carried her away to his house. Here we must quote our contemporary to bring into clear relief the hideousness of the outrage of which the boastful bully 'became subsequently guilty.'

'Now there is not a shadow of doubt,' saysthe *Burma Critic*, 'that MacCornick abducted the child and that he did so, as is alleged, for the purpose of absequently raping her, as he did a few days later according to the child's sworn statement, which was not shaken by *five hours* of cross-examination before the D.S.P. later on ; which evidence is corroborated by the mother's testimony and the medical examination of two doctors. But leaving aside the charge of rape for the moment, what is the accused's explanation of his taking possession of the child ? It is the most amazing and incredible explanation conceivable. We are sorry to be obliged to write plainly, but the facts cannot be changed. MacCornick asserts that the child was suffering from gonorrhœa and that her mother had made her prostitute herself to coolies, and that discovering her condition, he took pity on her, any undertook treatment for the ailment she had contracted. In refutation of this monstrous excuse we have not only the mother's testimony as to the virginity of the child when she left her house. This might be discounted. We have medical evidence which it is quite impossible to disprove that Amiah could have been living as a positute. It was a physical impossibility That is final.'

The facts of the case, then, are that MacCornick took possession of the child about the middle of April 1911, that for about three months he not only kept her in his house, but refused access to her parents, that he drove them or their messengers, or had them driven away, from his house with violence. A few weeks after the abduction, Amiah fell ill. Her father sent his brother and sister-in-law to bring the girl. MacCornick drove them back. When it was recognised that Malassa, the father, was really dying, another attempt was made. He wanted to see her daughter before his death. Again, access to the child was not allowed and the father died without seeing her. She was not allowed to go even to his funeral. Now what could this mean ! It must mean that MacCornick, having criminally assaulted the child, dared not allow her out of his custody, at any rate till the worst of the physical effects of the crime had been remedied. Amiah's statement bears this out. She declares that she was medically treated by Mr. Pe Vin for her injuries during the whole period of her detention.

By the beginning of July the matter of abduction and detention of Amiah had become the subject of comment in the neighbourhood. After the death of the father about the middle of June the mother tried to lay the information before the local authorities.

Her movements were being watch ed by MacCornick's spies, but she finally managed to creah the S.D. Magistrate's office by travelling by night hidden in the bottom of a boat. On the 12th July she swore her information before the Magistrate stating the facts of abduction. She also stated that she had tried to see the Deputy Commissioner who was then staying at MacCornick's house but had been driven away. The Magistrate, who had, we understand, written a long letter to Mr. Andrews on the 3rd July detailing the reports that were reaching him, handed the proceedings over to the Sub-Inspector of Police for inquiry. The inquiry was next day taken up by Mr. Sherand, the Inspector of Police, who went to MacCornick's house to bring the child away. 'On his return with the child he reported to the Magistrate that the accused had shouted at the witnesses while he (Sherand) was making his inquiry to make them give evidence to please him.' The mother was sent for, who at once asked for the medical evidence of the child. 'This was done at once; the Sub-Assistant Surgeon reporting that the child had been outraged and there were certain signs of hurt.' Two days later the girl came with her mother and made a sworn statement charging MacCornick with abduction and rape.

No warrant was as yet issued for the arrest of the accused. On the 18th July, Lieutenant Andrew McLeanfinnie, I.A., the D. S. P., arrived at Victoria Point and took over the papers and the conduct of the case as head of the Police. The S. D. Magistrate saw the D.S.P. on his arrival and handed him a letter saying that MacCornick, in his opinion, should be arrested. Mr. Finnie saw the Magistrate again in the afternoon and said 'that it was a "funy case" that he was going to take the two charges, abduction and rape together; that it was hard to prove rape after three months; that he would devote all his attention to the "rape" part of the case and that, if there were not evidence enough on that point, he would throw out both cases.' As regards the funniness of the case, we cannot do better than quote the *Burma Critic*. Says our contemporary:

'A funy case! Does Mr. Finnie, an officer holding the King's Commission and presumably what is called a gentleman, really think it "funny" that any man should abduct and criminally assualt a child of ten and deny to her dying father sight of her, to keep secret the physical proof of his crime? Does he think it his duty as a representative of the Empire to strive from the first, as it is abundantly clear he did, to burke the inquiry into the accused's guilt; not only to allow him to escape but to help him escape? Is that Mr. Finnie's conception of his duty to the King and the Empire? For shame on such betrayers of England's fair name? Is that the way in which an officer should fulfil the sacred trust which it is his honour to perform? Is this really Mr. Finnie's idea of fun? We venture to think that he will discover very shortly that His Majesty's Secretary of State for India and Lord Haldane and the Army Council do not share his view of the funniness of this travesty of British Justice.'

It would seem that Mr. Finnie from the time he took up the case did all he could to burke and quash the charges. The S. D. Magistrate issued

the warrant of the charge of abduction on the 19th July. The D.S.P. went so far as to try to intimidate the Magistrate into withdrawing it. Failing this he wired to Mr. Andrews, the Deputy Commissioner in Mergu, for instructions. On the 20th *the accused was admitted to bail on a non-bailable charge by orders of the Deputy Commissioner.* During the Police inquiry the D.S.P. and Mr. Andrews were exchanging cipher telegrams; and it is worth noting that the D. S. P. refused to let the S. D. Magistrate see the papers until the latter insisted on seeing them. 'On or about the 23rd July the D. S. P. went out on tour taking the papers with him, and they appear to have been entirely rewritten. Mr. Finnie's finding was that (1) no criminal offence had been committed with regard to the first charge under section 363, I.P.C., and (2) that the charge of rape was false.'

Now we come to the inquiry that was made into the case by the Deputy Commissioner. It has already been hinted at above that initimate relations existed between Mr. Andrews and the accused. Mr. Andrews stayed at MacCornick's house during his visits to Victoria Point. He was, it is stated, staying with his friend shortly after the alleged rape. As the *Burma Critic* says, it is difficult to believe that he did not see the child or know of her detention by his friend. At all events, his allowing bail to be granted in a non-bailable offence and his telegrams to Mr. Finnie go to show that he was anxious that his friend should be saved. About three weeks passed before the case was to come up for hearing. Meanwhile the complainants, convinced that the hearing would be unfair, sent a lengthy petition to the Commissioner praying that the case should be transferred to Rangoon. The petition was sent under a registered cover and consequently it may be presumed that it safely reached the Commissioner. He, however, seems, to have consigned it to the waste-paper basket. About the same time two long telegrams were sent to the Lieutenant-Governor with the same object. In addition to the complainants there are four witnesses in whose presence the telegrams were sent. 'We have been officially informed,' says the *Bruma Critic*, 'that no such appeals reached His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. As they were sent, the natural query is who stopped them and where were they stopped ? This is a grave question which will have to be answered sooner or later.' As regards the character of the inquiry and the manner in which it was conducted, weread :

'The facts before us indicate that he (the Deputy Commissioner) conspired with M. Finnie to burke the case ; that he conducted it *in camera*; that he refused to heed the protest of the complainant ; that the interpreter employed was the paid parasite MacCornick and did in fact deliberately mistranslate ; that of the witnesses for the prosecution only those called by the D.S.P. and not even all of them, were allowed to give evidence ; that in a word the whole enquiry was an outrageous makebelieve and a mockery of what is really representative of the fair-play and judicial honour associated with the name of England.'

At this 'judicial farce' the poor and helpless complainants were absolutely unrepresented by any lawyer. It appears that they were in com-

munication with some lawyer in Rangoon when they learnt through telegram that the Government would entertain a lawyer on their behalf. And just a day before they were about to start for Mergu, they were informed through another telegram that 'Government would not entertain a lawyer.' Mr. Andrews afterwards explained that the Commissioner had refused to grant more than Rs. 100 and no lawyer would take up the case for that. Why was this solemn promise to allow legal advice made in the name of Government? Was not the question of cost taken into consideration when the promise was telegraphed ? Could any expense be too heavy to satisfy the ends of justice ? Seeing that the helpless victims of the alleged outrage had no time to make arrangements for securing legal advice, even if they possessed the means, we are constrained to think the whole proceeding wears a gruesome aspect in regard to the impartiality of the officer in charge of the case. The *Burma Critic* thinks it looks like the meanest of tricks. 'If a trick,' says our contemporary,—'and it looks uncommonly like it—what a mean, cowardly trick ! What a contemptible manœuvre to tyrannise the poor and friendless subjects of the King.'

Mr. Andrews began his inquiry on the 21st August and concluded it on the 22nd. The accused was discharged. A Mohammadan advocate of Rangoon sent a petition in the rape case to the Lieutenant-Governor, on which an order was passed on the 27th October to the effect that His Honour had 'satisfied himself that there is no truth in the allegations made in the petition and declines to take further action in the matter.'

These are in bare outline the facts of the case as stated by the *Burma Critic*. Without these facts before us, we could have hardly thought such 'a mockery of British justice' to be possible in British India. Facts are, however, more gruesome and ghastly in their realism than any chapter of horrors in a work of realistic fiction. We need make no comment of ours on the horrible outrage of which a child of ten years is said to have been the victim. The facts are telling enough. MacCornick is the type of a 'bully' whom any civilised race of man would be ashamed to own a kinship. That he should have been protected and saved, as is alleged, by friends clothed with official authority renders the miscarriage of justice a crime the enormity of which it is difficult to estimate in sober language. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, as the *Burma Critic* says, has been hoodwinked in the matter. But should the matter be allowed to rest here ? In the interest of justice and good government, clearly not. We earnestly hope some non-official member of the Imperial Legislative Council will draw the attention of the Government of India to the scandalous case. It stands in need of a searching and exhaustive inquiry. We equally trust the Government will not withhold sanction to public inquiry into the conduct of the officials who are alleged to have been guilty of a conspiracy against a poor, helpless woman and her outraged child in order to save their common friend from the consequences of his guilt. We cannot see how the Government can refuse this demand without appearing to trifle with momentous issues, such as the impartial administration of justice, the honesty and

rectitude of public servants and the protection of the honour and freedom of poor Indian subjects of the King.

We cannot close this repellent story of crime and inquiry, as told by the *Burma Critic*, without referring to the lewd flippancy with which the subject has been treated by another Anglo-Indian paper, the *Bassein News* It sets out to whitewash MacCornick and his official friends, though it admits, that 'the records of the case are not before us' and, therefore, it does not know whether 'MacCornick admitted carrying off the girl.' But whether the girl was carried off or not, the whole conception is full of romantic possibilities, and this chornicle of MacCornick adventures bursts forth into a fine melody of feeling :

'A dangerous daughter of Ind! This wild Irishman met a beauteous girl Amiah with large lustrous liquid brown eyes. The brown eyes made him think of the coolness in his native Irish hog. "Bedad," said he, "you'd be a pretty decoration for my house!" And he lifted her in his arms and carried her a mile or thereabouts to his bunglow. The girl evidently enjoyed the adventure for when police arrived on the scene she sat on his knee and said she was very happy. . . .'

The Police, it may be noted, arrived about three months after 'the adventure' began. The rhapsody about the 'eyes,' 'the Irishman' and 'the Irish hog' is of a piece with the rest of the picture. 'A dangerous daughter of Ind!' Whether she could be a pretty picture for the house of 'the Irishman' or not, she was, as we are told, a helpless victim to his lust. The levity of the *Bassein News* is only another fact of the same pose, the pose that the low type of the European adopts in his dealings with men who differ from him in the colour of their skins. It is the pose of men who lynch Negroes in America and Africa or burn them alive. Perhaps the *Bassein News* has yet to learn that the Indians do not lack the sort of artistic sense that is roused to beauteous perceptions by visualising the things seen, and that they certainly understand the theory and uses of all decorative arts, whether ancient or modern. But they have not yet divorced their art from a moral purpose.

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22nd July 1912

THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

An Urdu Conference is to be held to-day at Poona and we hope it will not confine itself merely to a semi-political agitation but will also debate questions of a practical character relative to the development of the language, its extension throughout India and the best methods of imparting instruction in the language in shools, specially in those where another vernacular is predominant. We think this is a good occasion to deal with the past history and the present position of Urdu, and though it is impossible to exhaust such a subject in a few articles, we hope we shall be able to suggest points which may favour the basis of a full, frank and dispassionate discussion by the advocates of Urdu and other vernaculars.

It is worth while considering the origin of Urdu because in some quarters it is understood to be a language essentially and peculiarly Moslem. Nothing, however, could be farther from truth. In the first place, the Moslems are neither a race nor confined to the geographical limits of a single country. There is no such thing as Islamistan or Islamic race. In the Qur'an Islam and its Prophet are referred to as blessings for the two worlds and for the whole of mankind. There could, therefore, be no Islamic language, and, as a matter of fact, three hundred millions of Moslems scattered over the whole of the Eastern hemisphere use a large variety of languages. In the second place, the only language which could be considered particularly Islamic is Arabic, the language of the Qur'an. But very early in the history of Islam the language of the people conquered or converted by the Arabs came to be used by the chief men of Islam not only for worldly purposes but for those of religion as well. We would give here only two instances which testify to the common sense as well as to the toleration of the Moslems in the matter of language. These two are Persia and China. In the one case the Arabs conquered the country and converted almost the entire population. In the other a handful of Moslem missionaries settled down in a distant country, and though they retained their own religion and even converted a very large number of their neighbours to Islam, they were absorbed in the overwhelming non-Moslem population and assimilated its language, manners, dress and mode of life.

We wonder whether Moslems and non-Moslems who discuss with considerable vigour and vehemence the Urdu-Hindi question have grasped the significance of these two instances. Persian, as is well known, is just as much an Aryan language as Sanscrit, but to-day the Moslems regard it as their own even more than the Parsees, and perhaps it is on that account that the Nagri Pracharini Sabha of Benares is making efforts to have the Persian inscription removed from the coins current in India. Islam and the

Arabs never showed any intolerance of the Persian language. It is true that a large number of Arabic words crept into the language but this was due to the Persians themselves, who on conversion to Islam busied themselves with the study of Qur'an, the Traditions and Islamic jurisprudence and in which they excelled so much that Paul de Lagardo asserts, though with some exaggeration, that 'of the Mohammadans who have achieved anything, not one was a Semite.' It has been a peculiarity of Arabic that it only permits its words to be adopted by another language if no alteration is made in their form. In this respect it differs from other classical languages which have enriched the vocabularies of modern languages by a multitude of words from older languages but considerably changed in form. Another difference that the Moslem conquest of Persia made in the language of the conquered people was that the Pahlavi script, which had no intrinsic merits except as a unique philological puzzle, once deprived of the support of religion and ancient custom, and a conservative priesthood, could not hold its own against the far more legible and convenient Arabic character, of which, moreover, a knowledge was essential to every Moslem. The result of these changes was that if a Pahlavi book of the Sassanian Period is now transcribed in the Arabic character a modern educated Persian will be able to understand at least a good deal of what his ancestors had written fourteen or fifteen centuries ago, whereas the gulf which separates Pahlavi from the Old Persian of the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achæmenian period would have been wholly unintelligible even six centuries after the first Sassanian king. In return for an absurd script Islam gave to Persia not only a more legible one, but raised the Persian of the Zoroastrians, which contained a literature of no more than 628,000 words, of which the texts on non-religious subjects had no more than 41,000 words, to the position of an imperial language with a worldwide fame and a literature of which any people and any country may well be proud. Even the forms of State organisation were largely adopted by the Arabs from Persian models, and in the Finance Department not only was the Persian system adopted but the Persian language and notation continued to be used till the time of Hajjaj ibn Yusuf, when Arabic became the language of finance at the suggestion of a Persian himself. In spite of the conversion of the Persians, Pahlavi literature continued side by side with the new Arabic literature produced by the Persian converts to Islam. When this was the case with conquered Persia, it is not surprising that in China, where the Moslems went in small handfulls in the seventh and eighth centuries, and perhaps in somewhat larger numbers after the conquest of Jenghiz Khan in the twelfth century, and now number about 35 millions, they used the Chinese language, and are almost indistinguishable from the non-Moslem population in manners, dress and modes of life also.

In fact, wherever we turn, we find that Islam has kept intact and even developed the languages of the converts, and in Turkey and Afghanistan, as in Persia and China, the language of the Qur'an has not been imposed on the converted Moslems. It would,

therefore, have been peculiar if in India the Moslems had imposed the language of Arabia on the subject population. That they did not do so is manifest. But they did not impose the language of the Persians or Tartars either. To-day it is not Turkey or Persian that the Moslems use in India, even though considerable numbers are the descendants of Persians and Moghals. It is not only the converts from Hinduism who have adopted the vernacular of the province in Hindustan, for the descendants of India's conquerors and rulers have done the same. We felt that this fact, which is patent, nevertheless, needed elaboration, as the voice raised for Urdu is in some quarters believed, or at least declared to be, the voice of an intolerant creed or a separatist community. This is no place to decant on the toleration of Islam. All that needed explanation was the fact that so far as the question of language was concerned Islam had imposed no burdens and created no obstacles.

Having cleared the ground so far it now remains for us to explain that Urdu is essentially the language of Hindustan, or, as it is called by Englishmen, Hindustani. In the *Linguistic Survey of India* it is stated that there are 147 distinct languages used as vernaculars in the country, and that 220 millions of Indians use some language or other belonging to the Indo-Aryan branch. Urdu is not only one of the 147 vernaculars of India, but also belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch. The earliest extant literary record of Indo-Aryan languages is the collection of hymns known as Rig-Veda, and Urdu is a child of the parent language in which the most sacred book of the Hindus was composed. This was written in a language which after being 'purified' by the grammarians about the year 300 B.C. received the name of Samskrta or Sanskrit. This language was the vernacular dialect spoken in the East of the Punjab and in the upper portion of the Gangetic Doab, and it is to the superior culture and political predominance of the people who had then settled in the Midlands or Madhyadesa or in later times had come to rule here, that the great popularity of the vernacular, which in the course of evolution has come to be called Hindustani, is due. This Prakrit, the mother-dialect from which Sanskrit was evolved later as the language of religion and polite literature, acted like a wedge inserted in the heart of India, pushing out other Prakrits to what may be called an outer and a middle band. The students of philology call it Western Hindi, with its varieties of Brijbhasha, Bundeli, Kanauji and Hindustani. In the middle band are Punjabi, Rajasthani, Gujerati, Pahari and Eastern Hindi languages, while in the outer band are Kashmiri, Kohistani, Western Punjabi and Sindhi in the North-West; Marathi in the South, and Behari, Oriya, Bengali, and Assamese in the East. The development cf Hindustani may be divided into several stages, beginning with the period of the Rig-Veda, which may be said to be written in a primary Prakrit, followed by the period of secondary Prakrits current in 250 B.C in Asoka's time, after which came the stage of Apabhramsas which were the direct parents of modern vernaculars. Hindustani or Western Hindi is descended from the Saurasena

Apabhramsa.

It is clear from this that whatever differences there may be between the language used by Moslems and by the non-Moslems who live in Madhya-desa, Aryavarta or Hindustan proper, as the region has been variously called, Urdu is not the gift of Islam, nor is it derived from Arabic, Turki, or Persian. We know that some Moslems without any pretention to a knowledge of philology have recently compiled Urdu grammars, the framework of which is Semitic and Arabic, and have divided words into the orthodox *Ism*, *Fi'l* and *Harf*. But Urdu is for all that a child of Prakrit in which the Rig-Veda was written and which after refinement and purification became Sanskrit, the language of Hindu philosophy and worship. Its structure is the same as that of other Indo-Aryan languages; its verbs are equally indigenous with, however, certain additions which are adaptations from Persian and Arabic, such as *kharidana*, *badalna*, *guzarna*, *daghna*, and *bakhshna*; its numerals and pronouns are also the growth of the soil, and its substantives and adjectives are in the main the *tadhhavas* and *tatsamas* found in other Indo-Aryan languages, with some admixture of Persian and Arabic words. It is commonly believed that Urdu or Urdu-zaban, the language of the camp, was formed on account of the intermixture of race and languages in the Moghal camp. But later researches have shown that it became the languages of the Moghal bazar simply because it was the natural language of the people who lived in the neighbourhood of Delhi and who formed the bulk of those who resorted to the bazar. Even the old theory that Urdu was a compromise in the matter of language unconsciously arrived at by the various communities that formed the Moghal camp testified to the spirit of compromise which in such matters has been, as we have shown, characteristic of Islam. But the more recent theory that it was the language of the region itself and as much the language of the Hindus as Brijbhasha, Kanauji, or Bundeli, or for the matter of that, Marathi, Gujerati and Bengali, shows that all that the Moslems can claim as their own in the language as it is spoken to-day is a number of words of Persian and Arabic origin, introduced for the most part by the Hindu scribes who were so largely employed by the Moghals in their revenue and finance departments. But these words have become in varying proportions part and parcel of languages spoken outside the Madhya-desa also, and in this respect also Urdu is not different in kind from Bengali, Gujerati or Marathi.

Arabic was never a vernacular in India; Persian and, to a small extent, Turki were the vernaculars of the Moslem conquerors of India, and the only vestige now left of these is the Persian correspondence of the Foreign Office and the Persian inscriptions on the coins of India. Although the court language of the Moslems remained Persian, Hindustani had become the vernacular of daily use long before the Moghals lost the rule of Delhi. It is this language which is called Urdu and in the advocacy of which Moslems are sometimes so vehement. To use the sneer of Mr. Lloyd George, it is not only Mr. Balfour who is hatching the cuckoo's egg, for even though the Moslems of India know that it is not their own they are now as much

attracted to Urdu as they were attracted to Persian before, and far more than they were ever attracted to Arabic.

When we turn from the language to the literature, some important differences which distinguish Urdu from Hindi are noticeable. Most of the literature in the vernacular of the Midlands is in verse and is either concerned with the brave deeds of the Rajputs, the devotional ecstasies of Hindu worshippers of Rama and Krishna, or the lives and doings of the holy men from whose utterances and examples the development of the popular Hindu religion proceeded. Those who have studied this literature speak highly of its wide range of style and rich variety of human feeling. The metres are indigenous, the ideas are for the most part derived from Hindu metaphysics, while the imagery is that of Hindu mythology. Nevertheless, Moslems did not a little to foster this literature. Hindi love-songs and puzzles (*pahelees* and *mukarnees*) are attributed to Amir Khusrau, who flourished early in the fourteenth century. Akbar and Abdur Rahman Khan-i-Khanan were the patrons of this literature, and even kept up the much-maligned office of Kavi Ray or Poet Laureate. But none of this poetry can be called Hindustani without confusion, because another body of poetic literature has come into existence and is now called Urdu poetry. In this the prosody is Persian which is itself, of course, Arabic with some additions and modifications. So also are the imagery and the ideas. In fact, Urdu poetry for the most part is in form and content Persian poetry, only written in the vernacular spoken in the region round Delhi by Hindus and Moslems alike. Of course, some writers have introduced a large number of words and phrases derived from Persian or from Arabic, through Persian, than was the contemporary practice in ordinary speech. But, on the other hand, the language itself has often reacted on ideas and distinguished Urdu poetry from its Persian model. There is, however, far greater difference between the verse of Tulsidas and Mirza Sauda than there was between the language used in the daily intercourse by Hindu devotees and Moslem courtiers. Under the circumstances there is hardly any possibility that Urdu and Hindi poetry would develop into one literature, and it would be against common sense to expect that people would give up the cultivation and encouragement of the kind of poetry to which they are specially attached. Nor is it desirable, considering the treasures that have accumulated in the past, that either of these should disappear. Whatever the political Philistines may say, the two kinds of poetry must be encouraged and cultivated each on its own line conforming, however, to the general canons which govern poetic literature all the world over. No lover of poetry would wish that the poems of Burnes should cease to exist in their present form and reappear in a Southern garb, just as none would wish that Hamlet should be rewritten in some dialect of the North. Poetry is poetry in whatever garb it may appear, and we hope there will always be followers of Mir and Ghalib as well as of Tulsidas and Kabir. Literature cannot be the handmaiden of politics, though it may tend to political unity. We know that in the past Moslems wrote Hindi poetry. In 1540, Malik Mohammad

Jaisi wrote that famous poem, the *Padmawat*, which relates the story of Padmini and Ala-ud-Din in pure Audhi, a form of Eastern Hindi, while Kazim Ali Javan collaborated with Sri Lalloo Lal, the author of *Premsagar*, in the production of *Singhasan Battisi*, and Mazhar Ali Wila, worked with the latter in composing *Baital Pachisi* early in the nineteenth century. Similarly, Hindu writers wrote Urdu poetry, of which *Gulzar-i-Nasim* is a well-known example. Even to-day many Hindu writers are enriching Urdu literature by their poetic Urdu writings which are published in Urdu literary magazines, the best of which are mostly edited and published by Hindus We hope nothing will be done by the advocates of Urdu and Hindi which may discourage the cultivation of Urdu poetry by Hindus and Hindi poetry by Moslems, for in that case, whichever party succeeds in the political controversy, both Hindi and Urdu literatures are bound to suffer.

When we come to prose literature, the position is very different. So far as we know there is hardly any prose literature in Hindustani of a date anterior to the nineteenth century. The language of the Court was Persian and whosoever desired to write any book on literature or science, religious or secular wrote in Persian prose. Curiously enough the first books of any importance were written at the commencement of the nineteenth century at the request of Dr. John Gilchrist, who was the head of the Fort William College at Calcutta. He gathered together at this institution some eminent scholars of the vernacular in Hindustan and it is among these that we find the authors of *Tota-Kahani*, *Araish-i-Mahfil*, *Bagh-o-Bahar*, of the Urdu translations of *Kalila-i-Dimna*, and *Sakuntala*, of the *Baramasa*, the *Premsagar*, the *Rajniti*, the *Singhasan Battisi* and the *Baital Pachisi*. As we have already stated, Hindus and Moslems collaborated in the production of these epoch-making books in prose. The inspiration was, however, official and the object of the authorities of the Fort William College was not so much the production of literature for its own sake as the preparation of text-books for European administrators who wished to learn the vernacular of the people.

Had the subsequent development of the vernacular of Hindustan been due merely to the requirement of the government and the people there would have been only one prose literature which may have been called Urdu or Hindustani, for the language of Urdu poetry was then known as Rekhta. It is significant to note that one, whom a certain class of politicians prefers to regard a great separatist took a considerable step in the creation of such a vernacular prose literature. Syed Ahmad Khan was not only the founder of Aligarh College but also the author of perhaps the first serious work in the vernacular which was not of a purely religious character. This was the *Asar-us-Sanadid*, still an authority on the archæology of Delhi and its neighbourhood, which was first published in 1847. This work may be called epoch-making inasmuch as with it commenced the use of the vernacular for serious literary and scientific purposes for which only Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit were used before. With the farsightedness characteristic of the man, Syed Ahmad Khan grasped

the possibilities of the vernacular of Hindustan and understood what it should be in its character. It was the language of an imperial city as well as of the *Madhyadesa* or Midlands. Just as during the Hindu period the primary Prakrit of Rig-Veda, and subsequently its 'purified' form, the Sanskrit, had pushed themselves through the heart of India, driving by means of political predominance of that region the other Prakrits farther and farther towards the outer boundaries of the country, and just as in the Moghal period the language of the Moghal camp struck root in distant regions to which that camp moved, so that the first great Urdu poet was Wali of Ahmedabad and Urdu was much in use in the distant kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkanda, so, now too, under the rule of the British, with the rapid extension of the means of communication, the vernacular of Delhi could spread all over the land, and be a medium for the interchange of ideas and for business dealings throughout the continent. It could not, perhaps, become a substitute for the vernaculars of the middle and outer bands, but it could become a complementary language as Esperanto is designed to be.

But to fulfil this purpose, considerable modifications in diction were required or necessary. Ghalib, who wrote some of the most involved verses, more Persian than any of his predecessors had written, also wrote some of the simplest. But in the prose of his letters he was simplicity itself. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan knew that if the vernacular of Delhi and Hindustan was to become the *lingua franca* of India it could do so only if the simpler style of Ghalib's letters was followed. He himself adopted it as far as his own command of the language and the nature of the subjects on which he wrote permitted. But he did more than this. He founded a school of writers everyone of whom has been intimately concerned with the Aligarh Movement. There is hardly a subject on which these writers have not written, and not only the original works of Nazir Ahmad, Shibli, Hali, and Zaka Ullah, but also the translations of the Aligarh Scientific Society have shown how much the vernacular of Delhi was suited for becoming the Esperanto of India. In all these we notice the great change that took place since Rajab Ali Surur wrote *Fisane-i-Ajaib*. The rhymed and highly Persianised prose of that author is gone and in its place we have a simple and easy diction. That diction came naturally to men who used the same vernacular as their Hindu neighbours although they were more familiar with the imagery of Persian Peoetry than with the mythology of the Hindus and had a greater acquaintance with the terminology of Moslem Theology and jurisprudence than with that of Hindu metaphysics.

His Highness the Gaekwad, who is pre-eminently a practical and shrewd man of business, recently expressed in his reply to the address of the Nagri Parcharini Sabha at Allahabad his own predilection in favour of a vernacular neither overburdened with difficult and often obsolete Sanskrit words nor with Persian and Arabic words and phrases. We have explained that the trend of Urdu prose has been in the direction of a simple diction such as His Highness would like, and we can say with

considerable assurance that Moslem writers of Urdu do not use a larger number of Persian and Arabic words than are used by Hindu writers of Urdu themselves. Take up any article of *Adeeb* or *Zamana* and it will be impossible to say from the style that the writer was Hindu or Msolem. In fact even the sectarian Urdu papers edited by Hindus which use not a little venom in condemning the language in which they are themselves written and the script in which they are lithographed contained all those words and phrases of Arabic and Persian origin which the Moslem writers use thus proving unconsciously that Urdu has already been standardised in the natural course of development and is not an artificial language bearing obvious traces of sectarianism. On the other hand, there has arisen a new language, the High Hindi, the only distinguishing feature of which is that whenever a word or phrase of Persian or Arabic origin occurs in the standardised Urdu or Hindustani, it is forthwith rejected and is substituted by a Sanskrit word or phrase generally far less commonly understood even among the Hindus themselves. Sanskrit was perhaps never spoken at all, and if spoken, was certainly the language of an ex-exclusive priesthood. Indeed it was as a revolt against this hierarchy that Vaishnavism came into being and created a large body of Hindi literature in the hymns to Rama and Krishna written in the vernacular of the people. To go back from the current vernacular to Sanskrit, an artificially 'purified' language, would not be progress but a retrogression. It is for this reason that His Highness the Gaekwad told the Nagri Pracharini Sabha :

'I do not object to Hindi or Hindustani being enriched by the addition of words from other languages. But this should be done without any sectarian motives. Let us coin new words, or adopt them from other languages irrespective of their origin, our criterion, our sole criterion being that the terminology adopted by us best expresses our thoughts and is easily understood. The only reason why a term exists in any language is that it expresses a certain shade of meaning. Save for this purpose no word has a right to exist. Indeed the economy of language, which I deed not remind you is a living organism, will not permit it to take a firm hold and live. Bearing this fundamental principle in mind, let us enlarge Hindi and Hindustani vocabularies. If we do this, I am sure the differences that may have come to exist between the two will be starved out and die a well-merited death and the distinction will cease to exist in future. . . Now, so long as we hug this prejudice (regarding a particular language as sacred) so long will Hindi and Hindustani militate together against each other, so long will they continue to be divergent and antagonistic. I wish I could impress upon the assembly just how the outside world laughs at us for failing to understand that language is a mere vehicle of thought, a mere means to an end . . . nothing mere, nothing less.'

Nobody is in a better position to advise the ardent spirits of the Nagri Pracharini Sabha than His Highness, and we hope that his words have been taken to heart. The students of classics

would no doubt be attracted by the inexhaustible mines of literature and philosophy in Sanskrit and Arabic, and while we hope that Moslem scholars would learn Sanskrit in larger numbers than they do at present, we trust such incidents as the Saidullah affair, when a Pandit of Calcutta University refused to teach Sanskrit to a Moslem student, would not recur. But no revival of ancient classics could be a sufficient excuse for boycotting or emasculating the only vernacular which is capable of becoming, even if it may not be regarded to-day as one that has already become, the *lingua franca* of India. While words of Persian and Arabic origin are constantly being used in the vernaculars of he middle and outer bands, such as tGujerati, Marathi, and Bengali, is it not strange that the Hindi of the United Provinces where the Court language was Persian for so many centuries should be formed by eliminating every word of Arabic or Persian origin? While the Prithi Raj Rasya contains a leaven of many Persian words because Lahore, the birthplace of Chand, the great bard, had then been for less than two centuries under Moslem domination, is it not significant that the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia and many of his followers, who live in the provinces which were for six centuries under Muslim rule, speak for hours in what is called Hindi without using a single word of Arabic or Persian origin? We listened to the speech of the honourable gentleman when he welcomed the delegates of the Congress to Allahabad last December, and found that though three-fourths of his speech was unintelligible to the Moslem delegates and to a good many of the Hindu delegates as well, he could not help using in a fairly long oration eighteen words of Persian or Arabic origin which we noted down, such as *Fikr* and *Quvvat*. But the honourable speaker made the amends by immediately correcting himself with the help of *Chinta* and *Shakti*.

We hope the Poona conference has not suggested retaliation, for it is impossible to retaliate. The Moslem can retaliate only by speaking Arabic, for Persian too is an Aryan tongue, and Urdu without a majority of words of thė *Sauraseni Prakrit* is inconceivable. As a writer has recently said, language is not an arbitrary and stereotyped convention, but a wind blowing where it listeth, a universal gift which men assimilate in their own way, or an innate faculty to which they give their own expression, a great ocean full of currents and eddies, a 'world sea,' or an atmosphere enveloping the globe.

We shall not be doing justice to Hindi politicians if we suggest that they have been less keen than the Moslems in their desire to have a common language. The Nagri Pracharini Sabha of Benares has spared no effort, and more recently the talents and influence of Mr. Saroda Charan Mitter have been enlisted in the cause of a *lingua franca* for India. Only what they understand that language to be is very different from what the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan understood. They desire to see the Hindi language become the *lingua franca*, and the Devanagri character the common Indian script. They regard the adoption of this language and this script as one of the first steps that

shuld be taken for the formation of an indian nationality and they expect that the Moslems should also adopt this language and script in order to become component parts of the nation.

In the matter of a common language, however, the action of Moslems has been far more patriotic than the behaviour of other communities. We have already explained that Islam has never shown any prejudice against the language of its converts and has always left them free to develop their own vernaculars. In spite of this freedom which is manifest in all outlying provices of India, literate Moslem converts have in very large numbers succeeded in learning Urdu in addition to their own vernaculars. The influence of the Court of Delhi in popularising the vernacular of its neighbourhood must have been felt by Hindus and Moslems alike, in Bengal, Gujerat, or the Deccan; but the Moslems of these provinces have done far more than other communities for a common language and a common script. Khojas, Memons and Bohras and the Moslems of the two Bengals are learning Urdu and the Persian script in daily increasing numbers, but it cannot be said that the Hindus of Gujerat, Kathiawar, Cutch, Sind, the Maharashtara and Bengal have shown the same desire to add another to their vernaculars. Even if it be conceded that Urdu cannot be the *lingua franca* of India nor the Persian character the common script, Moslems can be blamed for not taking up Hindi and not adopting the Devanagri character only when Hindus outside the *Madhyadesa* have already done so. But it is manifest that in spite of the efforts of His Highness the Gaekwad the Gujeratis of his own state have not yet adopted the Devanagri character, nor have the Marhattas given up their intelligible Modi script, what then shall we say of other parts of India? On the one hand, we have Moslems who use Urdu language and the Persian script as their only vernacular and script, or learn that in addition to their local vernaculars and scripts. On the other hand, we have Hindus for the most part using their own local vernacular and script out of a bewildering variety, and wholly regardless of the claims and advantages of any other.

It is not only in the outlying provinces of India that Hindi has not been adopted by the Hindus for in Hindustan itself and the Punjab, Hindus for the most part use Urdu and the Persian script. There is no love lost between the proprietors of the *Hindustani* and the *Hindustan* on the one side, and Muslims and the advocates of Urdu on the other. But both these Hindu and Arya papers are written in Urdu and lithographed in Persian script. Once an Arya paper brought out a Hindi edition but it had to be stopped for want of readers! Considerable light is thrown on the proportions of people who use Urdu and Hindi in the United Provinces by the figures of candidates who appeared in the last examination for the School Leaving Certificate. Out of a total of 946 candidates only 132 took up Sanskrit, as against 274 who took up Persian with Arabic,and 10 who took up Arabic alone, as optional subject. In the case of the vernaculars, 632 students took up Urdu against 307 who took up Hindi. Even in the examination

of primary school teachers, more candidates took up Urdu and Hindi considering that Moslems form only 14 per cent of the total population of the United Provinces. It is evident that in addition to them a very large majority of Hindus uses Urdu rather than Hindi as its vernacular and derives its inspiration from Persian, and in some cases even from Arabic sources, rather than from Sanskrit. And yet the leaders say that Hindi is the vernacular of by far the major portion of the provinces. The publication of so many Hindu journals in Urdu and the choice of subjects by candidates in the examination are not pieces of evidence which the advocates of Urdu could manufacture. They have been furnished by the Hindus themselves, and in some cases by the very people who are hostile to Urdu. The fact is that Urdu prose is the natural vernacular of the speakers and writers and Hindi prose the artificial creation of politicians. Hindi is the constructive work of the advocates of pan-Hinduism if the terms can be allowed for a new-born feeling of political unity in a community that is confined to a single country. Like the feeling itself, its first creation is the result not of comprehension and inclusion, but of elimination and exclusion. It is part of the programme of a body of people who would like to produce to-day the Hindustan of Hindus before the Moslems had set foot on Indian soil.

It is an aspiration of Hindus that a common medium for the exchange of thought among persons living in various parts of the country should be found in the Hindi language and Nagri script, and so it is an aspiration of Moslems that Urdu should occupy that position. There is nothing unreasonable in either aspiration so long as no invasion by either of the other's territory is attempted. The only sound policy is live and let live. Otherwise an additional ground of controversy will arise, which should be prevented so far as possible.

The efforts made in the Punjab at first to oust Urdu from the place which the natural selection of a long course of evolution had given to it by pleas in favour of the Punjabi, and now the frank announcement that it was only a prelude to introduction of Hindi, must convince all observers of the signs of the time that, although Urdu is of all languages the most popular and is used not only by Moslems but by a very large number of those Hindus also who would exclude from it all words and expressions of Arabic and Persian origin, Hindu politicians are bent upon making it the vernacular of Moslems only. Last week we quoted in a note a Lucknow advertisement which showed the growing transition from Urdu to Hindi and although we characterised the honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia's Urdu appeal for Hindu University as the Magna Carta of Urdu, we are convinced that to the honourable gentleman himself such a document is only an unavoidable concession to the facts of the present situation. Unless politics takes a more fortunate turn and sheds the narrowness of its patriotism, the future vernacular of the Hindus—if ever all the Hindus have anything in common—will undoubtedly be Hindi. It is true that language is not a stereotyped convention, but a wind blowing where it listeth. But we must not forget that just as protection of home

industries and boycott of foreign goods can stimulate and even create industries which in the rigorous competition implied in free trade could never come into being or survive, in the same manner the fixed determination and persistent activity of popular leaders can create and foster a language which could have no chance in the ordinary course of events.

The question then arises, what shall be the fate of Urdu? It is our hope that there will always be a body of Hindu lovers of literature who will not willingly let it die. But our fear is that the tidal wave of a narrow and aggressive politics may sweep them away also, and party passions may prove too much for poetic sensibility. Prudence does not sanction an indolent optimism. But another question arises: Why not let Urdu be swept away altogether? Why not let that share the becatomb of many good things which the 'Nationalism' of to-day has ordered? Let it also be the peace offering of Moslem India to the insatiable goddess of numbers!

The answer to this question, suggested as it is by the policy of working on the lines of least resistance, cannot be given till we have examined fully what Urdu now means to Moslems of India. It will not perhaps be contradicted that Urdu is the vernacular of the Moslems of Northern India, if we exclude the portions of the North-West Frontier Province, where Pushto is mostly spoken. In the United Provinces, whatever language may be the vernacular of the Hindus, Urdu is undoubtedly the vernacular of the Moslems. In the Punjab, too, although Punjabi is often spoken at home, Urdu is the written language and the language of refined intercourse, while in Eastern Punjab, in which Delhi and its neighbouring districts are included, Urdu is, of course, the only vernacular. In Behar, Rajputana, Central India, and the Central Provinces, Urdu is the mother tongue of the Moslems. Even in the South, in the Dominions of His Highness the Nizam, Urdu is the vernacular of the Moslems. There now remain for consideration the extreme South and Eastern and Western India. In these parts Moslems are somewhat sharply divided into two classes, the descendants of Moslem officials who were sent from Delhi to the outlying provinces, and were originally, at least, of non-Indian extraction; and the Neo-Moslems, the converts whose Indian origin is beyond doubt and the period of whose ancestors is often not very remote.

Those who belong to the former class still retain Urdu, which they brought from Delhi as their mother tongue, although they have learnt the commoner languages of their respective provinces. In Gujerat, for instance, they speak and write in Gujerati like the best of Hindus, but one would never hear them converse amongst themselves and at home in anything but what is known there as Mussalmani and is, of course, no other than Urdu as spoken in Gujerat. Urdu, then, is the language in which they think although they may carry on business in the languages used generally by the Hindus of their province, such as Gujerati, Marathi, Sindhi, Kachhi or Bengali.

Those who come under the latter category have retained the use of the vernacular which their Hindu ancestors used before and which their neighbours use now, for instance, the

Khojas of Bombay speak Kachhi and write in Gujerati. Exceptions, of course, exist such as the well-known and highly cultured Tayebji family of Bombay in which Urdu has been deliberately adopted as the language of daily intercourse, although Gujerati has not been given up for business purposes. But it may safely be asserted that, as a general rule, the literates among these Neo-Moslems have learnt some Urdu partly for purposes of intercourse with other Moslems and partly for religious purposes. Far incredible as it may seem, in spite of the fact that until recently and for long centuries Persian was the court language and the language of literary composition and Arabic was the classical language which the Moslems studied both for general culture and religious purposes, Urdu has been enriched during the last two generations by translations of almost every important work on Muslim theology. The Qur'an and the Traditions and Commentaries have all been translated by more than one writer into Urdu.

If Urdu is to be sacrificed, we deprive millions of Moslems—and these the best of Moslems, if heredity counts for anything—of their tongue in which they lisped as children and in which they think to-day. In addition to this we deprive them and the remaining millions of Moslems of the consolation which their religion has to offer to them. For our part we think it is the loss to the latter whose mother tongue is not Urdu that is irreparable. It is possible for Moslems, as it is being made possible for Hindus in Northern India, to give up the use of a familiar Persian word or Arabic expression and substitute for it a strange word or expression from Sanskrit for ordinary purposes of life. Time and use would make strange phrases familiar and time and disuse would make familiar phrases strange. But what of the familiar word and phrase of religious literature? Language is the expression of thought and where thought differs so radically as in Islam and Hinduism, can the same language express it adequately in each case? Consider it whichever way we like, it has to be confessed in the end that Urdu is irreducible minimum to which the most compromising Moslems would consent. Not that there is no room in Urdu for a longer admixture of Sanskrit words. But they can glide in naturally and smoothly; they cannot be pushed in force. If Moslems study Sanskrit in larger numbers than they do to-day, they are bound to use a larger number of such words. But scandals such as the one which has covered the Pandits of Calcutta University will glory in the Saidullah case are not by a large margin the most persuasive method of inducing Moslems to take up the study of the literary and philosophical treasures of Sanskrit. Nor would there be a keen desire on the part of the Moslems to enrich Urdu with such words if the Hindus follow the opposite policy of excluding words of Arabic and Persian origin. India's insularity encouraged by mediæval Hinduism was broken up by the Moslems who came as conquerors and traders. It has now been smashed to atoms by India's latest conquerors, who have made it an integral part of their world-wide empire. In the intercourse of India with other Asiatic countries, it is at least not Sanskrit but Arabic and Persian that will be of use. To

exclude from the *lingua franca* of India the only source of help in its intercourse with other Asiatic countries is not patriotism nor business, but sheer imbecility.

This brings us to the question of a script though we are concerned here mainly with that of language. Islam was neither insular nor peninsular, and if Moslems lacked something in their love for the land they lived in, they have been charged with a little too much of it for the lands of others. Their conquest brought them worldly gain and afforded them facilities for conversion. Just as in the case of European nations to-day, commerce follows conquest, in the history of Islam the faith followed the flag. For a world-wide empire, a common language was an impossibility, and, as we have shown, Arabic was not imposed on the conquered lands. But a common script facilitated a common understanding, and to-day, while Arabic, Persian, Turki, Pushto, Urdu and many other languages are used by Moslems, the Arabic script is common to all. Herein, again, the irreducible minimum was found by people ready to compromise. Efforts are now being made in India to have a common script. So long as Islam remains a world-wide religion and Moslems retain their present sympathies with other Moslems no matter where they be, Indian Moslems cannot give up their present script for Devanagri. We have heard a great deal of the scientific character of the latter, but few of its advocates have examined its suitability for transcription of Arabic words, and all seem to ignore the fact that the Arabic part is perhaps the only from of shorthand which is a common blessing for many millions. Granting, for argument's sake, that Devanagri is more scientific, does it entitle it to any greater consideration than that which such a shrewd and business-like nation as the Americans paid to Mr. Roosevelt's short list of phonetically spelt words? And, finally, in the matter of script, even more than in the case of language, the general adoption of Devanagri to the exclusion of Arabic character would be to curtail the facilities of intercourse between India and other Asiatic countries.

The only conclusion at which we can arrive is that neither in the matter of language nor in that of script can the Moslems afford to concede more than what they have already done in adopting Urdu as their only vernacular or their second vernacular, and retaining the script that is practically common to the Islamic world. But unless we take practical steps to safeguard the language and the script, both are endangered by the narrow and exclusive 'Nationalism' which is growing more and more militant every day.

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31st May 1913

HINDU-MOSLEM RELATIONS

The most reassuring, as indeed the most impressive, feature of the Indian situation to-day is a general desire for some organised movement towards the growth of better relations between Hindus and Mussalmans. Efforts are being earnestly made for the establishment of 'Hindu-Moslem Leagues.' The Hon. Secretary of All-India Moslem League has thrown out a suggestion for the holding of a conference composed of prominent Hindu and Moslem leaders from every province. The fact is that a rare combination of circumstances has brought the Mussalmans and the Hindus into a frame of mind when they are eager to grasp at all suggestions towards mutual understanding and the peaceful adjustment of mutual differences. No such opportunity would recur for another generation if it is wasted in sheer talk. And because there are enormous risks that it may be wasted away, that we propose to briefly examine the situation and warn some thoughtless enthusiasts of the dangers that lie ahead.

Let us, in the first place, assume that the 'peace-makers' on either side realise the magnitude of their task. The problem is not merely one of creed antagonism. It is in its most forbidding aspect a problem of political rivalry to which history has lent its maddest passions. In the early days of British rule the outer aspect of affairs was tranquil with what might be called the tolerance of accepted things. Soon, however, the spirit of the British administration began to affect the lives and thoughts of the people. Western education has been a great blessing for India, but its benefits have not been without their price. It evoked in its earliest phase the race egotisms of the various Indian communities. A Hindu began to feel as if history had played him false. His race was once great and gifted. It was a humiliation to have to own that a more virile race entered India and left the impress of its strength and culture on her later history. A Mussalman felt as if he had been disinherited by some malign fate. He turned round and saw with resentment the races over which he had once held sway rising to importance and power. The whole spectacle seemed to be a one long, deliberate betrayal of his.

The mood of the two rival communities was never more favourable to the growth of a lasting unity of aim and purpose than it is to-day. Apart from some fortuitous circumstances which have temporarily accentuated the mood, the latent, deep-lying and more permanent forces, which are evolving a political personality out of the diverse Indian races, have been rapidly gaining in strength. But the danger is, lest by mistaking the accidental for the essential, efforts might be made to force the peace. Ours is as robust a faith in the future of Indian nationalism as any of the most ardent nationalists can have. But we know perfectly well that many an arduous step remains to be taken to ensure the

growth of Indian unity. And it is for this reason that we wish the leaders on both sides to be on their guard lest they drown the problem in a deluge of words and mistake aspiration for achievement.

The supreme need of the situation is to foster confidence in mutual goodwill and sincerity of motive. This can best be done by multiplying points of contact in daily life and increasing opportunities for political co-operation. The joint Hindu-Moslem meeting held recently at Lahore on the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions has a real significance and should point the way for future efforts. Some impatient and tactless persons in the Hindu press have asked the Mussalmans to give up their adhesion to the principle of communal representation as a mark of their goodwill towards the Hindus. Nothing can be more calculated to sow suspicion at this stage than such demands. We have never concealed our opinion that separate electorates are at present an undesirable necessity in the political evolution of the country. It is in the power of the Hindus alone to convince the Mussalmans that the necessity no longer exists. It is for the strong to cultivate forbearance and convince the weak that the latter can trust him. To ask him to throw off his protecting armour at the first friendly encounter would surely be disastrous to the ultimate interests of both.

Mixed leagues and conferences may do some good and clear the ground for a correct estimate of the position. But we confess we distrust the spirit of bargain that sometimes invades such formal gatherings. Real goodwill only comes out of a genuine conversion to a true political faith. Every effort should, therefore, be made to increase opportunities for social contact between Hindus and Mussalmans. Joint social clubs have been tried, but have often failed in the past. That is no reason why they should not be tried again. But whatever device may be adopted to bring Hindus and Moslems together socially, we trust every clear-sighted advocate of Hindu-Moslem union will realise that all loud and importunate talk on the subject must absolutely cease. We trust the Mussalmans at any rate will show their genuine desire for the promotion of goodwill and cordial relations between the two communities by sincere, straightforward acts in daily life. For at least a period of six months they should impose absolute silence on themselves. Let the bickering about trifles cease on their part. Let their Press note with approval the acts of mutual goodwill and leave alone the petty incidents that merely tend to divide. If they are capable of this degree of self-control even for a short period they would make a great moral conquest of themselves, free the atmosphere from strife and disarm criticism. If the ideals of self-government and nationality are worth striving for, much will have to be sacrificed, including the pride and egotism of race, the glory of self-assertion, the greed of selfishness and the joy of racial battle. It is glorious to die for the sake of these ideals, but it is still more glorious to live worthily up to them and bring them nearer to realisation by silent, ceaseless and patient toil.

14th June 1913

INDIAN MUSSALMANS AND PAN-ISLAMISM

[The following article was written by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and published by M. Jalal Nuri in his book *Ittihad-i-Islam* as a separate chapter. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan sent the article for publication in the *Comrade*.]

The talented author of this elegant work has invited me to contribute to it a few pages descriptive of the so-called Pan-Islamic movement from an Indian Moslem's point of view. The invitation, coming as it does from a publicist of such versatile genius as Jalal Nuri, is an honour of which I am deeply sensible ; and in the following lines I propose to discuss 'Pan-Islamism' as it is understood by the Moslems of India who are destined to exercise a great influence on the future of Islam.

Etymologically the expression Pan-Islamism claims a comparatively recent origin. It was coined by Christian diplomacy to serve as a scurvy pretext for the spoliation of the fast decaying Moslem States. To the man in the street Pan-Islamism was synonymous with a gigantic union of the Moslems of the world having for its cherished object the extermination of Chirstianity as a living political force. As long as a Morocco, a Tripoli, a Persia, or a Macedonia had to be grabbed, the bogey of Pan-Islamism was a most useful adjunct. It helped the stalwarts of Christendom to constantly confront their fanatical dupes with an imaginary peril, the bare possibility of which was to be removed by depriving the Moslem of his hearth and home. With the dismemberment, absorption or annexation of almost all the independent Moslem States by the Powers of Europe and with the poor remnants of the integrity of Turkey and Afghanistan trembling in the balance, Christian thinkers have not at present much to say about this over-exploited theme. The time, however, is not far distant when the new life given to the Moslem communities of the world by the terrible events of the past few years may actuate the political theorists of Christian Europe to saddle the Moslems with the revival of the old plot to blow up Europe. Nowhere have those events been followed by an outburst of feeling so genuine in its manifestation and so universal in its character as in India ; and it is no exaggeration to say that the bombardment of Meshed by the Russians, the descent of Italy on Tripoli, the onslaught of the Balkan Allies on Turkey, with all their attendant horrors, have made the Moslems of India a changed people. They are not what they were two years ago.

Divested of the mischievous conception in which Western Machiavellianism has clothed it and used it as a convenient mode of expressions Pan-Islamism is not a new force, but is as old as Islam itself. The first lesson of Pan-Islamism was given by the Qur'an when it said :

انما المومنون اخوة

(Verily all Moslems are brethren unto each other). The Prophet's definition of Pan-Islamism will never grow old. 'A Moslem's relation to

another Moslem,' exclaimed the Sarwar-i-Kainat, may be likened to that of the two hands which wash each other.' The universal brotherhood founded by Islam is a moral binding force which has not equal. Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism and any many other 'isms' of that ilk are only ethnic ebullitions of a territorial character. The brotherhood of Islam, or Pan-Islamism if you will, transcends all considerations of race and colour and is of an extra-territorial type in which all the Moslem populations of the world merge their geographical identity and become one nation. During the two months that I have been in Constantinople it has been one of my studied endeavours to bring this cardinal fact home to all the men of light and learning with whom I have come in contact, and it gives me great satisfaction to realise that the 600 years' intercourse with European civilisation has failed to produce any appreciable change in Turkey's conception of Moslem nationality. Just as the Indian Moslems think that they are Moslems first and Indians afterwards, so the scores of Mussalmans of all grades and sections with whom I had had occasion to talk on the subject assured me that they were Moslems first and Ottomans afterwards. It is in this conception of the universality of the Moslem brotherhood that lies the chief strength of the Pan-Islamic movement, and the Moslems of India are among the foremost to realise it.

The object of Pan-Islamism, for aught that Christian writers may yet have to say to the contrary, is not to cherish projects of an aggressive nature against Christendom in spite of all that it has done to exterminate Islam, but to act purely on the defensive and to protect what little remains to the Moslems of their once-splendid Empire against further encroachments. In this work of defence Turkey has hitherto been single-handed, but such will no longer be the case. The combined attack of Christian Europe against the integrity of Islam and the covert and overt designs of the Western Powers against the remnant of Turkey have made too deep an impression upon the mind of the Moslems to be easily effaced. They have accordingly made up their mind to stand by Turkey through thick and thin, and mindful of the saying of their blessed Prophet who declared :

المومن للمومن کا لبنان یشد بعضه بعضا

(a Moslem is unto another Moslem as a wall which is propped up by its various parts), they will do all that they can to co-operate with Turkey whose political extinction means their own annihilation. This co-operation need not upset the Christian alarmists. It has nothing in common with the alleged triple alliance negotiated between Japan, China and Siam, which necessitates, according to the *Berliner Tageblatt*, a probable proposal in the near future on the part of the Russian Czar, to form a European combination strong enough to crush the yellow races and ensure the perpetual supremacy of the Western Powers in Asia. The co-operation of the Moslems of the world with the Caliphate which has now come to be recognised throughout the Islamic world as a revivified moral force essential to the maintenance of the *status quo* of Islam, will be intellectual

and economic in its bearings. Islam is destined to play a great part yet in the political evolution of the world, and those who can think have arrived at the conclusion that the revival of Islam is to be heralded not by the thunder of guns and the flashing of bayonets, but by the creation of Universities and the establishment of Banks. This is to be the Pan-Islamism of the future and, Inshaallah, it will achieve its object.

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2nd August 1913

THE MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

Naturally enough, a community in a state of general anxiety and distress cannot easily address itself to a calm and patient consideration of its affairs, however vital the issues that may be involved. The period through which the Indian Moslems have been passing is one of the most distracting in their history. Some of their 'friends' have been warning them, for obvious reasons, lest they should neglect and jeopardise their immediate interests nearer home by indulging in 'Pan-Islamic' fears, hopes and aspirations. The warning, not quite as innocent as it might look, has been entirely gratuitous. The 'friends' of the Mussalmans both in India and abroad have absolutely misunderstood the character of Moslem feeling in India to-day. The feeling does not merely represent the outburst of religious emotion which has felt the pressure of a hostile environment. It mainly represents a great intellectual awakening. The old shibboleths, conventions and formulae that modern civilisation had imposed on the Mussalmans of India along with the other Eastern peoples, and that had been accepted merely on trust, are being examined with minute care in the light of the new facts and the epoch-making events that have recently convulsed the world. A mood such as this is not exactly one of despair. Perhaps it is the only mood that can take ancient communities out of their old grooves and re-equip them for the life-struggle with fresh vigour and hope. The Mussalmans have been greatly distracted and torn with doubts, but they have not been, as their critics suggest, leading a mad dance along the blind alleys of passion. They have been simply adjusting their minds to the new and starting things they have seen with their own eyes and heard with their ears. The old horizons have shifted, old scales have altered, old proportions of things have changed, in short, there has been going on a complete process of revaluation in accordance with the fresh and insistent experience that has been crammed into the past few years of their life. Every secular duty and purpose may consequently assume a new aspect, acquire a new quality and develop a new emphasis. The superficial and angry critic has rushed to accuse the Indian Moslems of neglecting their own affairs. They have been all the while studying their position in the new setting and with new pairs of intellectual eyes.

The proposed Moslem University is admittedly the greatest and most exacting concern of the Indian Mussalmans as far as their immediate secular interests go. And the manner in which the question has so far been dealt with affords an interesting clue to the psychological state of the community. The outstanding feature of the matter is the apparently long delay that has occurred in the

settlement of the issues which involve the fate of the University. The delay has not, however, been due to indifference, the flagging of the communal interest, or a general helplessness and incapacity for sustained and decisive effort in face of a tough situation. It has been chiefly due to causes which no one could foresee,—the sufferings of Islam abroad, the life-and-death struggles of Moslem communities against formidable forces of bigotry and territorial greed. The Mussalmans of India could not maintain a heart of flint and a face of brass as successive blows fell on the secular power and prestige of Islam and grave problems arose in regard to its future existence. The ideals that had been nurtured by the life-blood of generations of Moslems throughout the world were in peril, and things of lesser moment could well afford to wait during the acute mental travail of a long-drawn crisis. As a matter of fact, the University project remained close to the hearts of Moslems even in the gloomiest days through which they have passed. They could not abandon the ideal without being faithless to their past history. Circumstances had of course thrown considerable doubt over the possibility of their realising it in its entirety. The Secretary of State had laid down certain conditions, and these were utterly at variance with the Moslem conception of a Moslem University. The altered outlook of the community also contributed towards change of attitude in regard to the fundamental aims of the project and its ultimate utility under certain conditions. Views take time to mature in an atmosphere of flux and uncertainty. Our wonder is that the Moslem views in regard to the Secretary of State's decisions were unmistakably formed within a month of the announcement made by the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler. The delay of about a year that has occurred since then in deciding upon a definite course of action has been due, apart from the circumstances noted above, to the dilatory methods, nerveless aims and feeble faiths of those who had been the official guides of the Mussalmans in the matter.

The meeting of Mussalmans held in December last proved the striking resolve at which an overwhelming majority of Moslems had already arrived in regard to the scope and character of the University Foundation Committee, but it nevertheless reflected in a remarkable measure the general feeling of the community. It considered the terms offered by the Government and found them altogether unacceptable. A Moslem University, without powers of affiliation, practically under the full control of a Department of the Government of India and without being Moslem even in name, was not the ideal which the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had preached and for which the whole community had borne willing sacrifices. A Committee was formed with absolute powers to decide the issues in consultation with the Government in accordance as far as possible with the wishes of the community. However, some misunderstanding about the Lucknow transaction arose later on, which we had to discuss fully at the time ; and as a consequence, the Committee thought it advisable to dissolve itself and refer the whole question back to the Foundation Committee.

Matters were thus hanging fire when it was at last announced that the Moslem University Foundation Committee had been called to meet at Aligarh on the 26th and 27th July. The meeting was naturally looked forward to with more than usual interest. The opinion of the Moslem community in regard to the main issues was no longer in doubt. But it was felt that determined efforts might be made to dragoon public opinion and create an impasse. The possibility of splits over questions of details and of method and procedure could not be ignored. The 'leaders' of the community had squandered public trust by shady tactics, and no one could be sure that the Foundation Committee would agree once more to hand over the completion of its task to any body of men with any degree of confidence. Then, again, there was the official atmosphere of Aligarh. Men having prominent connection with the government of the College had never disguised their desire to urge the Mussalmans to accept the University on conditions laid down by the Government. No pains had been spared during the past six months to induce the Mussalmans to change their views on the question. Sir Theodore Morison, who had evidently taken a prominent part in shaping the decisions of the Secretary of State, happened to be in India as a member of the Public Service Commission, and he found occasion to visit Aligarh. He tried to impress on the Trustees and the Old Boys both in public and private the evils of an affiliating university. He exploited Moslem goodwill to the full and made no effort to conceal his violent dislike against individuals who had committed the great sin of thinking and acting for themselves.

All apprehensions of the sort were, however, soon laid at rest. The Aligarh meetings of the 26th and 27th July have made it manifest how strong and unshakable Moslem public opinion has grown over the main questions relating to the creation of the Moslem University. We publish elsewhere an English version of the resolutions passed by the Foundation Committee. The resolution relating to affiliation was carried unanimously and even Sahibzadah Aftab Ahmad Khan Sahib, who had different and very militant views on the subject expressed himself in perfect accord with the opinion of the meeting at Aligarh. He now seems to recognise the importance of securing the powers to affiliate colleges and schools for the University. A 'compromise' had been suggested some time ago from unknown quarters to settle the dispute between the Mussalmans and the Government by allowing the Moslem University to exercise the power of affiliating secondary schols. The resolution of the Government of India on Education has only recently revealed what principles have to guide secondary education and how the secondary schools are to the conducted, controlled and governed. The resolution of the Foundation Committee relating to the powers of the Chancellor was unanimously passed without the least discussion. The attitude of the Foundation Committee in regard to this question could not well be otherwise. The Committee could not be expected to vest powers in the Chancellor the least exercise of which

has recently roused the ire of the Calcutta University. We do not know what Messrs. A. Rasul, Jasyawal and Dr. Suhrawardy have done that their appointments as University lecturers would be harmful to the general interests of the University. Men of capacity and energy amongst the Mussalmans are not enough for the thousand and one needs of the community, and if the Moslem lecturers of the Aligarh College or the Moslem University were to be debarred from taking part in communal movements, or even if their appointments were to be subject to the absolute Government veto, the community would stand little to gain by the establishment of a Univers ity of its own. The powers already reserved for the Chancellor in the draft Constitution were inserted in deference to the wishes of the Education Member in September 1911. The occasion and the time were altogether different and Mussalmans had not yet learnt their bitter lessons. Subsequent experience has, however, naturally put them on their guard, and they cannot reasonably agree to giving excessive powers to the Viceroy in the control and supervision of the affairs of the University. As regards the question of vesting the powers of the Chancellor in the Governor-General in Council, the recent communication of Mr. Sharp on the subject of the Calcutta University lecturerships points a wholesome moral and tells an edifying tale. The Moslem University should at least be as independent of official control as the Calcutta University declares itself to be, if it is not to become the dumping round of the freaks of the Education Department. The resolution defining the relations of the Court and the Senate is also an important one and the decision of the Foundation Committee will be welcome to those who have an actual experience of the Aligarh affairs.

The first day of the meeting at Aligarh was practically wasted in discussing a motion to the effect that a committee with the name of Moslem University Association should be formed with absolute powers to settle and finally decide all matters relating to the creation of the University. Persistent attempts were made to press this motion in one form or another at different stages of the day's discussion. Much futile and absurd arguments were expended in the efforts to get the Foundation Committee to sign its own death warrants. It was naively urged that the members of the Foundation Committee who had met at Aligarh were not competent to form right judgment, and that in every civilised community matters of importance were dealt with by select committees or bodies of experts, who exercised delegated powers with absolute freedom. The question of competence is merely one of degree, indeed, when it is not one of presumption. And in the discussion of first principles the common people display as sure instincts and practical sense and have as much chance to arrive at the right conclusion as the wideawake, unerring intellectual aristocrat. Those who distrust the common people seldom trust themselves. They value not so much the best view or the best opinion as the view and opinion they themselves hold, which the foolish world may refuse to accept at its peril. The Mussalmans have not yet evolved their Supermen, and till the Samarati class of

Mr. Well's conception springs up among them to their intellectual thinking, they will have to settle their common affairs together and take the risks. It is immensely gratifying that a clear line of action has been finally settled in regard to the question of the University. The Aligarh decisions have been almost unanimously accepted. It is possible the Government may not accord them the weight they merit. But the Mussalmans refuse to despair. The University ideal shrines their noblest dream since the loss of their Empire in India. If there is any virtue in self-sacrifice and self-devotion, the dream will not surely prove the mirage of their destiny. Nothing good or great has ever been won without perseverance. With constant effort and ceaseless toil the goal is assured.

V. I. P.s

گرچہ تھے صفحۂ ہستی پہ ہم اک حرف غلط
لیک اٹھے بھی تو اک نقش بٹھا کے اٹھے

APPRECIATION OF IQBAL

An esteemed correspondent writes to us : 'Iqbal, the deep-toned organ voice of Mohammadan India, has again burst out gloriously in song after a longish silence. The voice now charming us, now rousing us, now intoxicating us, now sending through us all an indescribable thrill is, I helieve, penetrating the remotest corners of the land. But how is it, are we too fascinated for applause ? When some positively nauseating speakers in Urdu at our great communal gatherings seem to command the admiration and attention of the community in proportion to their want of command of our language and the poverty of their ideas, and an indiscriminately admiring public unhorses their carriages and drags them—I am too deficient in grammar to tell you what noun "them" stands for—in the streets and its good sense in—the mud, I do not know whether the absence of this demonstration to Iqbal should not be regarded as a compliment by him. But with all this, we should, I humbly urge, testify in a public manner our appreciation of Iqbal. Let us, for example, garland him—our way of bestowing laurels—in our national assembly, the Educational Conference at Delhi. We have acclaimed حالی as the poet of our ماضی ; let us hail اقبال as the singer of our استقبال. We heartily join our correspondent in the wish that some public testimony should be borne to the inestimable services of Iqbal whose "glorious song" has touched all the fine impulses that move the heart af Moslen India today. The poet has felt the pathos of the fallen race ; but his message, how joyous, how full of faith and celestial fire ; it has roused even the most weary and despondent with a voice like the clarion trumpet. Will the garlanding of the poet in the Moslem Educational Conference be an appropriate offering of a people's admiration and gratitude ? These "laurels," too, have not escaped being vulgarised by unworthy use, and have gone in some cases to decorate necks that scarcely deserved a halter. However, any token of appreciation ought to be welcome.' We trust our correspondent's suggestion will be enthnsiastically received by the Moslem public.

GAEKWAD BAITING

The unfortunate incident at the Durbar which brought His Highness the Gaekwad's name more prominently before the public than the innumerable admirers of his enlightenment and his reforming zeal could have liked has given to the equally numerous band of those who could not tolerate his manliness the one chance of their life. It was natural enough that the latter should chuckle over the Durbar incident and the explanation of the Maharajah; but we mast admit we never suspected that people who belong to a manly race themselves should have so far forgotten themselves as to indulge in language which beats anything we have yet heard in impudence in condemning, though in disguise, one of the sterling qualities of Englishmen. The *Saturday Review*, a Tory weekly of great distinction, writes :

'An incident of the Durbar to be regretted was the misconduct of the Gaekwad. This graceless Feudatory has learned his ideas of ceremony and a mistaken sense of his own importance in America. The record of Baroda is not a happy one. The ruling family are strangers to the people, and the present ruler owes his positiou to us. He was a humble village youth, selected as heir by adoption when his predecessor was deposed for an attempt on the life of the Resident and for general misgovernment. His loyalty has been for some years under suspicion. (He has coquetted with the leaders of sedition, including, it seems, the notorious Krishnavarma.) His apology was not sufficient. The offence of "A Beggar on Horseback," tends to create the suitable atmosphere.

'Some years ago the Indian Government for sufficient reasons deposed the ruling Gaekwad of Baroda and set up in his stead a village child for whom a royal pedigree was discovered or provided. Unfortunately, though the Government could make a ruling chief, it could not make a gentleman, and shis son of a small cultivator has seen fit to put a gross insult upon his suzerain before all India. He came into the presence of the Kaiser-i-Hind improperly, not to say indecorously, attired, did his homage with studied insolence, and turned his back upon the throne.'

Is not the first mad impulse after reading it to take a horsewhip and lay it savagely across the editorial back? We believe our profession has as many gentlemen in its rank as any other, but we must confess we rise from a perusal of such scurrilous writing with a deepening sense of shame.

In the first place we are told that for 'sufficient reasons' the Indian Government had deposed the Maharajah's predecessor. We shall not quarrel with the expression, for in these days of Imperial autocracy 'sufficient reasons' and the actions of the Indian Government are always found in company. But it will not be amiss to remind the *Globe* that Sergeant Ballantyne, who defended

Malhar Rao Gaekwad, died with the full conviction that the Prince was innocent of the crime of an attempt on his life of which the Resident had accused him, requires much more serious notice. A reduction of his salute has been suggested, and a restriction on his foreign travel. Lord Curzon had to censure hin severely for leaving his dominions in time of famine to indulge in a European tour. He should be tried by a jury of his peers.

It is true that American ideas of ceremony are different from those that prevail in Asia and even in Europe, but we do not know how, 'our American cousins' would appreciate the inference that their democratic manners lack grace. While regretting the injudicious advocacy of Mr. Keir Hardie, we cannot help remarking that we have yet to discover the mould of fashion and the glass of form outside the functionaries of European Courts, who have to practise their backward steps most sedulously—for a consideration—that could throw grace into the dangerous art of walking backwards. Hamlet and Mr. Keir Hardie for once agree and characterise this retrogressive movement as an imitation of the crab. But all this is neither here nor there. There were many princes who were *gauce* to a degree at the Darbar, and the cinematographic companies which advertised the unfortunate incident of H. H. the Gaekwad display films which would admirably suit a blackmailer threatening some awkward or nervous ruler of a state with a display 'By Special Request.' It is chiefly a question of loyalty, and the subject demands dispassionate as well as serious treatment.

But the following extract from the *Globe*,which commends itself to the *Saturday Review*, had found him 'Not Guilty'. But Malhar Rao was an undesirable Ruler, and his 'general misgovernment' had taken a brutally immoral form at which the Resident was perhaps rightly concerned. Let us hope that the sins of Malhar Rao are things of the past ; but we are not sure if the world and its ruler are now sufficiently concerned at them to look carefully into such offences. It appears as if it is only when they metamorphose themselves into attempts on the life of a Resident, or when the would-be blackmailer is baulked of an illegitimate gain of a flea-bite of 15 lakhs, that Mr. Grundy—if not the Government —preaches from the unattainable heights of offended virtue and shocked innocence.

The next remark of the *Globe* may perhaps cause some fluttering in political dove cotes in India, for it assumes that the practice of 'discovering' or 'providing' royal pedigree for village children when a change of ruler becomes expedient is not so rare as we should like to think in connection with a Department the integrity and truth of which should be, like Caesar's wife, 'above suspicion,' It is indeed 'unfortunate' according to the *Globe*, that a Government which could manufacture evidence of high birth should lack the cunning to manufacture evidence of high breeding. If the atmosphere of Asia was unsuitable, surely frequent travel in Europe should have succeeded where the efforts of Government had failed. But this is just what the *Saturday*

Review would like to restrict, and it would be strange indeed if Lord Hardinge, after reversing one scheme of Lord Curzon, should listen to the advice of this journal and follow in the footsteps of his masterful predecessor whose policy had never commended itself even to the most submissive chief.

But what is the crime of the Gaekwad that the whole of Fleet Street should be turning out of supply judge, jury and hangman as well as the public prosecutor? That he was nervous and lacked grace? That he put on the purest of white raiments, just as the Nizam had appeared in plain black, instead of decking himself like a brideroom? In spite of what the *Globe* and the *Saturday Review* have written, nobody would think for a moment that these are offences for which the second Ruling Chief of India should be punished. It is only schoolboys who play tricks with the droning pedagogue or attend school in clothes bearing too evident traces of picking blackberries that are punished in this manner. As we have said before, the only question is one of loyalty, and if the journals that abuse the Gaekwad think him to be disloyal, we must say they take far too lenient a view of the matter. To restrict foreign travel may possibly be deterrent, if we believe that the Gaekwad is conspiring with Germany for the overthrow of Great Britain or with Ulster, Lord Londouderry and Sir Edward Carsoa for the overthrow of Constitutional Government in Ireland. But surely disloyalty is too heinous an offence to be punished with 'a reduction of his salute.' Mr. Keir Hardie may be pooh-poohed as a rank Socialist when he ridicules time-honoured Court ceremonial. But the *Truth* devotes more space to Court gossip and the movements of Society stars than even to the exposure of shams, and the *Truth* has recently bombarded the passion for more guns with the batteries of ridicule. After the meanness displayed in the attacks on the Gaekwad, we cannot credit the detractors with leniency in their penal proposals. The only other conclusion that can legitimately be drawn, then, is that His Majesty and the safety of the Empire are being used merely as stalking horses behind which stand personal prejudice, spleen and the abhorrence of manliness and independence so characteristic of bullies.

If H. H. the Gaekwad has been playing a deep game, the wonder is that he did not dissemble better. A Machiavelli among Princes, he should have behaved like an Uriah Heep and should always have been 'umble.' If he is still suspected of treachery, then the procedure of inquiry through an ordinary Resident is as unsuitable as the penalty of fewer guns. After having expressed our own views so recently on the subject of the unfortunate incident of the Durbar we would not have reverted to the subject to-day, in spite of the provocative remarks of the

two journals from which we have quoted, had we not learnt with great concern much that has allowed that incident. Mr. Cobb, the Baroda Resident, whose knowledge of Baroda is meagre in the extreme, and whose past record does not show much evidence of a sympathetic handling of affairs, is evidently acting on the belief that Baroda is honeycombed with sedition. We cannot conceive that this was also the opinion of Mr. C.N. Seddon, I. C. S., who has suddenly been withdrawn from the post of Minister at Baroda by the Government of Bombay in the exercise of some powers not ordinarily exercised if not in violation of rules laid down for the deputation of Government servants to Protected States.

Mr. Seddon had been for some years an Assistant Resident at Baroda, and his straightforwardness and breadth of outlook, combined with the fame of a most sympathetic administration at Jamnagar, must have commended him to the Maharajah who obtained a loan of his services and appointed him, first as a Settlement Commissioner, then as Revenue Minister, and, finally, since the sad death of Mr. R.C. Dutt, as the Dewan of the State. But although sympathetic and tolerant, Mr. Seddon was by no means a weak man, and when he felt it his duty to differ from his colleagues or his master, he did so in no uncertain terms. It seems that Mr. Seddon could not say ditto to all the whims and fancies of Mr. Cobb, and he had to go. But his tenure of such responsible posts in Baroda during the last eight years is a clear proof that Baroda has not been the hotbed of treason which recent action even more than the impudent accusations against its Ruler makes it out to be.

Mr. Seddon, however, has not been the only Government official employed in Baroda.

Dewan Tek Chand, a Punjab civilian, has been a Settlement Commissioner, and then a Revenue Commissioner, during more than past three years and Mr. B. L. Gupta, I.C.S., who had risen to be the Legal Remembrancer in Bengal, has been holding the same post at Baroda after his retirement from British service. These have been the principal officials of Baroda and the chief members of its Executive Council during the past few years when, according to the *Saturday Review*, the Maharajah's loyalty was under suspicion, and he was coquetting with the leaders of sedition. It must be remembered that the Gaekwad was away from Baroda for a considerable portion of the time during the last few years, and that it was the Executive Council with more than one member of the I.C.S. that carried on the work of day-to-day administration, we must then either condemn all these men as blind, incompetent and weak or believe that Mr. Cobb alone is jaundiced; and without more data upon which to form our judgment we must abide by the well-known law of scientific reasoning which is on the side of an economy of causes. Till the Government publishes such data we shall not accuse three civilians of great local and other experience as incompetent in order to prove that a single Political Agent is in the right. Designing people are apt to play on the suspicions of British officials, as has recently been witnessed in the

case of those peaceful citizens of Baroda who were arrested one night by the British police with the ready assistance of Baroda functionaries and prosecuted for having manufactured bombs and thrown them at Lord Minto at Ahmedabad. The judicial inquiry at Ahmedabad unassisted, of course, by Mr. Cobb, resulted in a dismal fiasco, for it was the informers who had manufactured the case as well as the bombs, with a view to obtaining the large reward which had been announced. We have personal knowledge of a certain incident in which a man of such strong common sense and natural dignity as Lord Minto had been led to request the Maharajah not to entertain the services of an Indian Christian, who had been staying with his wife and family in America, as a Professor at Baroda, simply because some busy-body had made a mistake of identity. This officer had duly been engaged by the Maharajah, and yet a Viceroy of India personally intervened and arranged that the contract should be broken without any compensation to the sufferer. But luckily, Mr. Bosanquet, I.C.S., was then Resident, and it was possible to reconsider the matter. The Professor after some time cleared himself without any difficulty and was finally appointed in the State. Are we sure that matters are gone into equally carefully and dispassionately to-day ?

It appears that one officer, a Cambridge graduate and something of an educational faddist, who had served for some fifteen years in Baroda and had risen to the acting charge of a district, but who could complain with some justice of tardy promotion, has heen made to retire because he had founded a sort of Gurukul at Baroda to the funds of which he contributed with praiseworthy self-sacrifice. Another officer who had spent many years in England and Germany, who was an ideal District officer and a great favourite with Europeans as well as Gujeratis and Mahrattas, who had served the State loyally for a score of years and more, has been degraded, deprived of the charge of a District, and made to proceed on long leave. His crime appears to be precisely that of the Hon'ble Sir Lawrence Jenkins of the Calcutta High Court, namely, a somewhat exacting obedience to the laws of the land. From what we have heard we gather that a number of people are being handed over to the British C.I.D., and that others are being deported ; and as one upright and independent District has had to pay heavily for doing this duty, we may presume that more accommodating officers, who can put the telescope to the blind eye in such cases, are in great demand.

We have some experience of Protected States and we must say that, generally speaking, so far as security of person and property is concerned, few would care to change their residence from a British District to a Protected State. The reign of law in England is a much lesser contrast to the supremacy of Lois Addministratif on the Continent than the judicial procedure of British India, with all its faults, to the insecurity and generally inglorious uncertainty of 'political' administration in such States, but Baroda was an honourable exception, because the Maharajah, who is by no means a

despiser of personal rule in other departments of the State, had practised extremely rigorous self-denial in detaching himself from the administration of justice. In fact, no constitutional monarch in Europe could have been more detached in this matter than H.H. the Gaekwad. But it is not the same Baroda to-day that its officials and inhabitants were proud of, and all because Mr. Cobb's nerves are none of the best, and because the Maharajah put on white clothes at the Durbar, and when doing homage to His Majesty was a little confused.

There are some who go so far as to suspect that the postponement of Princess Indirarajah's marriage has some political reason. But we are not disposed to credit such rumours. They fail to take into sufficient consideration the manly character of H.H. the Maharajah Scindhia, besides his strong common sense, which must convince him that any vacillation in a matter of this kind would be resented by all right-thinking men, and by none more strongly than by his brother Rulers and by those who are on principle opposed to a bigamous union.

Have the Government of India no duty to perform at this moment? Do they feel no inconsistency between all that is going on at Baroda now and the famous Udaipur speech of Lord Minto which laid down the only correct policy in dealing with Protected States? If Baroda is honestly suspected of sedition, it is not men like Mr. Cobb that are required for the work. An officer of the attainments and position of Sir J.R. Dunlop Smith should have been placed on special duty, though it is a judicial officer of the temper and training of Sir Lawrence Jenkins that is really needed at Baroda.

Rumour has it that the cause of all this mischief was not only the apparent discourtesy to His Majesty which the Gaekwad has had to explain, but that his views about the relationship in which he stands to the Governor-General have also not proved to the liking of Lord Hardinge. If that is so, it is not only a proper regard for personal popularity and for justice to H.H. the Gaekwad and to his State that should move His Excellency to intervene at this juncture, but also a due sense of justice to himself. It is not enough that men in high places should be just and judicious. The people whose destinies are placed in their hands also believe them to be so, and we are confident that Lord Hardinge will not allow any lurking suspicion to remain in the minds of the people that his action or inaction is in any way tinged with personal pique. We say as much out of regard for His Excellency as for His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda, and have too great a confidence in the Viceroy's appreciation of honest candour to fear that our remarks would not be well received.

With the departure of Mr. Cobb from Baroda we had hoped, not without reason, that the cobwebs of imaginary sedition in, and very real prejudice against, the State would be brushed aside, and the most enlightened Prince of India would be left free from worries of this kind to devote himself, as he has always done, to the task of carrying on his State one step further towards his

ideals of perfection. But it is apparent that a few individuals are are determined to let the Gaekwad have no peace. When a schoolboy, who was pelting a toad with stones, was asked by another why he was hurting a harmless toad, he had answered, 'I'll larn it to be a toad.' Those Anglo-Indians who will not rest satisfied with what they have already done to cause distress to His Highness the Gaekwad, simply because he shared with them the virtue of a manly independence, seem determined in the spirit of that schoolboy 'to larn' the Gaekwad to be manly and self-respecting.

We do not know who contributed the article to the *Pall-Mall Gazette* towards the end of last October to explain the Durbar Incident over the *nom-de-plume* of 'One Who Knows.' But whoever the writer, his was certainly a belated contribution, unless he believed that a wrath of a section of Anglo-India has sufficiently subsided for him to attempt to remove the prejudices created in the minds of the British public by stories of an incident exaggerated out of all proportion. But this belated contribution, however well-intentioned, has provided an outlet for a good deal of concentrated venom from one who signs himself 'One Who Knows Better,' and presumes to share the divine privilege of knowing what is in the hearts of people, which humanity has hitherto reserved for 'One Who Knows Best.' This, however, is not the ebullition of an uncontrolled temper at the belated defence of the Gaekwad, but a deliberate attempt made after three months, during which the venom has been allowed to become still more poisonous in its potency.

But let us come to grips with the so-called facts of the Durbar Incident. It is wholly untrue to say that 'when he (the Gaekwad) arrived at Delhi he wrote a letter to "Headquarters" which was deliberately at variance with the form prescribed for Ruling Princes desiring an interview with the Viceroy.' To the best of our knowledge no such correspondence took place between the Gaekwad and the 'Headquarters,' although there was some official correspondence before His Highness's departure for Delhi. But the writer in *Pall-Mall* admits that somehow offence had been taken at 'Headquarters' before the Durbar Incident, and whether His Highness the Gaekwad was guilty or not of giving such offence, when he came to the Durbar Ampitheatre, it is clear that he was being watched through the glasses of prejudice which, like concave and convex mirrors, reflect only in a distorted form.

In the second place, it is absurd to say that His Highness 'disregarded official injunctions with which he had been explicitly acquainted' concerning the Durbar. As a matter of fact, His Highness did not at all know of these injunctions, and was even wondering in his mind why they had not been communicated to him. He received no copy of any such injunctions, and was, therefore, not in the least 'explicitly acquainted' with them.

Much is made of the Gaekwad's costume on the occasion of the Durbar, and we are inclined to think that the writer has missed his vocation by not contributing weekly articles to some of our Anglo-Indian

contemporaries on 'Women's Interests' and vying with 'Butterfly'' in her descriptions of modes and millinery. Now, whatever one's views about dress, one is bound to observe the conventional decencies of the world, and, in the case of official ceremonials, everyone who chooses to go there to attend them has to put on a costume that is *de rigeur* for the occasion. We do not know whether any costume was prescribed for Indian Princes as it had been in case of the Indian people. But if it had been, we may be sure that the Resident of Baroda would have seen to it that the Maharajah conformed to the official requirements to a button. We may, therefore, take it that it was not so prescribed, and no one offended against the rules of the Government of India's sartorial department if he did not decorate himself like a bride. As regards the Gaekwad himself, it is no secret that His Highness wears the simplest of all dresses, and in this respect conforms to 'the note of good breeding' not only in England but also in India, where men who are in their forties do not wear gaudy silks and satins unless they have ambition to appear as 'lady-killers.' We do not know what qualifications the Gaekwad's critic possesses for presuming to call himself 'One Who Knows Better.' But we know this much that we have known His Highness in a humble way for the last ten years, and during all this time, could never find an occasion when we could suspect that he often 'affects' a chaste simplicity when he is 'to attend any public ceremonial at which exalted British personages are present.' It is only a mere love of the picturesque, or the desire to be different from others, that leads so many Westerners to admire the 'picturesque' costume of Orientals. We suspect it is the latter, for the brilliant sun of India presents excellent opportunities to Englishmen in this country to cease insulting God's light by 'affecting' a sombre hue in their customary suits of solemn black. Far from trying to apologise for the hideous costume of his own people, the *Pall-Mall* writer accuses the Gaekwad of purposely appearing in a costume unworthy of the occasion in order to insult His Majesty, and this merely because it was white and made of cotton. Had the Gaekwad harboured any such motives he would certainly not have elected to appear in the Durbar of Lord Curzon, with whom he was not exactly on terms of close friendship, in a 'white sain robe edged with gold.' But if His Highness did not in the last Durbar appear in gold and satin, it is also a mischievous mis-statement of facts to say that 'he elected to do homage to the King Emperor in cheap white cotton such as the clerks in his public offices wear.' We fear, in spite of being great admirers of the Gaekwad, we cannot credit him with being too generous to his clerks in the way of high salaries, and if they can wear the costume he was wearing on the occasion of the last Durbar, we would strongly urge the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the corrupt practices of the clerical establishments of his offices. We presume the *Pall-Mall* writer can still buy in Bond Street and Regent Street linen and lace worth more than some of the gaudy rubbish that passes under the name of silk and satin in

the mercers' shops in Native States. Now, the Gaekwad was wearing a fairly expensive garmant with an exquisite border of Indian lacework; and, although His Highness is simple enough in his dress, we are afraid he is anything but an ascetic, and keeps several laceworkers from Kashmir and other places busy with embroidering his *angrakhas*. That a writer presuming to call himself 'One Who Knows Better,' and who from internal evidence appears to beone who *ought* to have known better, should describe such a costume as cheap and within the means of office clerks, is an indication of his honesty in dealing with the whole Durbar Incident and his reflections on the administration of the Baroda State. But the matter of dress does not end here. The writer asserts that 'in his own State on occasions he (the Gaekwad) is wont to appear in much braver array,' and points to 'a portrait of the Gaekwad as he is accustomed to present himself at times to his own people,' which appeared in the *Sketch* of the 27th December, 1911. This is supposed to depict the Gaekwad 'in the full uniform of his "army," a uniform which is neither very simple nor very chaste.' Now during our personal experience of Baroda, which is unquestionably more intimate and of a longer duration than that of any European, we never saw His Highness in anything braver than a cowardly linen, and the army to which the Gaekwad's critic refers in inverted commas—typographical signs which have been imposed on it by the rigours of British policy—has never been such a favourite service of His Highness as to induce him to appear, even once during all the time that we could gain experience of Baroda, in this military uniform.

We are not artists ourselves, but we do not think we will be far wrong in stating that these good people do not love, specially when they come to the East in search of colour and bright sunshine, to paint an Indian potentate in white linen. But to suggest that the portrait published by the *Sketch* depicted the Gaekwad in a costume that he often wears even on ceremonial occasions is as much at variance with facts as, for instance, would be a remark that His Highness appears with a *dupatta* or scarf, only because he allowed himself to be painted with one as a concession to Giron, the French artist, whose portrait of the Gaekwad can be seen any day in the Makarpura Palace. Incidentally, the *Pall-Mall* writer mentions in the uniform of the *Sketch* portrait His Highness wears the aiguillettes of an aide-de-camp to the King Emperor, an honour he does not possess. If that is so, His Highness has erred in the company of the European tailors who were commanded to prepare a military uniform for His Highness on the distinct understanding that it was not an imitation of any uniform elsewhere. We hope the question of the Gaekwad's dress, at any rate, is now settled once for all, not because of what we have said, but because of the unbending logic—unbending even to reason—of the Gaekwad's sartorial critic who thinks that a reference to the note of good breeding in the matter of dress is tantamount to a criticism of His Majesty the King Emperor because on the occasion of the Durbar at

Delhi he wore his crown. We do not know what His Majesty thinks of all this, but to us it appears the height of insolence to use the person of His Majesty as a stalking horse for every vile insinuation aimed at the Gaekwad and the safe satisfaction of every personal revenge.

Another 'fact' to which the *Pall-Mall* critic refers relates to the wearing of jewels. Evidently the *Pall-Mall* has discovered a Tavernier to describe the jewels worn by the Gaekwad on public occasions. At the Durbar of 1903 the Gaekwad is stated to have worn a 'breastplate' of diamonds which this connoisseur of jewels appraised at a quarter of a million sterling. At the State Ball in 1903 he is said to have worn a chain of diamonds. We suppose all this was done to do homage in a fitting manner to the Lord of Kedleston for the love the Gaekwad bore him. But what passes our understanding is the logic of this connoisseur of robes and jewellery when he says, 'the one thing that damns the apologia of "One Who Knows" is that the Gaekwad actually arrived at the King Emperor's Durbar wearing jewels.' But does this not damn the criticism of the critic himself? If the Gaekwad did arrive at the Durbar wearing his jewels, such, presumably, as the clerks in his public offices would not wear, he would not have come to the Durbar in a white cotton dress out of malice forethought. Evidently, therefore, whatever designs the Gaekwad had of insulting His Majesty were formed in the Durbar itself. The *Pall-Mall* writer says that 'for reasons best known to himself, before the King Emperor arrived, His Highness took them off. There were many who were present who could verify this statement. Was it "nerves" which prompted him to strip his cotton robe of jewels?' When he confesses that the reasons for such an action are best known to the Gaekwad himself, would it not have been more charitable to insinuate nothing by asking whether this was due to the Gaekwad's nervousness? At any rate, if there are many who were present who can verify his statement, we trust they will also have honesty enough to verify that a beautiful pearl necklace which His Highness was wearing on the occasion was handed by His Highness to his son when he discovered that the latter had, possibly through some oversight, not been given, or from personal disinclination had not himself asked for, any State jewels to wear on such an occasion. But it seems that the demands of loyalty are so exacting that, in order to be a respectful ally, an Indian Prince must cease to be a fond parent.

Next comes another 'fact' in which it is His Excellency the Viceroy who is used as a cover for darting another poisoned arrow at the Gaekwad. The writer says that 'the programme laid down that everybody was to rise when His Excellency drove into the arena and to remain standing until he had taken his place beneath the Imperial canopy.' Now, as a matter of fact, no such programme had been given to His Highness, and neither the Resident, nor any of the Ministers in attendance upon His Highness, explained it to him. It was certainly not explained to His Highness that when the Viceroy was sitting in his carriage

His Highness was to stand. When the Resident drew his attention to the fact that 'everybody duly rose except one man,' and, if we are not mistaken, tried to impress upon him that "in all that vast assemblage one man remained defiantly seated,' and that 'that one man was the Gaekwad of Baroda,' His Highness at once sto odup. If the Gaekwad 'jumped up as if he had been shot,' we should like to know what the remarks of the Resident had been who was observed to bend down and say something to His Highness. Were they as courteous as the Resident wished the Gaekwad to be to the Viceroy? But we know this much that it would be perfectly incorrect and a perversion of facts to say that His Highness resumed his seat while all the people, including the greatest princes in India, were standing at that moment.

These were incidents and side issues to which the public had not, we believe, been treated before this in any discussion of the Durbar Incident, and we, therefore, went into details to leave no chance of further mischief. But when we come to the so-called insult to the King Emperor, it would be enough if we left the version of the critic on one side, and stated the facts as they took place, and not as they have been manufactured since then. His Highness made obeisance once to the King Emperor, as he had been asked by the Resident to do. He was not given to understand that a second obeisance to the Queen Empress was required of him, and it is utterly false to say that His Highness turned his back on Their Majesties. On account of our personal relationship, we watched the homage done by the Gaekwad as well as one who thinks he knows better; and, unless we are assured that he presumes not only to know but also to see better, we are prepared to adhere to the testimony of our own eyes. What the Gaekwad actually did was to step back and turn aside a little in some confusion, and he appeared to ask a European officer on duty the way he was to go back. When that was pointed out to him he turned at an angle and went by that way. If it was anything it was a little *gaucherie*, such as that of which a thousand titled ladies and gentlemen in England in Levees, Courts and Drawing-rooms are guilty on the testimony of His Excellency the Viceroy's own brother, who was in attendance on His Majesty as an aide-de-camp at the time of the incident, and who has not kept his view of the whole incident as secret. But what a dowager of seventy with impunity may do is unpardonable in an 'admittedly rather nervous man,' because he 'has been a Ruling Prince for over thirty years.'

We are also told by the *Pall-Mall* critic that 'one of his little affectations is to carry a stick.' We wonder whether in the list of his 'affectations' his critic includes the Gaekwad's habit of walking fast, or for the matter of that walking forwards and not backwards, or even breathing. But this 'affectation' and the fact that the Gaekwad carried a stick when he did homage to His Majesty, gives his critic an excellent opportunity of discoursing like a Gold Stick in European Courts on the enormity of carrying sticks at such functions. Where, however, he has overshot the mark is the statement that 'everyone in India knows what the late Nizam

would have done if his heir had been audacious enough to appear before him in open Durbar armed with his stick.' Now, we have no desire to involve His Highness the Nizam in any odium in connection with the Durbar, but it would appear that the heir of the late Nizam did carry a stick when he went to pay his homage to his august ally, and, if we are not mistaken the Maharajah of Mysore and several other princes similarly carried sticks in their hands. As regards going away twirling his stick, we fear His Highness the Gaekwad was guilty of his *gaucherie* in the Durbar of 1903 also; but we are almost sure that so unconscious is His Highness of following this well-known habit of his that if he had been asked even a minute after the incident he would not have exactly remembered whether he did or did not twirl his stick on his way back after having somewhat awkwardly turned away from the place where he had done homage.

As the *Pall-Mall* critic says, thousands saw the act, hundreds of thousands have seen it reproduced on the cinematograph, and the facts are not disputed even by the Gaekwad himself. But we should like to know who saw—what the cinematograph did not reproduce—the anger of wrathful princes. We should indeed be obliged for the name of even one of 'the proud and the loyal and the chivalrous Rajputs' who 'told him in fierce terms what they thought of his conduct.' This is a pure fiction like others invented by the writer. Not a single prince is known to have talked to the Gaekwad about this incident, and no prince is known to have come to him. It was merely a friend among the gentlemen present on the occasion who came over and informed His Highness that the European community had greatly misunderstood and misinterpreted the incident. His Highness, who would be the last to wound anyone, at once, and of his own accord, wrote a letter explaining that no discourtesy was meant.

As we have said before, a section of Anglo-Indians is not willing to spare the august person of the Sovereign nor the Viceroy in search of cover for a venomous attack on one who represented Indian manliness, and the best proof of this is that, while the accusation related only to the Gaekwad's 'aggressive lack of respect alone' the punishment pleaded for was to deal with 'a series of acts of turculent defiance extending over many years.' The writer shrieks for the Gaekwad's blood as the Sansculottes did for the blood of those of a better social position than their own, although he does it with less reason. 'He was saved by the gracious clemency' of His Majesty, but 'I venture respectfully to think he was saved unwisely.' 'All India expected his deposition!' This gentleman may or may not have any right to represent European opinion in India, but when he talks so foolishly and wildly in the name of 'all India', we have very right to cry 'Halt!' and request him to show his credentials. Had the Gaekwad been dealt with as the writer suggests, we have reason to believe that His Majesty's noble mission of cementing India with Great Britain in loyal friendliness and mutual goodwill would have to a large extent failed.

But it was a wise Providence that had placed on the British throne one who knew how to win the heart of all India, and not 'One Who Knows Better.'

Even after having squirted so much venom from the garret into the gutter, the Gaekwad's critic is not satisfied. Like a Pharisee he thanks heaven he does not discuss a case relating to the private life of the Gaekwad as was done by 'One Who Knows.' But the reason is obvious. The case which was brought into the English court of law with such calculating cruelty just on the eve of the Durbar, and wired by *Reuter* to India with such subtle effectiveness, would have explained the nervousness of a prince who has always been a prey to nerves, and whose private life is believed, even by this determined enemy of his, to be 'above reproach.' But he makes up for this self-complacent and extremely useful reticence by referring to obvious 'domestic influences' and to 'the adulations of Swiss hotel managers who are his chief delight and the folly of English peeresses who are stupid enough to greet him with courtesy.' We may or may not commiserate with the managers of Swiss hotels where His Highness's insomnia carries him in search of nature's soft nurse; but we heartily sympathise with this merciless exposer of the follies of English peeresses. As for the New York drawing-rooms and the 'incense' they offer Indian ruling chiefs, it will go hard with the peers of England if this critic of the peeresses closed for them their happy hunting grounds also, where something more substantial than incense is offered. If we mistake not, it was the drawing-rooms of California that asked for some incense from the Gaekwad for its youth and beauty.

The Gaekwad's critic is not content with throwing a fierce light on the Durbar incident and its accompaniments only. It is in a way fortunate for His Highness that it is so, for attacks on the ancestry of the Gaekwad and the position of the Baroda State show clearly that the Durbar incident was only a plausible excuse for the pouring out of a venom which had been accumulating for more than a decade.

As regards the extent of his dominions, the Gaekwad may not possess as vast a territory as some other Princes, but he rules over the Garden of India, and Dr. Voelker's testimony to the fertility of the soil, and the industrious and thrifty habits of the Gujeratis which need no testimony, would be juster reason for the large revenue of the State than the Gaekwad's extorted taxation. How many States possess such soil as Naosari's, and how many communities are as enterprising as the mill-owners and cotton gin and press proprietors of the districts of Baroda and Naosari and Taluqa of Sidhpur? Again, if the Gaekwad has no ties of blood with his subjects, have Scindia and Holkar, or even the Nizam, any blood-relationship with those over whom they rule? The more relevant question is, how does the Gaekwad treat Gujerat and the Gujeratis? To this, the best reply is the complaint of the Mahrattas in his service that they have no preferment under Gujerati superiors, and the appointment of a Muslim in

more than one case to hold the balance evenly. It may be that the Gaekwad has not such a long pedigree as some English peers, nor should this greatly perturb one who knows that, in the words of an English poet when he deals with English peers ane peeresses,

The gardener Adam and his wife
Smile at the claims of long descent.

But surely, after comparing the Mahratta ruler with English peers, it does not lie in the mouth of Gaekwad's critic to say that the 'founders' of his 'dynasty' 'gained their possessions by rapine and pillage.' We should like to know the opinion of Mr. Lloyd George about the ethics of the founders of English dynasties ! Perhaps even Hengest and Horsa would have pleaded guilty to the charges of a want of knowledge and due observance of the Ten Commandments !

It is, however, amusing to find in this writer one who claims to be an authority on every subject under the sun, from jewellery to ethnology and from millinery down to Mahratta history and Marathi philology. Would it greatly surprise him to know that the Gaekwad does not mean 'a herdsman,' but only a Protector of the Cow ? We have ourselves had to deal with an appeal from opium dealers and brokers of Malwa and Marwar who wished the Protector of the Cows to pay a large sum every year out of his dwindling opium revenue for a Refuge for Kine. In fact, anyone acquainted with Baroda could tell this critic a number of stories about the clever manner in which His Highness proved to those who appealed to him as a Protector of Cows that some of their thoughtless appeals when responded to, sent a large number of cows to the butchers than had gonethere without their Protector's reluctant intervention.

So much for philology. Now a word as to history. The Gaekwad was never a vassal of the Peshwa, Both the Peshwa and the Gaekwad owed allegiance to the house of Satara, and in the distribution of Gujerat the Gaekwad had secured the more fertile territory. As regards the relations of the Gaekwad with the British, the treaties do not show a trace of his being a British feudatory. He commenced his relations with the East India Company as an ally. The Baroda State has no doubt passed through as many crises as other Native States ; but if British assistance was helpful to the Gaekwad it was with their assistance that the British secured a footing in Gujerat. The British Government acknowledged this indebtedness and one need not, therefore, sit at the feet of the *Pall-Mall* historian to learn new 'facts.' As for the present ruler, he has no less a right to be the Gaekwad of Baroda than the Maharajah. Adhirajah of Burdwan to be the successor to the Burdwan Raj. He owes his little as a collateral adopted as a son by the Dowager Maharani to the Hindu Law just as any ruling prince of Europe owes his title to the law of succession in force in his kingdom or principality ; and if the Gaekwad owes his selection to the British Government in any shape or manner, his critic, who is so solicitous for the good government of Baroda, and, at the same time, acknowledges that 'the records of the State of Baroda are one long story of misgovernment

until the British Raj intervened and deposed the ruler in 1875,' must be thankful to the British Raj for providing, by means of Baroda's ruler since 1875—the 'humble little boy playing about in a remote village'—a turning-point in the records of Baroda.

What Sayaji Rao is, and what he has done, need not take us long to explain. The Education Member of the Government of India still feels the sting of the comparison when the Gaekwad's policy of free and compulsory education is placed in juxtaposition with that to which the British Government has now given its consent for British India. And yet it is Sayaji Rao's 'unwholesome influence' that has given to the masses both eyes and ears through their Primary Schools in addition to excellent railway communications in a country where there is no earth, but only sand or clay. It is his 'unwholesome influence' that has brought about social reform in the most practical shape, and has purged the life of Baroda Sirdars and Gujerati Sethias of the impurity that had cost Malhar Rao his throne. But need we continue this re-statement of facts which he who knows may read ?

We may, however, say a few words about the 'stage army' of the Gaekwad and his so-called flat refusal to join the 'Imperial Service' movement. If the Baroda army is a 'stage army' the responsibility for this must be with those who have no desire to vitalise Indian manhood. The Gaekwad receives no cordial assistance in this respect from Government, the wisdom of whose policy is not clear to the public. As regards Imperial Service Troops, the history of the Gaekwad's contingent of 3,000 horses placed at the disposal of the British Government was not encouraging enough to make the Gaekwad launch without misgiving on another experiment of the same nature. He placed the whole force at the disposal of the British Government, and we know that he has been anxious to improve it. But this was met by the British authorities with a refusal.

As regards printing presses in Baroda producing seditious literature, the defective condition of the laws in Baroda could not be remedied as quickly as in British India, because His Highness was away in England. In his absence the Council looked after the affairs and included a European Civilian who was the Minister. In important matters the opinion of the Resident predominated. To be fair to Indian Princes, it must be said that they were expected to protect the British Government from all seditious writers when they themselves were exposed by the British Government to the vile attack of every slandering blackmailer. But as soon as His Highness the Gaekwad returned from Europe he took steps to amend the laws, and was all the more anxious to do so because of Lord Minto's just and statesmanlike action in making the Native States truly 'protected' against insolent and audacious libellers. Lord Curzon's policy had estranged the affections, if not the lip-loyalty, of Indian Princes, but Lord Minto altered all this and rallied the Princes by his Odeypore speech. But the question is whether that speech is to be applied also to him 'who still compares favourably with many of

his fellows,' on his critic's own reluctant and grudging testimony, or to such princes only as may break all the Ten Commandments of God and the thousand and one laws of mere men so long as they keep the Politicals *razi* and *khoosh*.

We think we have now sufficiently wiped an honest pen on the issue of lies and insolent audacities that make up the article of the Gaekwad's critic in the *Pall-Mall*; but there is a question of considerable public importance which we have not yet to ask. Who is the man who presumes to 'Know Better'? The *Pioneer*, which approvingly reproduces the article, only states the obvious when it says that the writer 'evidently speaks with intimate first-hand knowledge of the things he relates.' Who could that be? How and when did he acquire this intimate first-hand knowledge'? And, last but not least, who has paid him during the process of this acquisition? Is he or is he not a public servant, which *should* mean, even if India it *does not*, a servant of the public? Does the Government authorise or even permit these servants of the public to draw a salary from the public exchequer and blacken the characters and attack the ancestry of those who are not only Indian princes but may be among India's foremost public men? To be more particular, we should like to know how Mr. Cobb is spending his leave in England and whether he has already justified, or is now attempting to justify his newly-acquired title. If we are not mistaken, Government once made an inquiry into the authorship of a letter published by the *Pioneer*, over the signature of 'I.C.S.' That was in the days of Lord Minto when he had accepted the resignation of a Lieutenant-Governor. Is not an Indian Prince deserving of a similar inquiry into the authorship of another and a more unworthy offence against official discipline? To-day it is the turn of the Gaekwad; to-morrow it may be the turn of a Scindia or a Nizam. Whatever the loyal and proud and chivalrous Rajputs may have thought of the Gaekwad's conduct at the Durbar, we feel sure they think far worse of the conduct of the author of this letter, specially if he happens to be one whom they may dread as a future infliction.

So long as nothing is done to check the insolence of such people if they happen to be Government officials, the Indian Princes will be liable to public insult in addition to the private humiliations with which they have now to put up, and every official who makes 'an honest penny' by Anglo-Indian journalism would be encouraged to garnish his account of zemindar weddings and his resentment at any inconvenience caused to officials through the proverbial unpunctuality of Indian brides and bridegrooms, by pointing the finger of scorn at His Majesty the King Emperor's view of the Durbar incident, as the *Pioneer's* Balrampur-Jeypur wedding reporter has done. We can readily sympathise with Sir James Meston, whose social dealings with all clases of Indians are an ideal which even the smaller fry of the bureaucracy will find hard to approach. But we are certain that no one would resent the reference to the Durbar incident in this connection more than Sir James Meston. If a wedding procession is unpunctual and keeps a sub-divisional

officer from going half an hour earlier to his club and the bridge-table, will His Highness the Gaekwad and His Majesty the King Emperor be answerable for this 'affront' to His Majesty's 'representative' in the Parganah, and provide the reporter of the *Pioneer* with a fresh instance wherewith to point an immoral moral and adorn a a silly tale ?

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27th January 1912

H. H. THE AGA KHAN AT KARACHI

The following is the text of the address presented to H. H. the Aga Khan in a beautiful silver casket by K.B. Shaikh Sadiq Ali on behalf of the Sind Mohammadan Association :

'May it please Your Highness.— We the members of the Sind Mohammadan Association, on behalf of ourselves and the Mohammadans of this Province, respectfully offer our most sincere and hearty welcome to Your Highness on your visit to Karachi, the Capital of Sind.

'We are naturally proud of our Province, because the light of Islam first penetrated Sind before it spread over other parts of India ; because it is famous for it extensive trade with Persia, Afghanistan, Russia and other countries all over the world ; and because it is the birthplace of Akbar, the greatest and mightiest Mohammadan Emperor that ever ruled over India, but we are none the less proud that our Province is also the birthplace of Your Highness, the greatest and most distinguished Moslem leader of the day. This circumstance, while affording us specia joy in acknowledging Your Highness as the recognised leader of the Mohammadans of India in matters educational, social and political, makes it incumbent on us to pay Your Highness greater homage than the Mussalmans of other parts of India have done. We are rejoiced to find Your Highness—a worthy son of our soil—in our midst to-day and are happy to see that Your Highness has, by your condescending to accept our humble address, placed us in a position to express our high appreciation of the noble and philanthropic deeds which Your Highness has hitherto performed, and is still performing with the object of spreading education among your Moslem brethren and ameliorating their condition.

'Your Highness, we are rejoiced to note, has distinguished yourself as the real patron of Mohammadan Education in India. Your distinguished and successful public career as a leader of the Mussalmans, and your untiring zeal in and disinterested devotion to the cause of Moslem progress have not only endeared you to all right-thinking and patriotic Mussalmans, but have laid them as well as their posterity under a deep debt of obligation, the memory of which will ever remain in bold letters

on the pages of history. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to recall to our memory some of the rights and privileges conceded to Indians by the Government through your intercession and exertions. The foremost among these is the Reform Scheme carried out in accordance with the gracious Declaration of His Majesty the late King Emperor, whose sudden demise plunged the whole world into deep sorrow. The expansion of Legislative Councils on a wider representative basis has given the poeple of India, and specially the Mussalmans, a larger opportunity than they had before of being associated with the Government in the administration of the country. Your Highness's unique success in moving Government to abolish the Quarantine Rules enforced against the pilgrims who embarked from India for the sacred city of Mecca, has earned the blessings and gratitude of the entire Moslem world.

'The ill-treatment meted out to Indians in South Africa and the great hardships endured by them rightly moved Your Highness's sympathy, and the strenuous efforts consequently put forth by Your Highness to get their grievances redressed, are too widey known to need a mention here.

'The onerous duties and responsibilities of managing the affairs of the All-India Moslem League whose sphere is not confined to the narrow limits of political activity nor to the attainment of mere selfish ends, but which embraces catholic interests in the broadest sense of the term, have also fallen on your shoulders for the most part.

'All politicians of the day are unanimous in asserting that the Hindus and the Mohammadans are ordained by God to be partners in the mightiest and most glorious Empire the world has ever seen and the chief need for India and the present moment is to bring about a healthy national unity by establishing harmonious relations between the two communities and relegating to the background all national animosities and religious differences. The ardent desire of loyal and peace-loving persons, we are gratified to note, resulted in a magnanimous proposal for the formation of Hindu-Mohammadan peace conference, which emanated from Your Highness, was seconded by the Right Honourable Syed Amir Ali, upheld by Sir Wiliam Wedderburn, Bart, and favourably hailed by the whole nation. Nothing has afforded us greater pleasure than to know that the recognised leaders of both the communities met at Allahabad on New Year's day of the last year and appointed a Representative Committee todiscuss the questions laid before the conference.

'Several schemes are frequently propounded for the advancement of our community, but we assure Your Highness that few of our leaders have grasped the root evil so rightly as You Highness since we perceive that all your energies and exertions have mainly been concentrated on the wide diffusion of education amongst high and low, rich and poor of all Indian communities alike—education that would take into account social changes, intellectual ideas, and moral and physical aptitudes and adapt them to various circumstances and needs. This, if we rightly understand, is precisely your motive in establishing

a denominational University for the Moslems.

'The eager desire which has ever engrossed Your Highness's thought is the advancement of the scheme for the Establishment of a Moslem University on sound financial basis—a legitimate want that was prophesied by the great Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, K.S.C.I., the founder of the M.A.-O. College. The dream of our most revered Sir Syed was realised when the Moslem population of India heard with feelings of profound gratification of the announcement of Your Highness's intention of giving a lac of rupees towards the foundation of the Moslem University to be established at Aligarh in commemoration of the visit of His Most Gracious Majesty the King Emperor, George V, on the auspicious occasion of His Majety's Coronation Durbar at Delhi in December last, which august event has been celebrated with due pomp and splendour.

'Your Highness's numerous private charities in furtherance of the education of Moslem youths ; your annual grants of 12,000 and 6,000 respectively to Aligarh College and the Anjuman Islam School, Bombay, and your handsome donation of Rs. 35,000 towards the establishment of the College of Science initiated by Your Highness, to commemorate the auspicious visit to the great Muslim Institution at Aligarh of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales (now His Most Gracious Majesty the King Emperor) have acted as a stimulus to rouse the generosity of well-to-do Mohammadans all over the country. To crown all, your announcement of a princly donation of Rs. 75,000 towards the building of the proposed mosque in London to commemorate theseprate memory of His late Majesty the King Emperor Edward VII, the Great Peacemaker of the World, was hailed with gratitude from all corners of the Moslem world.

'Your Highness has espoused the cause of national advancement without distinction of caste or creed, and has rightly earned the esteem and gratitude of the whole nation. We in turn have not foregotten the parental advice imparted by Your Higness at the last session of the League to the effect that—to quote Your Highness's own words—"Our loyalty to the Throne must be absolute and our relation with the Hindus and other Indian communities who share that loyalty must frankly be most cordial."

'We take this opportunity of respectfully tendering our sincere felicitations to Your Highness on the most exalted distinction of K.C.I.E bestowed on Your Highness by his Most Gracious Majesty the late King Emperor Edward VII, on the G.C.S.I. lately bestowed on Your Higness by the present King Emperor and on various decorations conferred on Your Highness by foreign monarchs, all of which have been bestowed in consideration of the eminent services rendered by Your Highness in the cause of educational, social and political advancement of the India people in general and the Mohammadans in particular.

In conclusion it is out most sincere and fervent prayer that the Almighty God may grant Your Highness long life to enjoy your well-earned distinctions and that Your Highness may continue to be the recipient of still higher honours that may yet be in

store for you. It is likewise our earnest prayer that He may give you healpth and strength to extend your helping hand towards the ameliora-tion of the condition of the Moslems and other communities of the Indian Empire in general and of the Pro-vince of Your Highness's birth place in particular, which, being in great need, also expects a share of your liborality to commemorate your con-nection with, and present visit to, it. AMEN.

'Welcoming Your Highness again in our midist and wishing Your High-ness long life and happiness, etc., etc.'

In reply to the address, H.H. the Aga Khan made the following speech :

'Wazir Sahib, Mr. Lawrence, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must thank the Sind Mohammadan Association msot sincerely for their great kind-ness in presenting me with this beau-tiful casket and doing me the honour of asking me to come here this afternoon and giving me an ad-dress our my arrival here. You have reminded me that I am a native of Karachi. And although I live in the Deccan, I assure you that not only this fact but also the facts that this province is so full of my co-religion-ists—that this is practically the only province where they are in the clear majority makes me consider often their position and status here.

'You have very kindly referred to my humble services in the cause of political awakening of the Moham-madans of India and in the founda-tion of All-India Moslem League and in the general work carried on dur-ing the last few years for bringing Mohammadans together in com-mon loyaliety to a common sovereign in the same country. Well, this work is essentially due to one fact, viz. that there has been in certain parts of India a Mohammad revi-val within the last few year—a revi-val which has not yet reached this province and which if further delay-ed would retard the position of Mohammadns here a great deal more.

'Gentlemen, I strongly feel that Mohammadans of Sind have great opportunities before them like Muhammadans of other parts of the country—opportunities which, if taken advantage of by them in advanc-ing their social, moral and education-al interests, will surely and gradual-ly lay solid foundations of their amelioration and advancement and will benefit them and brightened their future. But in order that these results may be achieved the first con-dition is that these opportunities must be taken advantage of and must not be allowed to slip, leaving us where we are.

'Gentlemen, as regards the recent changes announced at Delhi. I feel convinced, and here I am giving my personal opinion and am not speak-ing as the President of Moslem League—that they will do good to the country and to the Mohammadan community. I feel that they will do good to Bengal. Even to East Bengal they will do good while taking some advantages from thm. The advantagse must, however, be carefully and energetically safeguarded by East Bengal Mohammadans. These changes—especially the change of the Capital—will benefit this pro-vince a great deal, if the people take advantage of the opportunities and make those sacrifices which have to be made in order to profit by such

opportunities.

'Gentlemen, if you allow me to give you an immediate piece of advice I may tell you that it is a matter of sadness and deep regret—regret which is felt throughout India, in Gujerat, Madras and elsewhere—that there is no Moslem League here in Sind, though Leagues have been formed in so many districts throughout the country. Not only is there no Moslem League here, but no effort has been made to give the people here political education, which will be ultimately a source of strength not only to Government but also ultimately lead to the making of a single nation of Hindus and Mohammadans.

'You have referred to the work done by others and myself in connection with the treatment meted out to Indians in South Africa. While we have constantly fought against the unfortunate attitude of the Colonial Government and the Colonist, I warn you that that attitude is in no small measure due to our own fault. For owing to want of education, social evils and economical backwardness we have placed ourselves in a position which makes it forcible for others to heap such indignities upon us. If greater efforts be made for educational, social and national progress, our fellow-countrymen will undoubted ly be given better treatment.

'Gentlemen, the great need of Indians, the greater need of Mohammadans and the greater need of this province is education, for it is not enough to send boys to schools, for it is not in this way that character is formed. This will give them mere parrot-like learning which must necessarily be dangerous—which will do them more harm than good. Mohammadan education divorced form religion—nothing would be more fatal than that, for then you will not imbibe the spirit of sacrifice nor the spirit of nationality, nor will you know the beauty and the higher purpose of life while your loyalty in such circumstances cannot be of the right and real kind, for real and genuine loyalty must be based on the spirit of peace which religion alone inculcates, upon law of fellowmen which religion alone teaches.

'This being the view of the vast majority of Mohammadan leaders, in fact, the view of practically all the leaders, it was held that a Moslem University was a necessity. So the work was started and up to this time rupees twenty lacs have already been found. I may here tell you that the Government of India has promised to give a charter as soon as rupees thirty five lacs have been collected. Now thirty-five lacs are a mere drop in the ocean compared to the wealth of Mohammadan community. I know the poverty of the community, but I am sure if they realised the urgent needs for the universty, it would be easy to collect the amount.

'Gentlemen, I am sorry to find that with one exception of His Highness The Mir of Khairpur—whose generosity in contributing a lac of rupees to the Moslem University is felt throughout India and is in fact realised more in Bombay and Madras than here in Sind—with this exception practically nothing has been done in Sind for the Moslem University. Of course, the usual excuse is advanced here to justify the dereliction of duty—backwardness of education and the conse-

quent need of educational facilities in Sind. Now I grant that the Mohammadan community here is extremely backward in education but it is a shortsighted policy that this backwardness should stand in the way of its support to the University scheme. For if Sind renders due help in the establishment of the University and the University becomes an accomplished fact, the next step will be to have a net-work of Mohammadan Colleges all over India on the lines of the present Aligarh College, i.e. Residential Colleges. This must necessarily and immediately follow the university in order that the University may draw upon the Provincial Residential Col-eges for its alumni. And once a system of such colleges is founded, Sind will be one of the first to get such a college. In regard to the establishment of such a college here I give you the assurance that I sh ıll help you and that you will get money for it from all parts of the country. There is already before you the scheme of Mr. Lawrence for removing the Sind Madrasa to an open-air site. Once you remove it there, why not raise it to a college. The idea will easily become a reality, if you are prepared to undergo the necessary sacrifices. When we started the idea of the Moslem University, it was proposed that every Muslim should be called upon to pay a month's income but very few have actually done that Nevertheless, we have got twenty lacs. Now, if the work of collection is begun in this province on those lines and conducted systematically by house-to-house visitation, I am sure you will be able to accomplish a great deed and collect a good amount for the University.

'If I give you a word of advice as to what is the need of India, of Sind, of Mohammadans of India as well as of this province, I would say that great need of the time is self reliance. As one who has seen a great deal of the world I assure you that you have now got better op-portunities than the people of many other countries for raising yourselves under the aegis of British Rule and under the sovereignty of out gracious King Emperor. The future depends on you—and you alone—on the efforts put forth you by for uplifting yourselves, your community and your country.

'Gentlemen, excuse me for offer-ing advice to the Mohammadans of Sind because it is never a pleasant duty to advise. Still I felt it my duty to do so and if I had not done so, I should have felt that I was a very very bad Sindhi indeed. I must thank you heartily for your kindness. I hope the time is not far when you will have a very great college like the Aligarh College run by the Mohammadans of Sind—when not only the Muhammadans of this Pro-vince will be more educated, but every Mohammadan Zemindar will be the educated gentleman pressing the progress of modern science in service of his work for the good of himself and his brothers.

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31st January 1912

CAPTAIN RAOUF BEY

Captain Raouf Bey of the Imperial Ottoman Navy, the brave skipper of the 'Hamidieh' who distinguished himself at sea during the recent Balkan War, as you have been no doubt informed by Reuter, paid a flying visit to London lately and has already departed. The Press, as was expected under the circumstances, associates his visit with the recent purchase of the Brazilian Dreadnought by the Turkish Government and, no doubt, this subject must have occupied his attention, amongst one or two other matters, with which he has certainly dealt, while in London. The Captain very wisely refrained from granting any interviews to the representatives of the Press who had attacked him by hundreds, and so the outside world knows very little of his doings in London. I have, however, very substantial reasons for believing that his visit to this country was primarily connected wlth the Turkish Naval Organisation Scheme, which is being matured most favourably. Considering that Turkey will have two first-class Dreadnoughts at her disposal at no distant time, it is obvious that the Ottoman authorities should seriously contemplate the proper establishment of this vital arm of the Ottoman Forces. Turkey has every confidence in the British naval advisers at Constantinople and given a reasonable period of peace and freedom from outside interference, the future naval efficiency of the Turks, under the guidance and instructions of the British Officers employed, is assured.

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24th February 1912

MR. SYED ROSS MASUD

We learn that Mr. Syed Ross Masud, the son of that great jurist, the late Mr. Justice Mahmud, and the grandson of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, has returned from England, where he stayed for several years, and besides being called to the Bar, graduated with excellent honours from Oxford. Those times are now happily gone when the departure of a

Moslem student to England was a sensational event and the general topic of conversation and even controversy. Nor does the return of graduates and barristers excite any comments in these days, unless perhapes the Return of the Prodigal is boomed by himself and his friends. But the Mussalmans of India, and specially the friends and Old Boys of Aligarh, regard the return of Syed Ross Masud very differently. Who that knew the Sage of Aligarh and his attachment to little Masud can view his successful return without emotion? It is never a wise thing to overload youth with sermons about 'tremendous responsibilities', nor are we qualified to preach. But as friend and comrade, we welcome Syed Ross Masud in our midst, and cannot but express the very high hopes that not only we but all Mussalmans entertain of his future. More than anything else, Aligarh needs able, energetic and liberal minded workers, and although one may not recognise hereditary right even in the case of Sred Ross Masud, all must realise his hereditary duties. And rights or no rights while we shudder at the m a g n i t u d e of his duties, we envy—though only as friend and comrade—his magnifi cent opportunities. 'Will he rise to the height of these opportunities?' is the natural question, and Hatif says- 'Oh, yes, he will!'

وداع و وصل جداگانه لذتے دارد
هزار بار برو صد هزار بار بیا

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24th February, 1912

CHIEF OF HOTI MARDAN

Sensation and Its Sequel

A sensation was caused when it was published some time ago that the Chief of Hoti-Mardan, one of the richest and most influential men of the N.W.F. Province, was charged, along with King, his chauffeur, and Mrs. King, with abducting two girls Elsie Swannell and Daisy Coutts, and committed to the Criminal Sessions of the Bombay High Court by the Presidency Magistrate of Bombay. It now appears that the Khan of Hoti Mardan had authorised the other two accused to secure the services of a governess and a teacher to teach the children and put the ladies of the family in the ways of English society. From the public evidence it is clear that a Mrs. Rogers, who had three children and a husband alive, had agreed to act as governess but her terms were too high. Other women were considered and Mrs. Glendenning who over 50 and was a grandmother and Mrs. Parsloe who also had children and had a husband alive, were in the running for these posts. It seems that most of the trouble arose from the fact that the persons who actually

reached Hoti Mardan as the selected candidates were both young and unmarried, a fact about which the chief says he protested at the station itself where he first saw them, the protest being confirmed in part at least by the prosecution. Miss Coutts, who had been hospital nurse, was a sister of Mrs. Parsloe and was going as a substitute for her elder sister. Miss Swannell, who figures far more prominently in the evidence had been a shop girl at Whiteaway's and other places since 1905. These young ladies reached Hoti on the 25th September last and were met by the Khan at the station waiting-room. Two days later the Khan is said to have had an interview with them at the bungalow where they were putting up, and three days after, they were, it is alleged, told to get ready to go to Rawalpindi, and went to a garden as the Chief was going to settle with them and send them off. After the interview with the Chief they were taken to the station and started for Rawalpindi. They were there at the Dak Bungalow for eleven days and in consequence of communications made to the Bombay Police, the Police of Rawalpindi were communicated with, and the District Magistrate, Rawalpndi, issued a warrant under which the girls were arrested and brought to Bomhay. On their arrival in Bombay their statements were taken down by the Police and forwarded to the Upper India Police. Thereupon the District Magistrate of Peshawar issued a warrant for the arrest of the Chief of Hoti Mardan and under this he was arrested. The allegations which were interspersed in the Advocate-Generel's opening statement were that they had been put up in a bungalow which was in the market, that there was only one bed-room for them both ; that the room opened out on the verandah; and that when they were on the verandah a great crowed collected and stared at them. It was alleged by the prosecution that it was in such a place that the Chief made an attempt at familiarity which Miss Swannell resented but it is also stated that it was a day after this interview that Mrs. Swannell wrote to the Sister Superior of the Foundlings Home at Bombay — where she had been portress just before she left for Hoti Mardan, evidently at the recommedations of the Sister Superior — that 'the Chief came here yesterday. He brought a lot of fruit and sweets. He seems a very kind man but—, and that the Sister Superior replied that 'the Chief must be an honourable man so you need not be afraid the Sister evidently not forming an adverse opinion from the dash after 'but'. As regards the second interview, apart from the fact that the defence was prepared to prove that the garden and the museum were open places, it is admitted that the girls had come to bid the Chief good-bye before leaving Hoti Mardan the same evening. Apart from the suggestion that the Khan was very kind, but on two occasions he was rather familiar with his hands, which Mrs. Swennell mentioned in her second letter lo the Sister Superior on the 9th October. She never complained to any of her Bombay friends of the Chief's behaviour and told His Lordship 'she would have stayed on had the Khan had a Begum or a Rani' — which he certainly has,

although Mr. Farquhar, Superintendent of the Rawalpindi Police, when telling the girls that they must go back to Bombay, said he had not. As regards the guilt of the accused, the charge of abduction which was so foolishly against King and the Chief of Hoti Mardan was withdrawn by the Advocate-General in favour of one of abetment only, and they were accordingly discharged and acquitted. But as regards abetment also the charge was subsequently withdrawn, and the judgment of His Lordship itself is the best defence of the Chief. It says :

'The two young ladies, Miss Swennell and Miss Coutts were for 11 days at Rawalpindi; they made no complaint whatever to the Police or to anobody. Even assuming that the third accused tried to take liberties with them, those were liberties they did not seem to resent, except by saying that they were not that sort of people. While they were there the Police took no action whatever; no complaint was made to them. They on some information received by the Police from Bombay probably of an alarming nature, without any justification whatever, seem to issue a search warrant, take possession of those girls and send them to Bombay incharge of the police. Miss Swennells evidence is clear that if the Superintendent of Police, who executed the warrant, had not made a statement which is proved and is admitted to be incorrect, these girls never desired to go down to Bombay. They were perfectly at peace and were living in content at Rawalpindi, when the Police took possession of them, kept them in Police custody, and sent them down to Bombay in Police custody. I have heard with patience Miss Swennell's evidence for the last three days and accepting every statement she has made to be true, the only impression that can be produced on one's mind is that there were certain acts of the third accused which she apprehended to be acts of familiarity, but they were acts of the most trifling nature. It must be remembred that the third accused, when the two girls were at Hoti, could have taken advantage of them but he, beyond being a few minutes with them, did not interfere with their liberty. Under the circumstances. I can only say that the course adopted by the Advocate-General is an exceedingly proper one and is in keeping with the usual careness with which he has conducted the Crown cases. I direct that all the accused be discharged, their discharge, amountting to an acquittal. I have no hesitation in saynig that the third accused, as well as the humbler two "No. 1 and 2" will leave the Court without stain on their character.

Had this been all one's would have only regretted that three innocent persons were wrongly accused of an offence of which the Judge, however, declared them to be not guilty. But this is not all, nor merely so bad as the procedure that was adopted in this case. It appears that no one laid an information against the Khan and that cognizance was taken after the girls had been brought to Bombay without their own desire and with the aid of an admittedly incorrect statement of the Superintendent of Police, in the wholly unjustifiable custody of the Police, and on information sent from Bombay

which, according to his Lordship, was probably of an alrming nature. The Chief's name was put down on the charge-sheet although the girls had made no complaint against him at Rawalpindi. That, according to the Advocate-General's own admission, was the position, and, as his Lordship said without undue severity, it was 'a very unsatisfactory position.' An old man of 70, for years a cripple, as three eminent medical gentlemen like Major Gordon Tucker, Colonel Cooly, and Major Novis were prepared to testify, had been arrested under the most humiliating circumstances on a warrant issued by the District Magistrate, Peshawar, without a shadow of justification, and thereby brought to a stage of health when, on the evidence of Major Gordon Tucker, which the Court accepted, 'it was very probable that he might die in Court if he had any sudden shock or sudden excitement,' and 'it was unsafe to bring him to court.' His Lordship was compelled to take that 'it seems to be that the third accused (the Khan) has been subjected to a great many indignities and the procedure followed there seems to me to be ununderstandable.'

27th April 1912

ENVER BEY

Enver Bey's is not a name that can leave any Mussalman unaffected when his death is reported. There has been much perturbation in every Moslem household since the 24th instant when Reuter's wire from Rome was published, stating that the gallant leader of the Turks at Benghali had died on the morning of the 22nd at Mariut from a wound received in the recent fighting. But there was little inclination to believe this tragic news because all had realised that it had only come from Rome, and the subsequent telegram from Cairo confirmed the disbelief of Indian Mussalmans. Reuter's correspondent at Cairo said that 'nothing is known there to, corroborate the Italian report of the death of Enver Bey,' and this should have settled it. For the manufacturers of news at Rome are practised artisans, and they take good care to leave some safe corner for beating a retreat at the advent of truth. They did not say they had received this news from the Italian Commander at Benghazi or Tripoli. They only asserted that 'a telegram from Cairo received here states,' etc., etc. But Reuter's correspondent at Cairo could find nothing to corroborate this truth of Italian manufacture, and it was fairly safe to call It-a-lie, as one is irresistibly led to pun. But we have not been content to wait for Reuter to correct or confirm the news wired from Rome. Immediately on reading Reuter's telegram on the 24th, we cabled to the War Minister, Constantinople, and wired to the Consul-General at Bombay, H.E. Jafer Bey, the Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay, wired back that

the rews of Enver Bey's death had not been confirmed. This telegram was received by us in Calcutta at 1218 on the 25th, and fully strengthened our belief that after annexing Tripoli in the Chamber and the Senate, and winning victories in the closets of Commanders and Cabinet Ministers, the Italians had taken to killing Turkish heroes in editorial sanctums. But what has been annexed has yet to be conquered, and the accomplished fact has yet to be accomplished. Similarly, Turkish Commanders that daily riddle them with bullets and nightly plague them with nightmares have yet to be killed on the field battle. The Kaiser has already shown his keen appreciation of Italian prowess by telling Signor Girmini, a member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, during his recent visit to Venice: 'If I had people so intelligent as the Italians, I would conquer half of Europe.' What a pity indeed that the stolid and slow-moving Germans kill their hare before they cook it! To the white lies and black lies, the war has now added Tripoli Italy, and the Triple Allies. As for Enver Bey, the facsimile, which we publish below of the cable of Field Marshal Mahmood Shevket Pasha, which we received this morning as we were going to press, will tell its own tale. Long live Ghazi Enver Bey, and may he have honour and victory, like the two victories achieved by him on the 10th and 12th March, though denied by Italy. But if it pleases God at any time to take him away from us, we know he would not himself choose a better death than fighting sword in hand for his country and his of creed, his Sultan and his God. Were he to die there, how many of us would not envy him such a death in preference to all we have hare! As Ghalib says.

موت اُن کی ہے جو بس مر کے وہیں دفن ہوئے
زیست ان کی ہے جو اُس کوچہ سے گھائل آئے

Theirs is death who died and were buried there, and theirs is life who returned wounded from that neighbourhood).

4th May 1912

THE LATE K. B. SHAIKH SADIQ ALI

It is with very great regret that we have to record the death of Khan Bahadur Shaikh Sadiq Ali Sahib, the Vizier of Khairpur State. He was a man of the old school, of great capacity and experience, and had risen from comparatively poor circumstances to his high office by dint of merit. He was one of the most trusted and tried members of the Sind Provincial Service, and during his long career as a faithful public servant he earned appreciation and reward at the hands of the Government. His services were lent to the Khairpur State about six years ago, and ever since he served the State with zeal and devotion till the end of

his life. Shaikh Sadiq Ali Sahib was one of the most public-spirited Mohammadans of Sind and was deeply interested in the spread of modern education amongst his co-religionists. He had thoroughly identified himself with the ideals of the Aligarh movement, was a Trustee of the Aligarh College, and took a very keen interest in the work of the Mohammadan Educational Conference. It was mainly due to his initiative and endeavour that a session of the Conference was held in Karachi, which greatly stimulated the desire of Sind Mohammadans for modern education. Besides contributing considerable sums of money from his own pocket to various funds for the spread of Moslem education, he had secured handsome grants from the State for the Aligarh College and the Moslem University. He was at one time the elected representative of the Sind Mohammadans on the Bombay Legislative Council. By his death the province of Sind loses one of its leading citizens and the Mussalmans a genuine and useful worker. We offer our condolences to the bereaved family, and trust that the Khairpur State, which has recently acquired some distinction of an undesirable character in the much advertised celebration of its Chief's receiving a G.C.I.E., will select a Vizier who would lead the State into the paths of progress and productive charity.

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11th May 1912

HOTI MARDAN CASE

A Thin-Skinned Bureaucrat

A couple of months ago it was our painful duty to draw the attention of the Government to the Hoti Mardan case. We had not rushed to impetuously formed conclusions, but had confined ourselves to a statement of the facts of the case as disclosed in the Bombay High Court. As for comments, we contented ourselves with a lengthy extract from the judgment of Mr. Justice Davar, who had presided at the Bombay Criminal Sessions. In fact, although we were aware of the 'judicial 'aside' — which was as severe a comment on the methods of the Northern India Police and general administration as any agitator could make—we refrained from publishing it. We believe we were right in considering that this was enough so far as the case itself was concerned, though the Chief of Hoti Mardan and his many friends would have liked our dilating on this and making severer comments on our own behalf. Very strong, and, *prima facie*, very plausible insinuations had been made against the local authorities, but we did not feel inclined to go into all that. We wrote at the time that 'there are not wanting those who suggest that it was the indepedence and manliness of this important and

extremely rich Chief which actuated the local authorities to humble his pride and shower great indignities upon him' ; but we added that 'in the absence of accurate data we shall not discuss such suggestions at all.' We were, however, led to ask that if such a person as the Khan of Hoti could be treated in this manner-'what chance is there for a less fortunate, a humbler and a poorer person who has only a limited number of legal practitioners in the province to choose from, and whose fate is in the lap of the same District Magistrate of Peshawar who ordered this cruel arrest.' We then deplored the system of rigorously keeping down the number of legal practitioners in the N.W.F. Province and of licensing them on payment of a fee as if they were members of a criminal tribe let out on parole. We also showed our disapproval of the Jirga system of doing justice—or injustice—when there is not enough evidence to sustain a prosecution in a law-court where alone legal practitioners can defend an accused person. As we were surprised at the total lack of response to appeals for the Turks, Arabs, and Persians, as contrasted with an unusual and sudden enthusiasm for an Islamia College for English education—which we heartily approved, as we had always done before—we stated that 'judged only as symptoms, these facts disclose a state of affairs that is not without its dangers.' We knew that discontent in the province was acute, but that it was sinking deeper underground because even the few outlets for its coming to the surface had been rigorously closed. We, therefore, wrote :

'This reminds us that while a flood of agitation swept over the land after the Partition of Bengal, and its revocation too has led to a heated controversy, nobody seems to mind in the least another and an earlier Partition carried out by Lord Curzon which is still unrevoked. One would have thought that when the Government of India was in a revoking mood, this Partition too should have been annulled. But, then, there was no agitation against it, for it was the very first consequence of this other Partition that the voice of criticism should be hushed. We refer to the separation of the North-Western Frontier Province from the Punjab, and to the regulations which govern the sturdy, if also unlettered, men of Peshawar and its neighbourhood. Agitation of the familiar type there could be little among such people. But the laws which govern them, and still more the procedure, authorised and unauthorised, which has undisturbed sway in that region, preclude the possibility of frontier grievances providing food for thought at our breakfast tables. If any violence is heard of, it is generally attributed to the temper of the Pathan and the fanaticism characteristic of his faith. And thus we go on believing that all is for the best in the best possible of all frontiers, that God is in heaven, Sir George Ross-Keppel is on earth, and all is well with that part of the world. Things cannot be allowed to drift in this way, and although we think that the Punjab itself is far too bureaucratic, that its Judiciary has not as judicial a temper as it should have, and is too dependent on the Executive, which is itself too autocratic, and possesses a police which needs considerable reform, we never-

theless believe that the time has come when it should be seriously considered whether it is not desirable to annul this Partition also and reunite the frontier to the Punjab.'

We are conscious that we have yet much to learn of the temper of officialdom in the N.-W.F. Province, and it was our intention to acquaint ourselves more intimately with the conditions by a visit of some length. But it is clear that Sir George Roos-Keppel, for whom we have always entertained great respect and regard, knows nothing of the temper of Eastern India, its politicians and its Press. We are such modest sinners ourselves in agitation that in the presence of some of our contemporaries we have to be ashamed of our moderation. Among the tigers of Bengal we roar as gently as any sucking dove. But it seems that in spite of 'aggravating' our voice so we have frightened the ladies of the Frontier out of their wits, and if Bottom the Weaver was a good prophet as well as a perfect actor-manager, we fear the Frontier authorities 'would have no more discretion but to hang us.' We have hitherto had on our subscribers' list practically every member of the Government of India and head of a Local Government, and in most cases these eminent personages subscribe for the *Comrade* privately in addition to receiving copies for use in their offices. We hope we are not snobbish in saying all this, but we would be something less than human if we did not feel gratified at this token of appreciation of a journal yet in its infancy. We do not despise the few shekels that come our way in this manner. But taking into consideration the peculiar circumstances of India, it has to be remembered that journals conducted by Indians in English are meant much more to advocate the popular cause at the bar of their rulers than to educate the people themselves, and that being the case, we are much more gratified at the inclusion of a high official among our subscribers because it gives us a chance of being heard, than because another twelve rupees get into our till. Sir George Roos-Keppel has been a subscriber of the *Comrade* since the paper was started in January 1911, and it is needless to say we have been grateful to him for having given us an opportunity of reaching him in this manner. But a few weeks after the publication of our comments on the Hoti Mardan scandal and the unrevoked Partition of the N.W.F. Province, we received a letter informing us that we should discontine sending him the paper. As he had already paid in the subscription for the whole year, we wrote back asking if the paper should be coutinued for the remaining 8 months of the year, for it was against our rules of business to refund subscriptions for the unexpired period. To our great surprise we hear now that 'the Chief Commissioner does not want the paper and will forego the subscription already paid in advance.' Now, this clearly shows chagrin, and we heartily regret it. But the blow was not such that the little dignity which we hope we possess could not have helped us to endure in silence. Twelve rupees more or less do not matter, or we would long ago have applied to Sir George for some of the largess he used to distribute to

papers in his own province. In our province too we have never hankered after the loaves and fishes of the State, and strongly opposed the system of doles when the Sulav Samachar righteousness was first published to the world at the expense of the general taxpayer. But in the first place, we regret that in this case we have not even the consolation of dignity for we would ourselves pay officials to read our views in the interests of our clients, and we cannot afford to lose a hearing. In the second place, we feel it to be our duty to speak out against the waste of public money, even if we be the gainers, and even if it be only to the extent of Rs. 8-1-2$\frac{10}{13}$ Had Sir George Roos-Keppel decided to forgo any sum paid out of his private purse, we should only have laughed at his tactics. He would have benefited us when he intended to hurt us. But it is the Chief Commissioner of a Local Administration that does so, and we should like to know who authorised him to play ducks and drakes even with Rs. 8-1-2$\frac{10}{13}$? The paper was ordered by the Administration and paid for out of the taxes which we and our clients pay. It is for Sir George Roos-Keppel to show his pique at our and their expense. We hope the Cerberus of Finance would take note and ask Sir George to refund the money out of his private purse. As for criticism of the administration of the province, we have yet a good deal to say, and as the Mathias of the Frontier has rigidly closed his ears, there is no reason why the sleigh bells should not jingle as lustily as the law permits. Lord Morley has made us familiar with the phrase 'sun-dried bureaucrats,' but Sir George Roos-Keppel would amend it and would have us call them 'thin-skinned.' If these are all that sort on the Frontier, we would suggest their borrowing some of the pachyderm of us journalists. Our toughened hides have often to serve us just as well as a bomb-proof shed serves General Caneva.

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27th July, 1912

THE AGA KHAN IN SINDH

That His Highness the Aga Khan's ancestors first came to Sind is a matter of history, but it may not be generally known that His Highness was himself born in Sind. That province—for in nothing else but name and an administrative connection with the Government of Bombay is it part of the Presidency of Bombay—naturally retains a corner of the Aga Khan's heart all for itself, and now that he is in India, he visited once more the place of his birth. The Sind Mohammadan Association, led by Mir Ayub Khan Sahib, Barrister-at-Law, of the royal family of Las Bela, and Khan Bahadur Shaikh Sadik Ali Sahib, Vizier of Khairpur, presented an address of welcome to His Highness and recounted

his great services to India in general and to the Mussalmans in particular. The address of the Association is a document with could well be used as a model for addresses of welcome. It gave to the Aga Khan an opportunity not only of thanking his Sindhi brethren for their appreciation of his services, but also of giving them excellent advice. His Highness is, however, too refined and cultured a leader to talk from a height. He concluded his speech with this apology: 'Gentlemen, excuse me for offering advice to the Mohammadans of Sind, because it is never a pleasant duty to advise. Still I felt it my duty to do so; and if I had not done so I should have felt that I was a very, very bad Sindhi indeed.' Although we had published a telegraphic summary of his speech in our last issue, we reproduce in this both the address of the Sindh Association and His Highness's reply, not only because the speech of His Highness deserves the consideration of Mussalmans and others all over India, but also because a vile attempt has been made by an Anglo-Indian paper to prejudice people against so brilliant, cultured and distinguished a leader of the Mussalmans of India. With reference to His Highness's deep regret that 'practically the only province where the Mussalmans are in a clear majority' should have no Moslem League and, that 'no effort should have been made to give the people here political education which will ultimately be a source of strength not only to the Government but lead to the making of a single nation of Hindus and Mussalmans,' the *Sindh Gazette* pours out phials of gall, and in a note headed 'The Aga Khan's Pretensions,' writes that 'the insidious under current of thought discernible behind this expression of a pious sentiment gives colour to the impression which has been steadily growing among the more statesmanlike of the Mohammadan leaders that the Aga Khan is not entirely a true representative of Islamic opinion. The text of the adulatory address of the Sindh Mohammadan Association suggests that local Mohammadans have no suspicion as to the state of the Moslem mind elsewhere in India.' The utter imbecility and fatuousness of this statement would excite ridicule or pity if 'the insidious undercurrent of thought discernible behind this expression' of stupidity did not give colour to 'the impression which has been steadily growing among the more statesmanlike Mohammadan leaders' that such papers as the *Pioneer* and its Sindhi prototype are anxious to use the Mussalmans only as the catspaw of the narrowest of the bureaucrats. It is a matter of great curiosity to us to know where such journals gather their knowledge of Indian thought and feeling. Confined within the still very narrow pole of Anglo-Indian society, what chance have they to learn the inmost thoughts of our countrymen? That being the case, is it any wonder that we fail to distinguish the features of the *Sindh Gazette's* informant in that beautifully vague description, 'the more statesmanlike Mohammadan leaders,' and if we still grope in the dark in our effort to find the exact geographical situation of 'elsewhere" — a locality where 'the state of Moslem mind' is supposed to be quite the reverse of the appreciative Sind?

26th April, 1913

SHUKRI PASHA

(By George Renwick)

Adrianople's long agony is over. Though as a result the Bulgar marches in and the Turk goes out, the stupendous trial of strength has been a triumph for the Ottoman forces, and especially for that fine soldier who, through five dreary, testing months of warfare and alarm, has kept the banner of the Crescent proudly flowing — Shukri Pasha, the Osman Pasha of to-day. Adrianople's struggle has lasted just about as long as that of Plevna, and with Plevna it will go down in military history, yet another evidence of the fighting quality of the Turks in defence.

Shukri Pasha, a handsome, strong, thickly moustached man, is every inch a soldier ; he comes of famous fighting stock. One of his uncles and his father won renown in the Caucasus, and all his brothers have fought for their country. Wherever Turkey has been at war during the last three-quarters of a century, at least one of the family has taken his share in the fighting.

Personally, the defender of Adrianople is one of the most charming of men, cultured, courteous, and a thorough master of his calling. Like Crispi and many of Turkey's great men, he is of Albania, again an example of the fiane stuff of which that fighting, highland race is made. Recently the Sultan conferred upon his the high and signal honour of the title of Ghazis, 'the Victorious'

PRAISE FROM TWO EMPERORS

Born at Errerum in 1854, he received his early military training at the Military College in Constantinople, where he quickly distinguished himself. Shortly after he became a lieutenant in an artillery regiment he went to France and Germany to continue his studies. In Germany he was attached as captain to the famous 2 Garde-Feldartillerie regiment. As an afficer in that regiment of crack officers he stood out conspicuously, and on more than one occasion drew forth the praise of Kalser William I, who went as far as to report his opinion of the young soldier in a letter to Abdul Hamid. 'It is an honour for the regiment,' the Kaisar wrote, 'to have such a skilled and enthusiastic officer close in its ranks.'

Years later, at a great review in Constantinople before Kaiser William II, Shukri Pasha led his regiment past with such elan and precision that he called forth words of the highest praise from that warrior-monarch, who asked that Shukri, then commanding an artillery regiment, should be personally introduced to him.

A whim of old Sultan Abdul, however, interfered with the even tenor of the young soldier's military career. But if it did that at the time, later Shukri Pasha may well have been glad that the Padishah's illwill was vented upon him. One of Shukri's relatives incurred the wrath of one of the Sultan's favourites, who persuaded his master to send the offending officer in to exile. Damascus was chosen as the spot, and the removal of this particular officer was naturally followed by the exile, more

or less severe in its terms, of all his relatives. Shukri Pasha was among the number, and the spot selected for him as his place of exile was—Adrianople.

There he became Brigedier-General and commander of an artillery division. Most people would have accepted the position as a sort of sinecure, and settled down to wait till the Sultun's mood changed. Not so Shukri Pasha. His immediate superior was Magyar Mahmoud Pasha, who saw no objection to the ambitious young soldier finding work for himself if he so chose. And Shukri did so choose. Magyar Mahmould was, as his name indicates, a Turk of Hungarian extraction, who, in ways only known to the Yildiz Kiosk and the Seraskerat, had become, by easy but suspicious stages, a Field Marshal, and in his opinion Shukri's activity kept the officers and garrison out of mischief.

THE THOROUGHNESS OF A KITCHENER

Shukri set to work a will. He schooled his officers and trained his men thoroughly, lecturing the former on all branches of military scienee, and drilling and manoeuvring the latter constantly. Every Turkish soldier under his command who could not read and write was taught to do so. He had all the thoroughness of a Kitchener in small as will as in great things. He wold often be met in the neighbourhood of Adrianople sketching and taking notes, and practically the entire modern defences of the city owe their existence to him.

His fame grew as disfavour in Constantinople waned, and eventually he was promoted to be Army Inspector, while retaining his post at Adrianople. Many real resorms were the result, and in that position the indefatigable Pasha showed the stuff he was made of. In 1903 he saw active service for the first time. The great Macedonian rebellion of that year found the Turkish military authorities unprepared. One large band of rebels, six or seven thousand strong, assembled with the object of seizing Adrianople. With little support of consideration from headquarters, Shukri Pasha took the matter into his own hands. He gathered all his available troops together with lightning speed, and by doing what would have been considered a two days' march over rough country inside 12 hours, he took the rebels by surprise, broke them up, and taught them a severe lesson.

The powers that were thanked him in strange fashion. He was exiled still farther away. His success had stirred up his enemies in Constantinople, and they persuaded the Sultan to send him to Salonica, where, it was thought, he would be harmless. Shukri, a stern disciplinarian, and one who never stopped to curry favour at Court, obeyed the instructions sent to him. He settled down to work in Salonica.

It was curious revenge which Shukri Pasha obtained. The year 1908 came and with it the earliest rumours of the Young Turks' activity. From Monastir and from the vilayet of Kossovo floated ominous reports, and Abdul wished to know what was really happening. Yet amongst all the favourites with whom he was surrounded he could only pick one man—Shemsi Pasha—for the

mission, and of him Abdul had rather serious doubts. So it was necessary to send another officer as well. The Sultan then remembered Shukri Pasha, and decided that he was a man upon whom he could rely. The two Pashas went up into Albania, and at Monastir Shemsi was assassinated, the secret of his mission having leaked out. The Young Turks, too, discerned what Shukri Pasha was doing there, but in such high esteem did men hold him that no hand was raised against him.

When the war broke out with the Balkan Allies, the military authorities, among the welter of errors, did at least one right thing. They sent Shukri Pasha to Adrianople. He reached that place, so familiar to him just four days before the Bulgarians began to sweep down upon it from the frontier. Four days of Herculean labour and he was ready for them. Soon they encircled the city. Faintly from the horizon the guns of Kirk Kilisse sounded : still fainter were those deciding Lule Burgas. Through the air messages came from Constantinople telling Shukri that there was no hope of his being relieved. And he replied that there was no danger of his hauling down the flag prematurely. By means of two attacks the Bulgarians sought to draw tighter the ring of trench and cannon they had thrown round Adrianople. Both were driven back, and the great, stubborn ring of Turkish forts remained intact.

Through the long winter days and nights the opposing guns disputed with one another; starvation came ever and ever nearer with relentless tread. While the armistice was talked of attempt was made by the London Conference to conclude peace. Adrianople and its braves had the fierce foe of hunger to keep at bay. Then the war was renewed; Adrianople was to be reduced in a week, yet through the weeks it held out. And the end is a tragedy and triumph; but it is a triumph worthy of a stern fighting race and a worthier cause.

Then weary ward and watch is over; but as Shukri and his comrades look their last upon the fortress they defended so magnificently, well may their tired eyes flash with the light of victory. All the world will honour them and their gallantry with the readiest of tributes, for they have done their whole soldier duty. They held out as long as it was humanly possible. They kept the flag flying till heroism could do no more. In smoke and flame the city has fallen; there is no disgrace for any, and there is glory enough for all — The Daily *Chronicle*.

28th June 1913

" THE CONFECTIONER'S SHOP "

Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qizilbash writes to us as follows: 'Your Note entitled "The Confectioner's Shop". has been brought to my notice The peculiarly harsh and unjust character of your criticism has

caused me considerable surprise and pain and I have, therefore, considered it proper on my part to inform you of the true facts, so that you may realise the wholly baseless nature of the onslaught that you have permitted yourself to make against me. Such onslaughts are the common stock-in-trade of a certain type of Indian journalism, and silence is the only dignified treatment they deserve. But after the very grave and serious charges you have brought against me, I feel I owe it a duty to state the facts. I wish you had ascertained from me as to the accuracy of the information on which you seem to have based your criticism. Let me in the first place say that no bill whatever on account of the feeding charges and other expenses incidental to the entertainment of those rich and important personages, who along with His Highness the Aga Khan were my distinguished guests, was ever sent by me for payment to the Foundation Committee: and if there is any such bill in existence in the Committee's records, it is most certainly a forged one, and I would be equally anxious like you that all the papers relating to this "sordid affair" are promptly published I do not wish to state in this letter what I spent over the entertainment of my guests, but the allegation that the charges of this description were met out of the University Fund is absolutely devoid of the truth. Those who know me well would hesitate to accuse me of the lack of "traditional instincts of hospitality." I would be the last person to claim any personal credit for the expenses I incurred, and the heavy work that I and my staff had to do in entertaining my guests and rendering their visit happy and fruitful. But, then, I did not expect to be requited in this way for what little I did in the service of the community. You state that the donation I promised to the Moslem University fund still remains unpaid. Let me please inform you that Rs. 10,000 was paid long ago and the remaining will be paid up as soon as Government's decision about the grant of University Charter has been finally made known. You are wrong in thinking that I want the Punjab contribution of over 5 lacs to the University Fund for the proposed "Dane Research Science Institutes". I should like you to read carefully my letter on this subject, which appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore. You will find that my suggestion was simply that in the event of the University Charter not being granted, the Punjab will be well advised in claiming back its share and in applying the same to the completion of the Shahdara Scheme. This is a matter of personal opinion which like any other Moslem I am, I believe, fully entitled to hold. And in this proposal I do not stand alone, as events will probably show. I have written these lines for your information as I am sure you have been totally misled and deceived. And now I leave to you to decide whether in face of these facts you were justified in using the sort of language you did against me. I believe, in fairness to yourself, that you would not have caused me this unmerited pain unless you had been grossly misinformed, for I do not think, the *Comrade* would stoop to the methods of the sensation-monger who feeds the columns of a

section of Indian journalism. I need say nothing about your concluding remarks and the value you seem to set on my "zeal for public activity." I wish, every one of us were worthy in every way to discharge his immense responsibilities to his community, his country and his God. My only prayer is that I may never forget, however unworthy I am, my heavy responsibilities in sharing our great and common burden as Moslems. God alone is the judge of motive and Dispenser of reward and retribution. Our business is to try to do what little we can, and above all to be charitable."

THE FACTS OF THE CASE

We shall not discuss matters of personal opinion, for, as the Nawab Sahib has said, we are all fully entitled to hold our opinions; and his letter does not err on the side of being argumentative, so that we see no reason to alter our own in preference to the Nawab Sahib's. But we stated two facts which he denies, and we shall content ourself with explaining the basis of our statements in each case, leaving it to our readers to judge whether we were justified in publishing them or not. In the first place, we wrote that 'some of the admirers of Sir Louis Dane are trying to preserve his memory in some permanent and tangible form. One of these admirers, Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qizilbash, came out some days ago with a scheme for creating a Scientific Institute at Lahore as a memorial to Sir Louis Dane . . , and he wants to despoil the Moslem University Fund of the subscriptions contributed by the Punjab Moslems that he may gratify his curious whim.' Our authority for the statement was no other than the *Pioneer*, the twin brother of the *Civil & Military Gazette* in which the Nawab Sahib's letter on the subject was published. The *Pioneev* published on May 3 a Lahore telegram from its 'Own Correspondent,' presumably the editor of the *C. & M. Gazzette* itself, stating as follows: 'In a letter to the *C. & M. Gazette* Nawab Fateh Ali Khan suggests the foundation of an advanced science research institute to commemorate Sir Louis Dane's regime. He proposes that the Punjab contribution of over 5 lakhs to the All-India Moslem University Fund should be claimed back and devoted to this institute." The Nawab Sahib now writes to us: 'You are wrong in thinking that I want the Punjab contribution of over 5 lakhs to the University Fund for the proposed "Dane Research Science Institute." 'Well' if we are wrong, we have for once erred in the company of the Allahabad apostle of truth. If the Nawab Sahib favours us with a copy of the letter published in the *C. & M.Gazzette* and we discover our mistake ––and the *Pioneer's*––we shall appear in sackcloth and ashes and request our Allahabad contemporary also to do penance for doing evil and inducing others to share its sinfulness. Until then we are unrepentant, and we do not think we need apologies for the statement that the Nawab Sahib's donation remains unpaid. He informs us that Rs. 10,000 out of Rs. 30,000 promised by him are paid 'and the remaining will be paid up as soon as Government decision about the grant of the University Charter has been finally made known.' It is

certain that unlike many of the 'Living Hearts' of the Punjab the Nawab has not paid the greater portion of what he promised, and he admits that in certain events he would like the Punjab to claim back its share of the paid-up subscriptions to the Moslem University Fund, and he hopes others will follow his noble Nawab-like example. And there is the *Pioneer* telling all the world that the Nawab would like to burn other people's incense —— at least other people's to the extent of Rs. 4,90,000 out of Rs. 5,00,000—— on the altar of Sir Louis Dane, the Champion of the Punjab Mussalmans. We could have well understood if someone who had paid more than a third of his promised donation, chagrined at the Secretary of State's ill-timed and unreasonable interference, had held out a threat of claiming back his donation. But for one who had not paid more than a third of what he had promised, and who pleaded for the tardy performance an 'excuse more sinful than the sin itself,' namely, 'jo hookum Sarkar ka,' to desire to obtain credit in the eyes of officials by suggesting the establishment of a Memorial to Sir Louis Dane, whose services to the Punjab Mussalmans are best known to himself, at the cost of those who paid all that they had promised for the central national institution of the whole of Moslem India without caring to know whether the Secretary of State or his advisers would like it to be a central national institution or not, can be characterised in no other way but 'the offer of prayers for one's grandfather's soul over the confectioner's shop.' We hope and believe that the shrewd Nawab will stand alone as events will probably show.

" A SORDID AFFAIR "

We need hardly say that we found every instinct of ours in revolt against Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Sahib's action because of the sordid affair which we mentioned in that connection. If then we felt the sensation of repugnance in every fibre and nerve, we are now a prey to the feeling of extreme astonishment at the audacity which makes the Nawab venture to refer to the bill of cost for entertaining the Moslem University Deputation to Lahore early in 1911. He writes that 'the allegation that the charges of this description were met out of the University Fund is absolutely devoid of the truth.' Now, if this is not an unblushing lie it is clearly a deliberate supperssion of the truth which suggests a falsehood as the sequel would show. It appears that the Punjab Provincial Committee generally kept too large a balance of the paidup subscriptions of the University with itself, and we have been assured that one of the reasons for this was that Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qizilbash claimed a set-off account of the expenses of the deputation. On the 31st March, 1912, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur wrote to the Hon. Mr. Shafi, the Secretary of the Provincial Committee, on the subject of the expenditure, and on 10th April Mr. Shafi sent him a statement personally vouching for all items 'except such amounts as were disbursed through Nawab Fateh Ali Qazilbash.' On this Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk lost no time but wrote to Nawab Fateh Ali Khan on 16th April as follows : 'At my request the Hon. Mian

Muhammad Shafi, Bar-at-Law, Secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Moslem University Fund, Lahore, has sent a bill of the expenditure of the Provincial Committee, Lahore, from the beginning to 31st March, 1912, which I shall lay before the Central Managing Committee for sanction. The details of the total expenditure of Rs.334-6-10 are as follows: (1) Expenditure in connection with the visit of H.H. the Aga Khan, Rs. 2,558-11-6. In connection with the first item of Rs. 2,558-11-6 the Secretary of the Provincial Committee, Lahore, writes that it has been disbursed through you and the details are as follows:

	Rs.	A.	P.
To Mirza Jalaluddin Sahib, Secretary of the Pandal Committee, by cheque. No. 10,881 ...	400	0	0
To Haji Shamsuddin Sahib, Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam	233	14	6
To Israr Maula Khan Sahib, Clerk, through Maulvi Abdullah Khan, Joint Secretary, Provincial Committee	20	0	0
To Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Sahib Qizilbash, C.I.E., by cheque sent through Maulvi Abdul Haq Sahib	1,224	0	0
To Rahim Baksh, florist, price of garlands and flowers (by order of Nawab Sahib)	47	4	0
To hire of chairs from Lahore (by order of Nawab Sahib) paid to Mirza Jalaluddin Sahib, Secretary of the Pandal Committee	237	10	6
To hire of chairs from Amritsar (by order of Nawab Sahib) paid to Shaikh Ghulam Sadiq Sahib of Amritsar	386	14	0
To printing of papers (by order of Nawab Sahib) paid to Maulvi Abdul Haq Sahib, 'Refah-i-Am Press'	9	0	0
Total	2,558	11	6

'You would remember, sir, that when the University Deputation was at Lahore a Committee meeting was held of which H.H. the Aga Khan was the President and you, too, were present. It was unanimously decided at this meeting that the costs of receptions, meetings, and entertainments were not to be paid out of the Moslem University Fund. It was decided that only the expenses of the offices and agents were to be defrayed out of the Fund. In view of this when the sanction of the Central Managing Committee is sought for Rs. 2,558-11-6 the question will certainly be raised why such expenses were defrayed out of the

Fund against the previous settlement. I shall lay before the Committee whatever you will be pleased to write in this connection, and shall await your reply.'

DIGNITY

When no reply was received to this letter, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk sent a reminder to Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qazilbash on the 5th May in these terms: 'Before this a letter was addressed to you on the 16th April', 12, of which a copy is attached with this letter as a precaution. In view of what has been written to you in the first letter in connection with the amount of Rs. 2,558-11-6 disbursed through you on the occasion of H.H. the Aga Khan's visit, your voucher for this amount and a letter are needed, so that the statement of expenditure may be presented along with them with a view to obtain the sanction of the Central Managing Committee. Whatever difficulty the Committee will have to face in passing this amount without such a letter has been stated in my previous letter of which a copy is attached.' Need we say that even this letter was ignored by Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Sahib ? Perhaps he thought that like the 'onslaughts' which are, according to him, 'the common stock-in-trade of a certain type of Indian journalism' silence was "the only dignified treatment that these letters of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk deserved.' Oh Dignity, Dignity, what jests, nay, what frauds are perpetrated in thy name.

CASH AND CREDIT

But let us pursue the business a little further. Failing to get any answer from the dignified Nawab Qizilbash, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk placed the whole matter before the Central Managing Committee on the 8th August last; and, in order to divide the responsibility of such irregular, unauthorised and, in fact, disallowed expenditure, the Central Committee was forced to ask the Provincial Committee if it wanted the sanction of such a bill. The Hon. Mr. Shafi wrote back on the 14th August that the Punjab Executive Committee had passed the bill and recommended that Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk should also obtain sanction of the bill from his Committee and adjust the accounts. On this the Central Managing Committee resolved on the 10th May last that 'as the Provincial Committee has passed the disputed amount of Rs. 2,558-11-6, the Central Managing Committee also, in view of the situation, passed the amount and accordingly the amount is debited, according to customary procedure, to the Profit Account and credited to the Capital Account, as this item had already been disbursed out of the Capital.' Thus has Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qizilbash successfully claimed a set-off out of the Moslem University Fund which was in the keeping of his Provincial Committee, and he has neither sent a voucher nor an explanatory letter, nor indeed any scrap of paper to show how the amount was spent. It was certainly part of the 'expenses incidental to the entertainment of those "rich and important peronages" who, along with His Highness the Aga Khan, were my (the Nawab's) distinguished guests,' and although it is true that 'no bill whatever . . . was ever sent by me (the Nawab) for payment to the Foundation Committee' it is

a matter not of exult'ation but for some explanation to the University Fund auditors. Can he pretend to believe that the items of the bill which he never sent but which was twice sent to him can be passed in accordance with the Lahore settlemen at which he was present ? Some of the items are too vague, but the flowers of Master Rahim Baksh, florist, were not born to blush unseen, but shall show their crimson hue along with the blush on the Qizilbash cheek. To think that many a Moslem widow's mite was subscribed to permit a wealthy Nawab to strew the path of H.H. the Aga Khan with flowers, and decorate him with garlands. What we are curious to know is whether the cheque for Rs. 1,224-0-6 sent per favour of Maulvi Abdul Haq to Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qizilbash was or was not a trifle handed over to him to quicken his 'traditional instincts of hospitality.' The Nawab states that he 'would be the last person to claim any personal credit for the expenses incurred.' In view of the foregoing circumstances we think he should be the last person to claim such credit. He has already claimed the cash and we shall say to him, with the Poet :

'Ah! take the cash and let the credit go.'

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12th July 1913

THE 'HAMIDIYEH' AND HER CAPTIN RAUF BEY

Mr. Bashir-ud-Din, a mem-ber of the All-India Medical Mission, gives the following interesting account of their visit to the 'Hamidiyeh':

Suez, June 25.

On the dark night of the 24th of June, we were walking along the sea-coast at Port Suez, on our way to the Custom House. An Arab belonging to the Custom House, who was with us, informed me in his Arabicised English that the boat 'Hamidiyeh' was in the harbour, and that after two days it was to leave for Constantinople.

We were all very glad to know of the safety of 'Hamidiyeh' and its brave Commander, but were sorry for ourselves as it would be impossible for us to visit the ship. We were to leave Port Suez in the early hours of the morning. How we prayed and wished that 'Sicilia' should be late for some hours! For once our prayer was fulfilled and our wish gratified. Later was came to know that 'Sicilia,' instead of 5 a.m., would leave at 11. As I had become accustomed by now, I plied the Italian Captain with questions in fluent wrong French. Having taken his assurance that he would not weigh anchor till 11 o'clock we all hired an ordinary sailing boat and left for 'Hamidiyeh.' In some ten minutes we were near it, and already we saw the sailors quickly lowering down the ladder.

The gallant Raouf Bey heartily shook hands with us and welcomed us in his happiest, polite Turkish manner.

On the clean and well washed deck, towards the stern, there was a square, big table with a red velvety cloth on it, and some chairs around the table. We all sat down and had a chat with that brave, young man, which shall live, as a happy memory, in our minds.

It was a great honour to all of us to have talked to such a man, but whenever we gave expression to our feelings he would say in his happy, forcible manner that it was he who was honoured by our visit.

Then I told him about 'the English or American' Captain of the 'Hamidiyeh,' the theory of different European journals, and he smiled at it. The experiences of the Turks have been unhappy all throughout this war, but if there is any small honour, any credit, that even is taken away by the generous Press of Europe. He related to us how he had sunk six Greek vessels of transport in one day. At another time he had to jam a Greek vessel and was forced not to shoot lest the noise should frighten away and thus make possible the flight of other boats.

Coffee was then served in small cups, after the Turkish fashion. He offered us cigarettes, gave us copies of photos which his officers had taken and, above all, was very hospitable and kind to us. He begged to be excused for the want of his hospitality as his boat had to live a vagabond life, not knowing in the morning where he shall be at night. He was very glad at that time, but he told us how before our visit he was suffering from 'a fit of blues" as the papers from Constantinople had brought gloomy news. Then he

showed us the motto which he had adopted for his boat. It was engraved in black characters in Arabic on a steel wall of the cruiser opposite the biggest gun. Its English reading it is 'Paradise is to be found under the shadow of swords.' Many verses from the Holy Koran were inscribed on different other parts of the boat.

We requested him to allow us to take his photo, which he very kindly permitted us to do. We all stood around his chair and Dr. Ansari, our much-loved director, took the photo. But it was after a great deal of entreaties that he occupied the chair. He said that he would like to remain standing with us. Then he ordered one of his naval officers to take a group of all of us and copies of which he promised to send us to India. The time was drawing nigh for our departure, and Dr. Ansari thanked him once more on behalf of the Mission for his great hospitality and kindness to us. He replied he wished he could do more, but in his present circumstances he had nothing to offer us and he was very sorry for that. If we had met him in Constantinople, then, perhaps, he could have shown to some small extent the love which he bore to the Mohammadans of India. There, constrained as he was, it was impossible for him t o do anything.

Then, once more, Dr. Ansari told him how in those dark days the eyes of all the Mohammadan world had been looking at him and how by his brave actions he had proved to the world that, given the semblance of a chance, a Turk officer even now can vindicate his military honour, and we were sure that he would be a second Khairuddin Barbarossa. We all wished him an honourable, long and successful life.

He was very much touched by these words of Dr. Ansari and heartily thanked him for the same. He said that he had not been able to do even one-tenth of what he wished for his fatherland. 'We have tried to serve our country and I, speaking as the captain of this boat, can only say that we have not disgraced our navy and our nation. To succeeding Ottoman generations will go down this heavy debt of gratitude which we owe to our Indian brethren for their humanitarian work, and long shall our country remember it.'

Then with sorrow, we parted from this handsome, strong and true Mohammadan. Three cheers for the Sultan ; three cheers for Raouf Bey.

As we descended the ladder, the band was playing the Turkish national anthem, and the sailors were giving cheers.

AN EXTRAORDINARY PERSONALITY

The *Makhzan* of Lahore, is an Urdu monthly of repute which has for the last few years served the interests of Urdu literature with considerable distinction. We remember the time when it was first launched by its well-known editor, Sheikh Abdul Qadir. Like a wonderful 'new star' it came into the sky of journalism, and the welcome which it received from the Indian public, and notably the Mussalman section of it, was extremely cordial. It is to be regretted, however, that since his return from England, where he was called to the Bar, Sheikh Abdul Qadir has been in a sort of retirement, and the Moslem community

has not derived from his talents that benefit to which it had been looking forward for some time. But we never anticipated that the *Mahbzan* itself will be affected some day, and to our astonishment and regret we find in the August and September issues of that magazine the strange account of a certain Dr. S. Salim Varesi (who is described as the editor of the magazine although Sheikh Abdul Qadir's name, too, appears as the editor on the first page), an account so strange that we feel compelled to examine in the interests of the Mussalman public the pretensions of the learned doctor. Owing to the recent unhappy events in the Balkans the Indian Musslmans have begun to manifest a rapidly increasing but, we hope, an intelligent interest in Turkey and everything Turkish, and inasmuch as it is our duty to restrain the newly developed energy of our community from running into wrong channels, we wish to describe the pretensions of Dr. Varesi at some length to demonstrate to our readers the danger of our community's isterest in Turkey being exploited by unscrupulous people. For here is the editor of a respectable Urdu magazine, a gentleman who describes himself as 'a Pensioner Civil Surgeon of Constantinople,' 'an M.A. in seven lanuages,' an ex-student of the Hamidia College, who at military manoeuvres led, while in command of a detachment of his fellow-students, an attack which attracted the attention of Sultan Abdul Hamid as he sat in a window at the Yildiz Kiosk, and all the nonsense that he writes is devoured by the Mussalman community without demur. Dr. Varesi says he left India when he was 7 years of age, studied Theology at Mecca, passed on to Egypt to burn incense at the feet of the learned scholars of that country, and then proceeded to Constantinople where, as a student of the Hamidia College, he achieved great distinction. He studied French, in France, passed out as a doctor and as 'an M.A. in seven languges,' travelled extensively on the Continent, joined the Turkish Consular Service, and has at the age of 35 retired on pension; and the 'Pensioner Civil Surgeon of Constantinople' has now taken up the editorshtp of the Lahore *Makhzan*? To crown all this Dr. Varesi is a poet, and the August number of the *Makhzan* publishes his verses in Urdu, Persian and Arabic—verses which, we confess, are altogether beyond our compehension ! The September issue opens with an article on the Hamidia College, and Dr. Varesi does not describe the courses of study, the life or the traditions of that institution,—we doubt if one of Dr. Varesi's imagination exists, but he tells with gusto how he was instrumental in obtaining a certain distinguished Arabic scholar's services from Damascus, and how he once played a prominent part at the College manoeuvres, so prominent that at the end of the skirmish he found himself in Sultan Hamid's audience chamber, and had with him an interesting discussion, such as would have been the despair of the late Mr. W. T. Stead himself ! And then delightful are certain passages in the course of the narrative, We will give only two by way of example. Says Dr. Varesi : 'We extend the wings of our force, so that it formed a complete circle, and now we advanced court-martialling.' The last two words

have a military ring about them in an otherwise flat and insipid narrative, but their use leads us to doubt if the entire significance of a court martial is grasped at the Army Headquarters at Simla, and if that unfortunately be the case, the officers responsible for the discipline and tactical training of the Indian Army might well ask Dr. Varesi to help them ! Dr. Varesi's description of the Hamidia College building beats for its originality anything that we have ever come across. What would our readers make of this: 'Around the college have been constructed several small octagonal domes, the shadow of one falling upon the other, so that the time the Equator is established the combined shadows fall in the water in such a manner that you can see the whole college reflected.' We plead guilty to absolute inability to understand either the engineering principle on which the domes have been constructed, or the manner in which 'the Equator is established.' The whole description of the so-called Hamidi College is full of such absurdities as would make a child laugh, and yet this is the article which has been given the place of honour in a magazine serving a very literary section of the Indian public. But how did we first suspect that there was something wrong with Dr. Varesi's claims? Thereby hangs a pretty tale which we will not keep from our readers.

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15th November 1913

SIR ABDUL QADIR'S LETTER

Sheikh Abdul Qder, B.A., Barrister-at-Law, writes to us from Lyallpur: 'I have read your editorial remarks about Dr. S. Salim Varesi, in the *Comrade* of the 25th October 1930 It is said he is at present engaged in editing the *Makhzan* and is touring in that capacity. I thank you for the appreciative terms in which you refer to the work of *Makhzan* in connection with popularising Urdu literature and also to my connection with the *Makhzan* in the past. As you may be aware, it was more than two years ago that the properitorship of the *Makhzan* changed hands as I took up the post of a Government Pleader at Lyallpur and found it impossible to look after the affairs of my literary magazine I consented, however, that the magazine may continue to bear my name as an Honorary Editor, Maulvi Ghulam Rasul, the present Manager and Proprietor of the *Makhzan* has since been conducting the journal. I think he deserves credit for his persistence in keeping the journal alive in spite of many disadvantages. His chief difficulty has been that he is not himself a literary man and has always to depend on others for the work of editing. The editorship has, therefore, constantly been changing hands during the last two years and it appears that Syed Salim Varisi is the Maulvi's latest acquisition. I am personally not acquainted with Syed Salim Varesi and am never consulted in the appointment of Editors. If

all that you have been told about the hollowness of Dr. Salim's boasts is true, then it is clear that Maulvi Ghulam Rasul has unconsciously made a bad bargain and will be well advised to get rid of it. Moreover, empty boasting of the kind described by you cannot help anybody for any considerable period, and I think people will soon find out S. Salim Varesi.' We are glad to learnt hat Sheikh Abdul Qadir Sahib had no hand in the appointment of the latest editor of his once famous magazine, though we cannot help regretting with many that his professional duties should have deprived Urdu literature and journlism of the devotion of his versatile and brilliant talents.

14th March 1914

The Man of the Hour in Egypt

INTERVIEW WITH ZAGHLUL PASHA

(*From A Correspondent of Cairo*)

Since the inauguration of the Legislative Assembly so many rumours have been current as to a disagreement between the Select Committee which has been drafting the rulesof procedure and the Government and there has been so much talk of late with regard to the attitude the Assembly and certain of its prominent members would adopt towards the Government measures, that it seemed to me advisable to seek enlightenment on the subject from the man to whom both sides, i.e. the Assembly and those who look upon its institution with disapproval, unanimously assigin the role of leader. Accordingly, I telephoned to Saad Pasha Zaghlul, and he very kindly gave me an interview of over an hour and a half on Friday last.

We did not take long to the point. Evidently the Pasha was as keen on discussing it as I was anxious to hear his views thereon. He admitted that there had been a disagreement, but said that the matter had been amicably settled by a frankrecognition on both sides of the different points of view. The bone of contention had been the powers that were to be given to the President. Were the latter elected by the Assembly there could not possibly be any objection to giving him the fullest possible powers; for, by its choice, the Assembly would have plainly shown that it desired to be ruled by its nominee. But under the Organic Law the Assembly had no voice in the nomination of its President. The Government had full powers in the matter, and, naturally, the Assembly objected to putting itself unreservedly in the hands of a man, however worthy he might be, whose mandate emanated form elsewhere. In the settlement of this question a further objection arose as to the holding of sittings for disciplinary decision *in camera*, and Pasha proceeded to explain to me the motives that had actuated him in advising the Assembly to give way, as recorded in my letter.

In the course of conversation Saad Pasha referred to the fact that

it was said that he hoped to be a Minister once again, and that his attitude would be shaped with that end in view. 'My ideas are far from that' said he. 'Of course, it may be said that I should naturally disclaim being open to such influence. But surely on the face of it my present position is preferable to that of a Minister. I may only draw half a Minister's pay, but at present I am free to state my opinions, and in addition I am a representative of the nation, and have its voice at my back, and can work whole heartedly for its good. Surely such a position is far more desirable than that of a Minister whose attitude is dictated by policy and whose views are very often kept in restraint.' As the Pasha added, he of all people is aware how circumscribed the position of a Minister is; and those who remember the incidents attendant on his retirement from office will undoubtedly agree that his to-day is the better part.

I congratulated Saad Pasha on his election as Vice-President, but added that it was to be feared that in certain circumstances it would interfere with his active intervention in the debates. (This, in fact, has been one of the points made by his enemies and those who have schemed to muzzle him.) 'Not all,' said he, 'if, perchance, it so happens that the President and the senior Vice-President are absent, and I have to act as President during an important debate, wherein I wish to participate, I shall vacate the chair, to which I shall nominate the senior delegate, and still make my speech.' It will be interesting to see whether this will be permitted.

Saad Pasha referred to the opinion expressed that the Assembly would set up a systematic opposition to the Government into which he would of necessity be drawn. He stated that this was a most unfortunate and mistaken idea. He repeated a great deal of what he had told me in his previous interview, and stated that the recent visits he had paid, and which had aroused comment, in no wise showed that he had at all changed his views. 'My policy,' said he, 'will be for the good of the country.' He would, he added, lend himself to no intrigue. He did not think that the Nationalists would have any influence in the Assembly, and he certainly would not support them in their tactics.

He looked upon the British Occupation as a necessary evil, and, therefore, it was incumbent on them all to work harmoniously with it, but he did not prevent them from stating their views when they honestly thought the Occupation was taking a step detrimental to their country, and in that case of offering reasonable opposition. 'Such an attitude,' said he, 'cannot be considered as one of systematic opposition.'

With regard to the question of parties, the ex-Minister of Justice said that in an institution like the Legislative Assembly groups would naturally form themselves, and in time what in Europe are called parties would come into being. Quite possibly a party would form round him, but whilst he would welcome support, from no matter what quarter, for any policy to which he might wish to persuade the Government, that did not at all mean that he would endorse the views or the

policy of his supporters. (I was quite aware that Saad Pasha was referring to the forecasts that have been made with regard to his connection with the Nationalist Party, with whom it was feared he might be led to compromise himself.)

At our parting the People's Vice-President said : 'Come again and we will take more about these things,' and to my thanks for his frank statements he rejoined: 'I have spoken to you in this manner because I want you and your fellow countrymen, expecially those in England, to realise what my ideas are—that I am servant to no one except my country, in whose service I rejoice to find myself once more, and that I am as independent as of yore.'

I, personally, am convinced of the sincerity of the attitude and intentions of Saad Pasha Zaghlul, and of the genuineness of his declarations with regard to the statements made concerning his connection with parties and persons who in the past have held views at variance with, and have acted, though not always openly, against the Egyptian government and its British advisers. In this opinion I have found support in quarters that are reputed to have a shrewd insight into Egyptian politics, and also in quarters that have not always seen eye to eye with Saad Pasha. I have been present at every meeting of the Assembly, and this much I can say : no matter what the future may hold in store for us, he is the only man who commands the respect and obtains the ready ear of the entire Assembly. Let me add that his influence so far has exerted itself on the side of moderation and restraint. I cannot help thinking that Saad Pasha's presence in the Legislative Assmbly will prove to be for the good of Egypt in every way.

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9th May 1914

MR. JINNAH

A Distinction and Som Differences.

We are happy to learn that our distinguished countrymen who have recently gone to England as delegates of the Indian National Congress are to be received by Lord Crewe on Monday. One of the Congress delegates, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in the course of his speech, as Chairman of the meeting held at Bombay, on the return of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohammad Ali, to welcome them, referring to the Secretary of State's refusal to receive the Moslem delegates, had said : 'With the greatest respect for Lord Crewe, it seems a denial of a most elementary right of representative men to whom the Secretary of State should always be accessible . . . Let us hope this will not form a precedent.' In spite of the *Times of India's* obvious chagrin at this statement, no

fair-minded person would fail to regard this as an almsot self-evident truth, and we are happy to record Lord Crewe's reversion to the universal practice of his great predecessor in office, and, let us acknowledge, of Lord Crewe himself. Lord Crewe's refusal to receive Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohammad Ali has given to hima promise to receive the Congress delegates the appearance of a distinction, though the real distinction lies in being delegated by one's people and not in being received by the Secretary of State. It appears, however, that the reception of the delegates is not going to be a ceremonial affair, as such 'distinctions' are apt to be in the cases of those whom officialdom labels as ' the natural leaders of the people.' Our distinguished fellow countrymen who have proceeded to England do not belong to this class of people but are the real leaders of the Congress school of politicians. Naturally, therefore, they mean more business than ceremony when wishing to be received by the Secretary of State, and we understand that the main topic which will be discussed on the occasion will be the contemplated reforms of the Indian Council, though we trust other important topics, such as the repeal of the Press Act, the separation of the Judiciary and the Executive and the extension of Executive Council Government at least to such major provinces as are still subject to one-man-rule, will not be ingnored. Evidently, the Marquess of Crewe does see that, unlike the case of the Moslem delegates last November, some public advantage would arise from such a reception and discussion. But we wonder whether his lordship feels certain that his action would not be misunderstood by any of the fellow countrymen of the Congress delegates with whom they are not in accord and who claim equally with them represent the political attitude and temper of the people in India. On certain questions the majority of Hindus and Mussalmans interested in politics hold the same or at least similar views, much to the annoyance of a section of the bureaucracy, and both communities will heartily join us in wishing the utmost persuasiveness to the eloquence and logic of the Congress delegates when urging the Indian view on the Secretary of State's attention. But it cannot be denied that on some questions neither the Hindu delegates of the Congress represent the views of entire Hindu community, nor do the Moslem delegates of the Congress represent the views of the entire Moslem community or even of the majority. Indeed, it is so obvious that delegates would not themselves deny it. How has the Secretary of State guarded himself then against a possible misunderstanding of his action in receiving these delegates by those with whose views they are not in accord. Besides there are heaps of toadies in both communities who would have been only too willing to start croaking against the representative character of the Congress delegates if officialdom had once suggested such a thing to them. What would the Secretary of State have done under the circumstances? Would he have sought refuge, as he did in the case of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohammad Ali, in the certainty of his action being misunderstood by these unfailing

auxiliaries of the bureaucracy? Would he have assured the Congress delegates that the sentiments and aspirations of Indians of the Congress school of thought deserve and receive the fullest attention and sympathy of His Majesty's Government and that he himself spares no pains to inform himself on the matters through the many authoritative sources of intelligence that are open to him. Well, we need not dwell too much on what his lordship did six long months ago. It is enough for our purpose to know that this 'most elementary right of representative men to whom the Sacretary of State should always be accessible' has not been denied in the case of the Congress delegates and that the case of the Moslem delegates has not formed a precedent. As a matter of fact, nothing that is done against the Mussalmans ever forms a precedent against others and it must afford special satisfaction to the school of separatists who are ready to fight the battles of everybody except their own community and share the sentiments of the poet who said:

شرکت غم بھی نہیں چاہتی غیرت میری

But while on this subject, let us ask the reader to note that so far as we know the Congress delegates were not elected in a formal manner by the Congress itself, but that every prominent Congressman who expressed his readiness to go to England this summer at his own expense was accepted by the All-India Congress Committee as a delegate. Ne wonder what the precisionists in the Moslem community think of this after having objected to the delegation of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohammad Ali, although it was formally accepted by several properly constituted political bodies, including the All-India Moslen League Council, and, what is still more important, hailed by hundreds of thousands of Mussalmans who otherwise care little for politics and political bodies. Let the Mussalmans also note that Delhi missed an abortive meeting of Rai Bahadurs and Rai Sahibs on the 30th of April convened to protest against the claims of the Congress delegates to represent others besides themselves. We have already said that Hindus as well as Mussalmans have their Jo-Hookams and Ji-Hozoors. But note the difference. The Hindu sycophants know that, like one of the elephant's teeth, according to the Indian proverb, they are only meant for show and not for use. The Mussalmans unfortunately do not merely exhibit their sycophants but also use them, and thus force others to abuse them. What they should really do with them is to put them under glass and warn them of the evil consequences of throwing stones at others from that bijau Palace.

19th June, 1914

MR. JINNAH AND THE CONGRESS DELEGATES IN LONDON

Sir William Wedderburn yesterday (May 14,) entertained to breakfast at the Westminster Place Hotel a number of members of both Houses of

Parliament and other public men to welcome the delegates appointed by the Indian National Congress to represent their views in this country.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN'S SPEECH,

Sir William Wedderburn, rising immediately after breakfast said: 'The object of our meeting to-day is to promote an *Entente Cordiale.* We have been hearing much lately of the *Entente Cordiale* with France and Germany. That is all excellent. But I say that it is still more important that we should have an *Entente Cor diale* with India. Rightly understood, the interests of India and of this country are indentioal. If there has been unrest in India, it has proceeded from misunderstanding, and the object of the delegates is to remove that misunderstanding, and to substitute a good understanding — in every sense of the word. Our desire is to establish an atmosphere of sympathy and brotherly kindness between the two great branches of the Aryan race. The delegates have comes duly accredited by the Indian NationalCongress, which for the last thirty years has voiced the needs and aspirations of the Indian people. They are all gentlemen of recognised position in the public life of India. Three of them are barristers of your Inns of Court and have had the honour of sitting in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, to whom India owes so much. The fourth is a member of the Madras Legislative Council, and the fifth is a Vakil of the High Court of Bombay and Hon. Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association. Three are Hindus, and two are Moslems. Our time to-day is short, and I am not going to take it up with a speech. What is wanted is that you should hear about India at first hand from Indians themselves. For this purpose I purpose that we should resolve ourselves into a Conference. Over this Conference Lord Courtney has most kindly consentedto preside. In this we are very fortunate, for he is the best chairman in England. I will now ask him to be so good as to take the chair.'

LORD COURTNEY OF PENWITH

Lord Courtney then took the chair. They were assembled (he said) to listen to delegates who come over from India, mainly, as he understood, in response to an invitation sent by Lord Crewe in view of the intention he had arrived at of revising and amending the constitution of his Council. Lord Crewe had asked that those who were interested in the matter should communicate their ideas to him. That was a very unusual step on the part of the head of a great Department, and he thought they ought to congratulate Lord Crewe upon his audacity. He hoped they would later on be able to congratulate him on his success.In India the invitation had been taken up very cordially, and they had present that day five gentlemen who would convey to them the opinions of the great mass of educated people in India.

MR. MAHOMMAD ALI JINNAH

Mr. Jinnah said that Lord Crewe had in contemplation a Bill which was intended to reform the India Council — which was really the head of the Government of India and the highest tribunal in all matters executive. It had created a most satisfactory impression in India that an opportunity for stating their views

should be given to them by the Government before the Bill was introduced into the British Parliament. At the present moment the India Council was composed of ten members. Two financial experts, and the rest, who were nominated by the Secretary of State, were connected with the administration of India. Although Lord Morley very recently recognised that anybody who could give first-hand information on Indian matters to his Council would prove very desirable member of that body, and although he gone effect to that view by appointing two Indian members, those two gentlemen were nominated members only, and while they had done excellent work, and had tried,to the best of their ability and judgment, to place the views of the Indian people before the Council, yet something more was desired. It was necessary for them to adequately represent Indian opinion. Representatives were required who had been, so to speak, behind the scenes, and men who had been brought up solely in the administrative groove. They wanted on the Council men in touch with public feeling and acquainted with public sentiment and public opinion, and therefore in a position to put before the Secretary of State views which men connected with Service could not possibly do. How were they to secure representatives of that character? Their suggestion was that the only possible way was to introduce the principle of election. Once they got elected members on the Council, they would have representatives who would be responsible for the people of India, and who would not secure re-election if their work had not proved satisfactory. The proposal he had first to submit was that the Council should consist of a minimum number of nine members——one-third of whom should be elected Indians. The principle of election had already been recognised over and over again in regard to this Council. More than one attempt had been made to reform it, and on every occasion the principle of election had been recognised; but the difficulty was to form the electorate. He quite agreed that that presented great difficulty in times gone by, but to-day they had already got an electorate in India which had been working for a number of years. He could best illustrate it by describing what occurred in the Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, or Bengal—which sent their representatives to the Imperial Council. In Bombay they had got non-official members of the local Legislative Council, and they were entitled to send three representatives to the Imperial Council. In the last two elections that had taken place under the new Council Act, and even before, they had chosen their representatives in Bombay to the Imperial Council in this way. The non-official members of the local Council elected those whom they sent to the Imperial Council. Thus they had a ready made electorate in the elected members of the Provincial Councils, Those elected members could choose the members to represent them on the Imperial Council. He thought that would prove a most satisfactory electorate. It would secure the choice of really representative men. The system had already obtained a certificate from eminent officials in India, like Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, and the late and the

present Viceroy. As to the character of the Council, his suggestion was that it should be Advisory and not Administrative. It had been given out that the portfolio system was to be introduced. He thought that would be fatal and dangerous. It would mean dupllicating the machinery and reducing the Secretary of State to a mere figurehead. If each man was to be placed in charge of a portfolio, and if he was to be necessarily connected with the administration, it would mean that a man who had retired from the service in India would be called upon to dispose of matters which were the subject of complaint against the very class from which he was drawn. Hitherto, the Secretary of State had not only dealt with matters of principle and policy. It was in the fitness of things that there should be antagonism between the official and the non-official views on these questions — questions, for instance, such as the separation of the executive from the judiciary — or the extention of elementary education. or the Press Act. The Secretary of State, consequently, when these matters came before him would be official element surrounding him. They wanted the Secretary of State to be made the real master of the situation. They wanted him to be placed in possession of the real facts on both sides. Of course, ultimately, the decision rested with him. The full Council, as they knew, might come to a unanimous conclusion on a particular subject which the Secretary of State might not accept, for he had very wide powers. He further submitted that no distinction should be made between the Indian members of the Council and their colleagues. If any was made they would be demoralising not only the whole Council but the Indian members as well. It had also been suggested that if they had the portfolio system they would not be able to get Indian members of the Council with the requisite experience of administration in India, and, therefore, the Indian members would not be able properly to discharge their duties if placed in charge of a portolio. It was next suggested that the period of appointment should be five years. While it was necessary to have men with experience in administration, it was equally necessary to have men who could place the public point of view before the Secretary of State. It was proposed that one-third of the Council should consist of the official class, one-third of the non-official class and the remaining one-third should be men of merit and ability in public life in the United Kingdom unconnected with the Indian Administration. This third would hold the balance between the two other sections. They would bring to bear upon the deliberations of the Council that independent judgment which was so characteristic of public men in this country. If these proposals were accepted, they would have a Council composed of three different groups — each specialising in a different branch, but all helping the deliberations of the Council over which the Secretary of State presided. The Secretary of State for India, to whatever political party he belonged, had always been an eminent British statesman who had done his best for India, but even the best of men required some kind of control and check. The

Secretary of State, no doubt, was responsible to Parliament and the British public in theory, but in practice really he was not responsible; and what was finally suggested was that his salary should be placed upon the British estimates. In that case they would have real effective control by Parliament.

Passing to discuss the position of Indians in the various 'parts of the British Empire,' Mr. Jinnah said that no other subject had so deeply stirred the minds of the people of India. They had always understood that they were members of the British Empire, but at this moment they were being denied the rights and privileges of British citizenship. Recent events in South Africa had created intense feeling which was only allayed by the wise and statesmanlike pronouncement of Lord Hardinge; and the action of the Viceroy, supported, as it had been, by British Ministers and by the British Parliament, had made a deep impression in the hearts of the people of India.

MR. MAZHAR-UL HAQUE
ON THE PRESS LAW

Mr. Haque said he wished to address the Conference on the subject of the working of the Press Act of 1910, and as he saw before him many representatives of the British Press he had no doubt that the question would prove an interesting one. In 1910 India was passing through a phase marked by crimes of violence, and it was considered necessary at the time that writings in the Press should be officially controlled. That was the very first act of the reformed Council of Lord Minto. The measure brought in was very drastic indeed — so much so that one of the most eminent Judges, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, had declared that even the Bible might be brought under its operation. Those who at the time represented the Indian people on the Viceroy's Council were rather on the horns of a dilemma. They knew that it was necessary to control wild writings in the Press, but at the same time they were anxious that their liberties should remain intact. There was a good deal of discussion as to what course should be adopted to secure that end while giving the authorities the desired powers, and one of their endeavours was to give those who were affected the powers of testing the legality or justice of the action of the Executive. Indeed, Mr. Sinha, who was then Law Member, threatened to send in his resignation unless some such provision was included in the Act, and unless the people of India were given a right of appeal to the High Courts. That was the compromise that was eventually arrived at between the official and non-official members of the Council. Some of them had most reluctantly given their support to the Act, but they had had fears as to how it would work out. Those fears, unfortunately, had since materialised, and action had been taken under the Act which was never dreamt of at the time the legislation was under consideration. He might cite as an illustration the treatment meted out to the *Comrade*, a weekly paper published at Delhi. The only misfortune of that paper was that it reprinted a certain pamphlet issued in Europe with an introductory article written by Sir Adam Block, of Constantinople. The Government of India declared that the pamphlet was calculated to

bring the Christian subjects of His Majesty ino contempt and hatred, and it issued an order confiscating all the numbers of the issue in which the pamphlet appeared. That action of the authorities was contested in the High Court at Calcutta. The case was tried by three eminent Judges, of whom Sir Iawrence Jenkins was one, and they declared that in their opinion, the editor of the *Comrade* had committed no offence, and was animated by a laudable object in reprinting the pamphlet, but at the same time they added that the powers of the High Court were almost nil under the Act, and that they could not give the editor the redress to which he was entitled. Would any Englishman—to use the word in its widest sense—support the retention for even one day of such a law on the Statute Book of this realm? He had another illustration to offer. The *Zamindar* was a paper published in Lahore, with a circulation at one time of nearly 17,000 daily. It was asked to give in the first place security to the extent of Rs. 10,000. That, too was forfeited, and finally the entire Press was confiscated. This was an Act passed to stop crimes of violence. and it was never intended that its provisions should be thus misued and misapplied. The worst feature of all was that officials in India were not using the Act to interfere in religious matters. Personally he was not in favour of religious discussion in the Press; he did not believe it was useful, but why under the guise of this Act should authorities put an end to papers which were purely religious? That ought not to be allowed, and it was dangerous as creating a doubt of the good faith under which the Act was allowed to pass. He had a third case of a paper at Lucknow. There was nothing wrong with its writings apparently, but the Deputy Commissioner ordered the editor to leave the town within a few hours. Such a thing could not possibly happen in England, and he could mention many cases in which men have been deprived of their only means of livelihood under the operation of this Act. He hoped they would see to it that an end was put to this state of things, and that pressure was brought to bear upon the Secretary of State and upon the Government of India to secure the repeal of this law. At any rate, if it could not be repealed, let the right of appeal from the orders of the Executive to the Courts be at least restored and made more effective and real.

MR. SINHA ON THE SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS

Mr. S. Sinha spoke on the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions. This was a question, he said, which concerned the administration of the Criminal Law in India. The more heinous crimes were tried by judges, with the addition of assessors and in some cases juries. But the greater number of criminal cases in the country came before magistrates of different classes, who were directly under an official known as the district officer, who was also by virtue of his office district magistrate. This district magistrate was the head of the police. As such, he had the power of initiating criminal proceedings in all cases. He was responsible for the mainte-

nance of law and order in his district, and in his various positions he was, as was said in India, thief-catcher and the judge at the same time. That was a system which was certainly subversive of what was known as British fairplay and justice. Under the rules which obtained in all civilised countries, the man who was responsible for starting criminal proceedings had no hand either in the trial or in the hearing of the appeal; but in India it was very different. The system, too, was calculated to act unsatisfactorily, because a magistrate trying the criminal charge was under the District Magistrate on whose recommendation his future prospects depended, and it was clear, under such circumstances, he could not do substantial justice in all cases. They had asked for this reform for a great number of years, but one reason for refusing it had been that of cost. He did not think that ought to be allowed to stand in the way, and he hoped, therefore, those whom he was addressing would give cordial support to this pronosed change.

LORD COURTNEY SUMS UP

Lord Courtney replied at some length. After declaring that all the credit was due to Sir William Wedderburn for bringing them together, he said the problem of the reconstruction of the Council of India so as to make it a more effective means of communication between the people of India and a Secretary of State was one of the profoundest importance. When he spoke upon it at Fowey seventeen years ago, he dealt with it as a problem to be considered, and not as one for which he had a readymade solution. He foresaw many difficulties, some of a practical character, in bringing to Westminster elected representatives to join in the work of the Secretary of State's Council. Members of that Council hitherto had, no doubt, fulfilled advisory functions, but they had also joined in the administration, and particular subjects had been allotted to them. They were in that way joint assistants and advisers of the Secretary of State. But when it came to the question of bringing three elected members over, who were not to act primarily in the capacity of assistants and co-operators, but who would more properly be described as members of the Secretary of State's opposition, whose duties would be to criticise and examine, and whose object by their criticism would be to modify and perhaps reflect the action proposed by the Secretary of State, that was an entirely new proposition, at which even the most advanced Secretary of State would feel a little staggered. By regulations the most vital reforms might be deprived of their vitality. For instance, there was no necessary submission to the Council on the part of the Secretary of State of any projects he might have in his head, and therefore, if their scheme was to be made effective, it would be necessary to provide rules and regulations by which the presence of these criticisms in the most friendly way. He had felt it his duty to point out some of the difficulties which might not perhaps have been fully apprehended. It had occurred to him it was just possible that in this as in many other matters compromise might be possible

and that instead of sending over three elected members to sit on the Secretary of State's Council, it might be possible to elect a panel in India of forty or more persons who, by their previous training, by service under the Government, by knowledge, by position at the Bar, by their activity in commerce or industry, were fit and proper persons to assist and advise the Secretary of State in the exercise of his functions, and that the Secretary of State might have the privilege of selecting from that panel those whom he was advised would be most serviceable to himself. He threw this out as a suggestion for their consideration. He wished to make it plain to the delegates that there were difficulties to overcome.

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27th June 1914

Letter from London

MR. MUZHAR-UL-HAQUE AN INDIAN NATIONLISM

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque delivered an address on 'Indian Nationalism' at a meeting of the London Indian Association at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on the 30th May, Dr. J.N. Mehta presiding.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, who was received with great enthusiasm, said that he had not intended to indulge in public speaking during his visit to this country, but he had felt unable to resist the temptation which the Association had put in his way. He was conscious that he had chosen a difficult subject. The word Nationalism had somehow acquired a sinister meaning in India. The moment an Indian called himself a Nationalist, he was apt to be branded as disloyal by the Anglo-Indian Press of the country. Still, he was speaking that in a free country, and he proposed to be both blunt and direct in what he had to sly. By Indian Nationalist he meant an Indian who put the welfare of his country before any other consideration, who longed to see his motherland not only self-respecting but respected by other nations, who, when the time came would be ready for any sacrifice. He had not been more than a few weeks in England, and he was proud to find his fellow countrymen here and hoped that when they returned to their motherland, they would lose none of the enthusiasm which now animated them. What was the obstacle in the way of Nationalism in India? He wished to blame no one, but they must blame themselves. The wretched sectarianism which was rampant in India — he did not care whether it was Hindus or Mohammadans who were responsible —had done much to injure the advance of Nationalism. It had been his lot to fight sectarianism all his life and he would continue the struggle until his last hour. He was not there to apportion blame between Hindus

and Mohammadans. In his view they were equally at fault. If the history of India for the past fifty pears was studied, it would be found that it was principally made up of a political see-saw, in which Hindus and Mohammadans went alternately up and down. In 1857 the Mohammadans were in the bad books of the Government; then came the turn of the Hindus; and, finally, the awakening represented by the Congress movement. It was possible that the Congress has not made such progress as some would wish; and he himself would like it to advance much more. But let them not be ungrateful or forgetful of the fact that when their leaders started the Congress movement, India was otherwise without a voice.

India, he felt, underwent the depest humiliation when the Mohammadans stood aloof from the movement. It was a great mistake on their part. As they knew, he had appeared on the platforms of both Congress and the Moslem League; and his sole object in belonging to to both bodies was to bring them together. He felt it to be the bounden duty of his community to join in the work of uplifting their common motherland. The Mohammadans were utterly mistaken if they though that they would always remain the pampered pets of the Government. He was afraid also that his Hindu friends would fall into the same error if they were not careful. He would speak plainly. During the last two years when the Mohammadans had been down upon their luck, he had come across those who were jubilant over their misfortunes. They must guard against such a falling back upon the old ways. He knew of no substantial reason to account for it. There was no question in India—no political question at all events—in which the interests of both communities were not equally involved, and with regard to which they differed. There was too much intemperate language on both sides. He remembered an occasion when a great leader of the Mohammadan community issued a manifesto in which he declared that if special consideration was not shown to Moslem interest, millions of them would turn their backs upon India and emigrate. On the other hand, it was common talk among Hindus that the Mohammadans were foreigners in India. Such wild talk was greatly to be deprecated. What Hindus rightly objected to was the separation of the two communities. They must unite. If one took a step forward the other should take two. As far as he himself was concerned, he would much rather be represented on Council by his friend Mr. Gokhale than by anyone else. Their interests were practically identical. India stood in need of a single organization which would unite all Indians, of whatever caste and creed, in a common bond. A struggle was certain to come between the bureaucracy and the Indian people. It was, unfortunately, the case that on every burning question there was a marked antagonism between the people and the ruling class. Englishmen could be found who were sympathetic towards Indian aspiration and supported their demands. But, generally speaking, from one end of India to the other, Anglo-Indians and Indians were in opposite camps.

Every demand was met by an immediate negative. And yet there could be no going back. Some said that it was a mistake to give India national education; but education had to come, whether Western or Eastern, and when once education entered, there could only be one result. Equality of treatment must be insisted upon, and until the ruling class in India modified their attitude—of which he had little hope—the struggle would be bitter, and it was not far off. Let Indians, therefore, prepare themselves for it by creating a solid wall of united public opinion which could not be broken. At present there seemed to be too many leaders. No one could foresee how many years it would take to raise India to the place which she ought to occupy among the nations of the world. But the work would never be accompiished without determination enthusitasm, and sheer force of character. It required courage in these days of Press Law to stand up against injustice in India. But that was the spirit in which he hoped those before him would return to their country. He looked forward with confidence to the future which lay in their hands; and he wished them all succes.

27th June 1914

(Letter from London)

MR. JINNAH AND THE COUNCIL OF INDIA BILL

I have already sent Mr. M.A. Jinnah's interview in the *Daily Telegraph*, which was given prior to the formal introduction of the Council of India Bill in the House of Lords by Lord Crewe, Since the provisions of the Bill have been disclosed, bitter disappointment is being felt here by many leading representive of Indian opinion. Lord Crewe's request last autmumn for suggestions from responsibe Indiad ouarters was heartily welcomed, but the hopes thus raised have been shattered by the publication of the text of the Bill.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, in conversation with a *Daily News* representative, has emphasised some points in the new situation which has been created.

'True,' is Mr. Jinnah's comment, 'the Bill does propose to introduce the eleetive principle, but it is only a prin ciple on paper, so to speak. Should the Secretary of State be led to select from the panel nominated by non-official members of the Legislative Councils, our position will aetually be worse than at present, for we shall be told that men selected under this system are our repesentatives, a pretence that cannot now be made. It should be remembered fhat nominated non-official members ofthen display less independence than official members, because they are eager to show the Government how keenly they appreciate the honour of nomination.'

Somethieg, or somebody, in Mr.

Jinnah's opinion, must have 'frightened' Lord Crewe, for the Bill practically sets aside the principle of election admitted by eminent statesmen as far back as 1858, when the only objection urged was that there was no electorate, an objection which can no longer be raised.

'We are confident,' adds Mr. Jinnah, 'that the Secretary of State for the time being will do what is right if only he has the right information before him. But how can he expect to obtain correct information from the representatives of the Indian people who do not really represent anybody but themselves ?' The Press Laws, the passage of a measure for compulsory elementary education, and the separation of the executive and the judiciary are three subjects upon which Mr. Jinnah feels that the Government of India is specially in need of advice from those who are in close touch with the mind of the nation.

The *Times* of last Wednesday also publishes a long statement by Mr. Jinnah in connection with the bill. 'India,' says Mr. Jinnah, 'is perhaps the only member of the British Empire without any real representation, and the only civilised country in the world that has no real system of representative Government.

'The news of the intention of reform and reorganisation of the Council of the Secretary of State for India raised great hopes amongst the people of India, and a very moderate and reasonable demand was put forward that one-third of the toal number of the Council should be Indian members, to be elected or chosen by ballot by the elected members of the various Legislative Councils in India. This demand was embodied in the resolutions that were passed by two of by two of the most representative and the greatest organisations of public opinion in India—viz. the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League—at their Sessions last Christmas. Further, the Indian National Congress, in response to the express desire of Lord Crewe, who was good enough to say that he would welcome any criticism or fresh ideas which might be brought forward on the subject, sent a deputation, which waited on him last month, when I had the honour to place our views before him.

'Now that the Bill to amend the laws as to the Council of India has been introduced and gone through the first reading, I cannot but say that the provisions contained therein are mos disappointing, and I feel sure that that is how the people of India will receive it. What hope can measures like this inspire in the people of India who are looking forward to bigger and more substantial reforms in time to come when in matters such as reform of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, which is, after all, more advisory in its character than anything else, the just proposals of the deputation appointed by the Indian National Congress have not been accepted.

'First of all, there will be only two Indian members, and not one-third of the total number ; the minimum number being seven and maximum 10 ; so the demand for three Indian members is rejected.

'Secondly, the Bill denies the election of the Indian members for all practicable purposes. The Secretary of State for India, under the proveisions of the Bill, shall select Indian members from amongst the persons whose names appear on the list of persons domiciled in India, chosen for the purpose by members (other than the official members) of the Legislative Councils. The Governor-General, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and the Chief Commissioners, in such manner, subject to such conditions and restrictions, and in such number as may be prescribed by regulations to be made by the Secretary of State for India in Council or by directions issued by the Secretary of State thereunder.

'Now, there is no doubt that what appears at the first blush on paper to to some sort of principle of election is for all practical purposes illusory; and the so-called list, or, toput it in other words, panel, is to be formed by the choice of non-official members of various Councils. This sounds as if the officials will have novoice in the choosing of the list or the forming of the panel, but anyone who knows the actual constitution of the various Legislative Councils will see at once that the non-official members means elected as well as members nominated by the Government in various parts of India (that is, the officials in the country), and there is a large number of such members in various Councils who are bound in the very nature of things to follow the behest of the official class, and this class of nominated members will have a very potent voices in the formation of the panel; to say nothing of a certain element of even elected members who will not be able to exercise free and independent judgment for personal reasons. The consequence of this will be that a large number will get on to that list or panel who would be pure creatures of the official class and not the representatives of the people, and this might be worse if the rules, regulations, conditions, and restrictions mentioned in the Bill are not most carefully framed. Therefore,what appears on paper to be a list of men chosen by the people will be so in name only; nay, worse because at present the Indian members are nominated, whereas under the Bili it will be said that they are the representatives of the people, although the selection of the Secretary of State for India might fall on those of the list who may be pure creatures of the official class.

'If the principle of election is to be accepted, why whittle it away by adopting the most circuitous and clumsy methods? By far he simplest way is to form an electorate which is readymade, consisting of all the elected members of the various Council referred to in the Bill and let them elect the Indian representatives by ballot. If there is any fear of any undersirable man being elected, for which I do not think there is the slightest ground, I should be willing, if necessary, to give the Secretary of State for India, who is always an eminent statesman which ever party he belougs to, the power to veto in and direct a fresh election in that particular case; but anything short of this will, I feel sure, not satisfy the people of India.

'With regard to the other provisions of the Bill it is not very clear as to exactly what ls intendod, be-

cause in introducting the Bill Lord Crewe did not make any statement.

'They require some further explanation before one can deal with the provisions contained therein, and therefore I do not propose to say any thing about them now, but it is most important to see that proper rules and regulations are framed as contemplated by the Bill.'

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9th May 1914

NAWAB OF TONK

A Complaint from the North-West Frontier

We receive from time to time appeals from people who think they have been injured by the actions or the decisions of officials, but almost invariably we have to ignore them, because we do not regard ourselves as a Court of Appeal with pretensions to judicial authority. But occasionally we receive the statement of a case which falls within the purview of a newspaper, because there is apparently no avenue open to the aggrieved party for securing the redress of his grievance except the publicity given to the case in the columns of a newspaper. It is obviously impossible for a journalist to go into these matters like a judge and jury, and one does not expect from a newspaper such care and attention. Nevertheless, a newspaper can arm itself with sufficient data to establish a *prima facie* case for the person appealing to it, and is, we think, fully entitled to bring the matter to the notice of Government with a view to having an inquiry instituted into the case.

Such a case is that of Nawab Mohammad Ghulam Qasim Khan Sahib, Nawab of Tonk, in the district of Dera Ismail Khan in the North-West Frontier Province. We have received from the Nawab a letter enclosing copies of a memorial in English submitted to the Hon. Sir George Roos-Keppel, then Chief Commissioner of the Province, another memorial in Urdu submitted with a copy of the English memorial to the Hon. Mr. Donald, now Chief Commissioner, and translation of a resolution of the Government of the Punjab and a Sanad of the same Government announcing certain honours and dignities conferred upon the Nawab Sahib's grandfather, Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan, in 1875, together with some jagirs and exemptions from payment of Revenue and Police charges, for the maintenance of the dignity and position of Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan and his successors. One of the enclosures is a pedigree of the Nawab Sahib which is a document of considerable interest.

From the first memorial we learn that the Nawab Sahib traces his troubles and misfortunes to the displeasure of Mr. T. B. Copeland who was posted as the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khah some years ago. It seems that certain

allegations of highhanded dealings towards a section of the residents of Tonk had been made against him, and that in the course of the inquiry Mr. Copeland made an adverse report to George Roos-Keppel, 'in consequence of which,' says the memorial, 'he had not only the misfortune of incurring Your Honour's displeasure but also his agent, Karamat Husain, was ordered to leave the district under section 36 of the North-West Frontier Regulations.' But, the memorial adds that 'subsequently coming to know the real facts of the case, Your Honour was graciously pleased to restore the petitioner to your favour, thereby winning his deep gratitude.' The sequel, however, proves, that deep gratitude is more easily won in the N. W. F. Province than a petitioner who has had the misfortune to incur a Deputy Commissioner's displeasure, is graciously restored to his favour.

The memorial cites an application submitted on the 14th April, 1912, by the Chaudharies of Tonk as proof of the fact that the complaint from which the Nawab Sahib's troubles arose were baseless. It then goes on to say that Mr. Copeland was transferred from Dera Ismail Khan and nothing further happened till he was retransferred to the district subsequently. When this happened the Nawab Sahib was carrying out some litigation both in the Revenue and the Criminal Courts against some of his tenants-at-will. He paid shortly afterwards a visit to Mr. Copeland in the course of which the Deputy Commissioner asked the Nawab Sahib to withdraw the prosecutions against the tenants, and if he did not desist from such 'rascality' (badmashi), threatened him with expulsion from the province, a power which Government has with little forethought or wisdom conferred upon its officials in the North West Frontier Province. It appears that the Nawab gave information of this conversation to George Roos-Keppel in a registered letter on the 31st of July, 1912, but received no reply.

If the report of this remark of Mr. Copeland could be believed, we could offer some comment of our own which, we may take it from previous experience of this province, would be accounted in us high treason, and possibly we might immediately lose another subscriber of the *Comrade* who had paid the full subscription for the year——from the public exchequer. But for reasons far more valid than the fear of the Press Act and hope of some unearned subscription we prefer instead to quote from the memorial the comment of the Nawab Sahib himself. In concluding his memorial to the Commissioner he says: 'The honour and position of Nawab was granted to him by the benign Government, and he is ever willing to obey all orders which Your Honour or the local authorities may lawfully issue. It is obviously impossible for him to carry out such wishes of Mr. Copeland as are calculated to disgrace him in the eyes of his people, to injure his legal rights and to cause unjustifaible loss to him. Surely from a political as well as personal point of view, it is hardly justifiable for Mr. Copeland to seek to bring disgrace upon those whom the Government have invested with the honour and status of Nawabs.'

Among others we have done not a little to expose the real character of a certain section of those on whom officialdom confers its so-called honours. But our best supporters in this enterprise have been the officials themselves who 'honour' this class of people on the New Year's day or the King Emperor's birthday and dishonour them every day of the year. Even the worm turns and no wonder that a nobleman of the Frontier whose ancestors had rendered great services to the State, and whose own services were rewarded with the title of Nawab, now turns round to rebuke Government for its contradictory attitude. Either the Nawab Sahib, who, according to the Sanad of 1875, was selected by Government as a successor to the Tonk Nawabi on account of being the most suitable member of the family, was deserving of this selection and of the title of Nawab, or he was not. But if the Government do not confess that their selection and recognition were gross blunders, they must protect their protege from the shocking manners and awful fury of 'hot-headed youths' (that's the phrase, is it not?) who have put no more than ten years' service in India before being posted as Deputy Commissioner over large districts. Even the maker of coins would not refuse to accept at its face value a spurious coin of his own manufacture that is tendered to him; but officials have often no hesitation in dishonouring their own creations. Well may the titled gentry say to them:

نوابان خود رایا فزای قدر
که هر گر نه آید چوورده غدر

(Increase the dignity of the Nawabs of your own creation; for never does your own creation turn against you.)

The Nawab Sahib of Tonk's tale of woe is as follows. In a theft case in which the police were prosecuting the accused on the complaint of the Nawab Sahib, Mr. Copeland interfered and recorded his opinion against the maintenance of the prosecution, but his order was set aside by the Judicial Commissioner. Nevertheless, the lower court acquitted one of the accused on the very ground on which Mr. Copeland had recorded his opinion, and Mr. Copeland himself reduced in appeal the sentence of the second accused. As a result of this action this court dismissed other complaints which the Nawab Sahib had prefered against the number of other tenants, though ultimately these orders, too, like Mr. Copeland recorded opinion, proved to be without justification and were set aside by the Sessions Judge. The memorial complains that encouraged by rumours of the Deputy Commissioner's displeasure the Nawab Sahib's tenants presented a number of frivolous applications to the Deputy Commissioner upon which Mr. Copeland passed orders obviously prejudicial to the Nawab Sahib, causing him considerable loss. A noteworthy circumstance in connection with these Revenue proceedings is that the Nawab Sahib, now thoroughly warned as to whether he could repeat and, fearing further trouble through Mr. Copeland's displeasure, presented applications to the Assistant Collector for withdrawal of some notices of ejectment against a number of his tenants who had instituted suits under the Tenancy Act for their cancella-

tion. The Assistant Collector rejected these applications, and Mr Copeland, who was curiously enough informed that the applications had been submitted merely to please him, and was requested to bring about a settlement, called for certain information which was supplied, but did nothing to bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion. As a result of all this the Nawab Sahib's tenants, non-proprietary residents of Tonk and Kamins, refused to carry out their legal and customary obligations towards him. They have been led to believe, says the memorial, that, however illegal their conduct may be, no official would give him any relief because he had incurred the displeasure of the head of the district.

Nor is this all. At the instigation of the Nawab Sahib's enemies a complaint of enticing a married woman for illicit intercourse was instituted against him in the court of Mr. Copeland which, says the memorial, was so obviously unfounded that finally Mr. Copeland directed it to be consigned to the records on the ground that 'the complainant did not wish to pursue the matter further 'at present.' This is, indeed, a curious order, for it does not appear whether the complainant still retains the option of coming one day to Mr. Copeland's Court to pursue the matter further. We think the man should have been compelled to substantiate such a charge or withdraw it. When nothing further was done, the Nawab Sahib prosecuted the complainant for defamation, but we are told that the Sub-Divisional Officer of Tonk has ordered that this complaint should remain pending till the return of the accused from the Veterinary College of Lahore, where he is receiving his education. The Nawab Sahib complains that even the inspection of the record, for which he applied, and to which he is entitled, has not hitherto been permitted to him.

Incidents have since then occurred which give rise to apprehensions concerning his personal safety. He cites paragraph 180 of the Political Diary No. 52, dated 21st December, 1912, to show that two residents of the Tonk Sub-division, stated to be Bhattis, went to Ilaqa Mahsud in order to arrange a raid or dacoity for the purpose of killing the Nawab of Tonk, that they offered Rs. 6,000 to a group of dacoits for that purpose and that they put up with some people with the object of arranging the raid but were not successful in inducing the men to commit it. Some more evidence of such designs was available soon after and the Nawab Sahib caused it to be officially recorded. But he has since been informed that the papers have been sent to the headquarters of the district. No inquiry seems to have been made into this affair, nor do any steps seems to have been taken against the persons who are alleged to be intriguing to bring about the Nawab Sahib's death. These apprehensions may seem to us at first sight somewhat needless, but we have to remember that we are dealing with the affairs of the North-West Frontier, and, as the Nawab Sahib reminds us in the memorial submitted to Mr. Donald in Urdu, not long ago the son of another prominent Frontier man, Khan Bahadur Azeem Khan, was killed in the bazar and the

culprit has, it is alleged, not yet been punished.

In the memorial submitted to Sir George Roos-Keppel the Nawab Sahib of Tonk seeks the protection of the Chief Commissioner 'against a state of things which involves not only material injury and personal indignity but also danger of life.' 'He respectfully prays that the Chief Commissioner may be pleased to inquire from Mr. Copeland how he had failed to discharge his duties as the Nawab of Tonk and to grant him an opportunity of 'showing cause' against whatever complaints Mr. Copeland may have against him. He urges pathetically that all the Deputy Commissioners of Dera Ismail Khan ever since he became Nawab of Tonk have been satisfied with the manner in which he has discharged his duties towards the Government and his people. He humbly refers to the services he has rendered on various occasions in connection with dacoities and 'confidential political affairs,' of which, he says, he possesses ample documentary proofs. Finally, he gives expression to a feeling of childlike want of comprehension which indicates far more vividly than any critic of the system of administration followed in the North-West Frontier Province could have done, the absence of that security which we associate only with the 'Reign of Law.' He asks why Mr. Copeland has adopted this attitude towards him, what it is that he wants him to do and in what he has failed to carry out Mr. Copeland's orders. He also asks whether 'the line of policy adopted by Mr. Copeland is in accordance with Your Honour's wishes,' for he confesses that, if it is so, he will 'bow before the will of the representative of the sovereign to willingly abide by Your Honour's directions.' He says he bore the consequences of Mr. Copeland's unjustifiable displeasure with patience so long as they were confined to injury to his property and legal rights. But now, in the words of the memorial, 'the situation having become very serious, he is not only afraid of some false case or cases being concocted against him, calculated to bring disgrace upon him and his family, but is also in fear of danger to his life. The subordinate district authorities, very naturally following the example set by the head of the district, listen to misrepresentations on the part of his enemies, and he cannot, for obvious reasons, even obtain legal advice in the district of Dera Ismail Khan.' How significant are the words 'very naturally' and 'for obvious reasons¡' But even more significant is the final appeal in which he asks the Chief Commissioner either to inquire into the causes which are at the root of the matter, or 'to be instrumental in restoring between Mr. Copeland and the petitioner those amicable relations which ought to subsist between the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan and the Nawab of Tonk.'

We know that there is an Indian Penal Code containing the penal law of the land to the shaping of which went the genius and the sustained labour of many distinguished English jurists. We also know that there is a Criminal Procedure Code which lays down at great length and in minute detail the procedure for the application of the penal laws. There is also a well-established revenue

system and regulations of landlords and tenants and the powers of the Revenue Courts. There is also an Executive and a Judicial administration in the Province maintained at no little cost to the tax-payer. But throughout this long memorial, drawn up no doubt by a lawyer, there is no appeal to any code or law or regulation and no protection is sought from any Court. The central figure of this pathetic document is a young gentleman no older than one of our 'young hot-heads,' probably an alumnus of Oxford or Cambridge who has left behind him at his College the reputation of extreme amiability and brought with him the culture and refinement of his University. It is not probable that he has a quarter of the wealth or anything like the position in his own conntry which the humble memorialist enjoys. But we miss in the memorial the true features and the expression of our amiable cultured and refined University man, and only see the lineaments of a stern, inexorable, vindictive god who has ito be propitiated by all kinds of offerings, and to obtain whose goodwill the trembling worshipper seeks the intercession of two of the *dii majores*. This young god stands to him in the place of the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code and all the Rules and Regulations of the Province. He represents the Revenue System, all the Courts and every Department of the Administration. In short, as the poet says:

سب کے جی میں ہے جگہ تیری جو تو راضی ہوا
مجھ پہ گویا اک زمانہ مہرباں ہو جائے گا

(Everyone has a place in his heart for thee. If only thou wert satisfied it would be as if the whole world was kind to me.)

We ask whether it is right or just to leave hundreds of thousands of people in all stations of life throughout large areas at the mercy of a single official whose word, and not that of King or Parliament or any Indian Legislature, is law to the entire population placed in his charge, even though his College mav remember him as an extremely amiable man and he may have brought from his University a good deal of its culture and refinement. Even in other provinces the power and prestige enjoyed by the head of the district develop in him self-reliance to an undu extent while they play havoc with college reputation for amiability and University traditions of culture and refinement. But in a province where the regulations place extraordinary powers in the hands of young men practicably responsible to nobody but their conscience we are not in the least surprised to hear the most prominent nobleman of the district being called a rascal by a gentleman who most probably used to say 'Please' and 'Thank you' to his servants, nor are we shocked to receive complaints of absolute defiance of law by one appointed to administer it who would not perhaps bear even a common soldier being deprived of his right to disobey a General acting on the authority of the Cabinet if the order was unreasonable.

It appears that no satisfactory answer was received by the Nawab of Tonk to his English memorial, while the Urdu memorial submitted to the present Chief Commissioner together with the copy of the English memorial to Sir Roos-Keppel has not been answered at all. We do not know

how far the allegations contained in these two memorials are correct, but a strong *prima facie* case has been made out and the Nawab Sahib of Tonk, knowing only too well the risks he runs by thus publishing his grievances, is still determined to run them rather than risk those still more serious consequences to which he has referred in his memorial. We think he should be given an opportunity of substantiating his complaints against Mr. Copeland and Mr. Copeland should also have an opportunity of meeting those complaints. We, therefore, trust the Hon. Chief Commissioner of the Province, or, failing him, the Government of India would institute an inquiry into the matter and publish the true facts of the case along with the Government's decision. The second memorial is the obvious result of despair, and the Nawab Sahib of Tonk appears to be so worrried that he would prefer to exchange his land and Jagir with some land on the Punjab canals and altogether give up his domicile in the Frontier Province. This is not a small matter, for evidently the Nawab Sahib of Tonk has considerable stake in the land even according to the highest bureaucratic standard. Let us wait and see how this matter is viewed by Government and what decision is arrived at in a case in which aristocracy is pitted against bureaucracy 'in these democratic days.'

20th June, 1914

Letter Form London

MR. M.A. JINNAH INTERVIEWED BY THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

Mr. M.A. Jinnh has given a *Daily Telegraph* representative the following summary of the more important points which the Indian National Congress wished to bring to the Government: 'To begin with (said Mr. Jinnah) I may say that Lord Crewe's action in inviting Indian opinion on his bill has produced very favourable impression in India, At present the India Council consists of ten members, two are financial experts and the others—nominated by the Secretary of State—are connected with the administration of India. Lord Morley, in order that his advisers might be kept in touch with Indian opinion, nominated two Indian members to the Council; but these gentlemen, although they had done excellent work, are nevertheless nominated and not elected. We think the time has come for the elective principle to be introduced; for there is now, what there was not a generation or two ago, an Indian electorate.

'Out proposal is that the India Council should consist of nine members, appointed for five years, but eligible, for course, for further term of service. Three of these members would be officials connected with the Indian administration, nominat-

ed by the Secretary of State; three would be Indian representatives; and the remaining three would be men of recognised ability in public life of the United Kingdon, not connected with the Indian administration. These last three members would bring an entirely independent judgment to bear on the problems submitted to the Council, and would, when necessary, hold the balance between the other two parties.

'A most important matter is this. We propose that the three Indian members, not being officials, shall be elected by a responsible electorate, viz. the representatives of local Legislative Councils, who number altogether about 140. With such a small and weighty electorate as this it is clear that no irresponsible person could be chosen an as a representative on the Council. We disapprove of the suggestion that a panel should be formed from which the Secretary of State could select three members ; for our experience leads us to believe that such a scheme would not work well in practice. The portfolio system, which has likewise been suggested, would also the unsatisfactory ; for the Council should be advisory, not administrative ; and the best results would be obtained if the members of it were not tied down to any particular department.'

'Mr. Jinnah went on to refer to the feeling of bitterness which had been aroused in India by the drastic regulations of the Press Act—a measure, he thought, which a Council on the new lines proposed would advise the Secretary of State to modify. The main grievance is that newspapers have to provide security before they can publish; and if the executive forfeits the security, or seizes the paper, no appeal to the High Court is permitted. This is felt to be a severe restriction on the liberty of the Press.

PREACHINC OF ISLAM

دیں اذانیں کبھی یورپ کے کلیساؤں میں
کبھی افریقہ کے تپتے ہوئے صحراؤں میں

30th March 1912

THE TRANSLATION OF THE QUR'AN

The Word of God as embodied in the Qur'an is in no need of the praise of man. But it is something that even those who do not believe in that revelation are compelled to acknowledge its great merits, and if such appreciators include one of the genius of Goethe, the Believers have reason to feel glad. That great poet wrote of the Qur'an that 'detailed injunctions of things allowed and forbidden, legendary stories of Jewish and Christian religion, amplifications of all kinds, boundless tautologies and repetitions, from the body of this sacred volume, which, to us, as often as we approach it, is repellent anew, next attracts us even anew and fills us with admiration, and finally forces us into veneration.' This is no place to explain the need or character of the detailed injunctions of things allowed and forbidden, or of the legendary stories which contain moral guidance in the form most suited to human nature; nor need we discuss the amplifications, tautologies, and repetitions by means of which the unity of God was preached with a unique insistence. But those who know how different the genius of Arabic is to most Aryan languages, and especially to those of modern Europe, will readily understand that the translation of the Qur'an—which forms the standard of literary composition in Arabic—into the tongues of Europe is not likely to make a revelation of that nature very attractive to European readers. Consideriing the distaste of Europe for things Asiatic, and specially of things spirtual, it is not every day that we can expect even a student like Goethe to conquer the first 'repulsion' and find attraction in the Qur'an and fresh admiration for what it inculcates. No wonder then that few Europeans reach the final veneration which Goethe attained. But if the Message of Unity is to reach Europe, and if the rationalism of the Qur'an is to force its way into that region, good translations into European languages are a great necessity. Probably some of our readers are aware that this has been undertaken by Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Syed Husain Bilgrami, C.S.I., whose familiarity with the best literature of England is as great as his scholarship in Arabic. Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk is perhaps the best writer of English to-day in India, and many must have his exquisite and rich verses without knowing to whom they were indebted for such elegant literature. As regards his knowledge of Arabic and of Moslem theology, few of our greatest Maulavis or Shams-ul-'Ulemas could lay claim

to his erudite scholarship. He is a voracious reader of books, in many languages and on all subjects, and the book that he has not yet read can hardly be worth reading. The fact that all this is known to comparatively few people is partly to the fact that his scholarship has been, if we many presume to say so, exceedingly selfish. He reads for his own pleasure and has forgotten only too often the claims of other even to a part of the pleasure that is his, pleasure which could enrich them greatly without in any way leaving him the poorer for it. But he is now busy in preparing for the public a translation of the Qur'an into English, and considering that he has selleted for it the language and idiom of the English translation of of the Bible, we can realise the difficulties as well as the magnitude of the task he has undertaken.

We learn with great satisfaction the he has already completed six surahs and is, in fact, revising the last of them. This means that at least a quarter of the work is done. We trust God will grant him long life and health and the unimpiared vigour of his intellect to complete this great work. He writes in a private letter : 'All my time is taken up by my translation work, and weary work it is, though extremely interesting. I have to turn up so any books of reference—lexicons, commentaries, etc.—that the physical labour is immense, let alone the brain-work.' But this is a labour of which the reward in the Hereafter is the true paradise of the Blest, the ridwan-Allah or satisfaction of Allah which transcends the beauty of the houris and the delights of the 'pure drink.' In this world, too, he has, besides his own satisfaction, which to one of his temperament must be worth many a fulsome flattery from others, the satisfaction that hundreds of millions of mankind would bless him for what he is doing. All this must no doubt sustain him, but it is our duty to share the burden with him so far as we can. As far as reference are concerned two of three competent assistants must be provided, and we trust His Highness the Nizam, Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal, and His Highness the Nawab of Rampur would soon come to his assistance. We cannot conceive that these rulers can place this duty lower than any which they owe to themselves, their Moslem subjects, their religion, and their Maker.

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18th October 1913

TAYEBA BEGUM MRS. KHEDIVE JANG'S APPEAL

In our last issue we published the appeal of Mrs. Khedive Jang (Hyderabad) for helping Mr. Khwaja Kamaluddin, who was doing uphill work of preaching Islam in England. The work is noble and deserves the respect and support of all. The least that we can do is to subscribe for the *Islamic Revew* which is so ably edited by Khwaja Sahib. Each new subscriber means that one more English man or woman would read the words

of truth about Islam and would learn that Islam as practised by Moslems is different to what he or she had been accustomed to hear from interested persons whose aim it is to paint it in the blackest of colours. It is very opportune at this juncture that efforts are being made to remove all doubts and suspicions, and this could only be done by finding means for enlightening the people of Great Britain. The fact that Khwaja Kamaluddin belongs to the Ahmadi sect should not be considered as a hindrance as he is preaching pure Islam there, and it is time Mussalmans learnt to work together for the great cause. We have every hope that Mrs. Khedive Jang's earnest appeal would not go unheeded and that intended subscribers would send in their names to her at the following address: Mrs. Khedive Jang, 'Bilgrami House,' Hyderabad (Deccan). The yearly subscription of the magazine is Rs. 4 only.

10th January 1914

Our London Letter

THE ISLAMIC SOCIETY

The Society owes no little debt of gratitude to Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, who has made himself financially responsible for the weekly prayers on Fridays, until the Society's funds permit their securing permanent rooms in London. The attendance is increasing every week and Indian Moslems, Turks, Egyptians, Persians and Englishmen are flocking every Friday to Lindsay Hall in Kensington where the Jooma-Namaz is held. The Khwaja Kamaluddin's on sermms are thoroughly appreciated and listened to most attentively by all those present. Lord Headley generally recites the subsequent Dua in English and his genuine and enthusiastic advocacy of Islam exercises a most invigorating influence on the members of the congregation. His Lordship's four little sons were present with him at this morning's Namaz and, in spite of their tender age, followed the proceedings with real interest.

The Khwaja Kamaluddin has issued invitations to the members of the Islamic Society for the Majlis-un Nikah at the Mosque in Woking, on the 21st instant, when Princess Saliah of Egypt will be married to Ata-ur-Rahman Shaikh Jelal-ud-din Mohamed Jerunkevite, a Russian nobleman, who has recently embraced Islam.

The three vacancies on the Committee of the Islamic Society have been filled by Mr. Syed Abdul Hasan Razavi, B.A., M.R.A.C. (Ciren), of Hyderabad, Deccan, Mr. Murtada, B.A. (Cantab) of Cairo and Hossein Manzalauvi Bey of Constantinople.

INDIAN MOSLEMS

The London All-India Moslem League has heen reconstituted. The resignations of the President, Mr. Ameer Ali, of Mr. C. A. Latif, the Vice-President, and of Mr. A. S. M. Anik, the honorary treasurer, have been withdrawn. At a meeting of the committee held last evening the Aga Khan was elected to the honourary presidency, in pursuance of a

telegraphic intimation from India of his willingness to accept that office. The meeting passed a cordial vote of thanks to the officers for withdrawing their resignations, and also to the Aga Khan.

These satisfactory developments are a result of eager and anxious discussion among Indian Mohammadans since we announced on October 31st that the London All-India Moslem League had been split by the attempts of the advanced section of 'Young Moslems' to impose their will upon the League. The hope we then expressed as being entertained by the Aga Khan—that the London League might be reconstructed on lines maintaining its position of co ordination and co-operation with the League in India—has now been fulfilled,

This happy outcome of the differences, which were brought to head by the demands made by Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan for the acceptance of an advanced policy, is mainly attributable to the support given to the hitherto recognised leaders by the best and most responsible Mussalman opinion in India. Among many other messages requesting Mr. Ameer Ali to continue to guide the League here were emphatic resolutions from two of the most active and important provincial Leagues in Northern India, those of the United Provinces and the Punjab. Before yesterday's meeting Mr. Ameer Ali, Mr. Latif, and Mr. Anik issued a joint letter to the members of the committee announcing their readiness to continue to give the League their services in the work of Mussalman development.

The rally of moderate Moslem opinion tothe more experienced leaders has no doubt been contributed to by the refusal of Lord Crewe, and afterwards of Mr. Asquith, to grant interviews to the two 'delegates,' Mr. Mohmmad Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan, when they were in this country—a fact well known in India, though it has not been made public hitherto in this country—*Times*.

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10th January 1914

ISLAM IN ENGLAND

We have received the following letter from Khwaja Kamal-ud-din Sahib from England, which we feel sure would be read with great interest in India: 'The following ladies and gentlemen have declared to me their embracement of Islam after the noble example of the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Headley. Their Muslim names I give against their original names: (1) Rt. Hon'ble Lord Headley—Saifur-Rahman Shaikh Rahmatullah Farook. (2) Viscount Gug De Poitier (a French nobleman) —— Mawahibur-Rahman Shaikh Salah-ud-din Ahmed Poitior. Captain Stanely Musgrade—Shaikh (3)Abdurrahman, (4) Mr. Jereukewite (a Russian nobleman)—AtaurRahman Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Mohamed. (5) A lady from the Upper Ten (in London) Name not to be disclosed)—— Zaniab. (6) Mrs. Clifford—Aysha. (7) Mrs. Violet Ebrahim—Fatima Ebraheem. (8) Mrs. Mee—Amatur-

rahman Qamrunnissa. (9) Miss Lilly Ransim—Amatullah Haleema. There is an other lady, Mrs. Giffird, but she has not seen me yet and no name has been given to her. There are also some twelve children of the above-mentioned persons.' We can speak from first-hand information now about the work of the Khwaja Sahib, and the higest compliment that we can pay him is that he reminds us of what we have read of the early missionaries of Islam who left hearth and home, and family and country, and wealth and comfort at the call of duty, and had one absorbing passion only, namely, the desire to carry the message of Unity and Submission to every living soul. His massive figure and rugged and unkempt appearance inspire you with the singleness of purpose of one for whom the world exists only for one divine purpose. He is no orator, but he impresses you with his absolute sincerity as no other can do. Islamic missionaries never possessed an organisation worth speaking of, but their individual zeal succeeded where mere organisations failed altogether. Now that we have secured this individual zeal in the Khwaja Sahib, let us provide the organisation as well. He must be provided with ample funds so that he may not have to worry himself with financial difficulties. This can be done in two ways : direct monetary contributions such as some kind friends have already sent from Bombay, and as a noble Moslem Ruler of a State has ordered as a permanent monthly grant ; and enlisting as subscribers of *Islamic Review* the organ of the Khwaja Sahib's Mission which is enlightening Europe on the subject of Islam as it is believed in by Mussalmans and not supposed to by Christians and atheists. In a later issue we shall discuse the subject at greater length, but we trust this appeal would induce all Mussalmans to contribute their mite to further the work which the Khwaja Sahib is so selflessly and vigorously doing.

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2nd May 1914

THE ISLAMIC SOCIETY

At to-day's Juma Namaz at Lindsay Hall, held under the auspices of the Islamic Society, a young Turkish lady, Miss Ataullah, was amongst the worshippers. This lady's brother, who was undergoing a course of instruction in aviation at Hendon about two years ago, had served the Society faithfully on the Committee for some time and consequently his sister's genial presence amongst us this morling at Lindsay Hall was particulary welcome and appreciated by the members of the Society present. Miss Ataullah's sister is a medical student at the Royal Free Hospital for women in London. She is to be heartily congratulated on her enlistment as a worker in this noble branch of science and she will carry our wishes for her success in her future medical work in Turkey. Yet another piece of evidence as to the advancement of Turikish women !

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9th May, 1914

KHWAJA KAMALUDDIN AND HIS SUPPORTERS

Some years ago Khwaja Kamaluddin left off a lucrative practice at the Chief Court Bar of Lahore, fell out of the ranks of those who were making a name for themselves as leaders of Moslem thought in India, and, unassisted by public funds, went to England to spread Islam in Europe or at least refute the baselss charges brought against Islam by the Christians and cultured pagans of Europe alike. To all intents and purposes he was given up as lost by Indian Mussalmans, and beyond receiving his little monthly magazine from London and glancing through it with a half critical, half approving eye they took no interest in him and his work. There was nothing sensational in his work, nothing like a pitched battle with the Secretary of State on the question of the Moslem University, the resolute defence of their desert homes by the Arabs of Tripoli, or the determined Ottoman defence of Adrianople, its loss and ultimate recapture. How could the Khwaja, then, expect any assistance or even interest in the work that he was so resolutely and so quielty doing? He was only fighting the battle of Islam against unheard-of odds, and what was Islam to Indian Mussalmans that they should watch the struggle with interest?

But luck did not altogether desert the Khwaja. The first convert whose last remnant of doubts about Islam he helped to remove turned out to be a Peer, and although we feel sure Lord Farooq Headley is too good a Moslem to base any claim of superiority on anything but the basis of Islam's aristocracy, *taqva* (or God-fearingness, if the term be permitted), Indian Mussulmans had left the theory of Islamic aristocracy sufficiently far behind and acclaimed the conversion of a Peer quite in the spirit of the *noveau riche* of America acclaiming a Peer as a son-in-law. *Ecce signum*! Behold the mircale! The requisite sensation having been provided, Moslem India instantly turned towards the Moslem Missionary in England, and for three whole months he was the unfailing theme of every conversation in Moslem India. Nothing that Indian Mussalmans could do for him was too much. Subscriptions were being opened on all sides for him and because we ourselves were unable to give the time necessary for this work many of our friends accused us of being lukewarm in such a sacred cause. Some Ahmadi gentlemen at Lahore had, however, constituted themselves into an All-India Committee for the purpose, and we directed everyone who wished to offer any assistance to the Khwaja Sahib to the doors of Lahore Committes. But despite much talk of Moslem solidarity we found to our great regret that sectarian doubts began to assail some Mussalmans in this country. The charlatan also found this to be an excellent opportunity, and availing himself of sectarian suspicions began to work for his own selfish ends. We shall be failing in our duty



Thinker



Orater

if we did not mention that the action of some Ahmadi gentlemen assisted the designs of the charlatan by providing considerable material for sectarian doubts.

The net result is that hardly any assistance has been rendered to the Khwaja Sahib and even the ambitions of those who wished to profit by the Khwaja Sahib's success have not been satisfied. That's what the men have done, though we must add that some kind friends in Bombay sent their contributions as soon as they were informed that he was doing good work. But the response of the Moslem women has not been equally slow or selfish. None of them has, of course, tried to ride on the crest of the wave that the conversion of Lord Headely created in our languid sea. That is some negative proof, but positive proof also has not been wanting. Mrs. Khedive Jung (Tyeba Begum), the gifted daughter of Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Bahadur, has followed in the footsteps of her father and equally liberally assisted the Khwaja Sahib with her own contributions. Mrs. Humayun Mirza, the Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Khawateen-i-Islam (Moslem Women's Association) of Hyderabad, has sent Rs. 500, and now Tyeba Begum has sent another Rs. 500 (Hali) through Mr. Shaukat Ali, the Secretary of the Khuddam-i-Ka'bah.

This last is a contribution of Mrs. Hakim-ud-Daulah Bahadur, the Vice-President of the Hyderabad Ladies' Association. In *Paigham-i-Sulh* appread a simple message from Khawja Sahib in these words :

میرا ارادہ ہے کہ نبی کریم کی بعض حدیثیں
مختصر سی پاکٹ بک میں جمع کر کے ہزار چھاپ
دوں اور مفت تقسیم کروں - یہ امر اس قابل
نہیں کہ اس کے لیے چندہ کھولا جائے - یہ سوال
صرف دو تین سو روپیہ کا ہے - اگر کوئی محمد کا
شیدائی اپنے آقا کی کلام کو مغرب میں تقسیم کرانا
چاہتا ہو تو یہ سہل طریقہ ہے -

We do not know what effect this simple and direct appeal created on Moslem manhood, but we now know how it affected Moslem womanhood. Khwaja Sahib can bring out two series of Pocket Editions of selections from the great Prophet's Traditions or publish three or four thousand copies of one series instead of a thousand only for which he had asked some lover of Mohammad to contribute. Mrs. Aqeel Bilgrami (the daughter of the late Khan Buhadur Maulvi Syed Ali Hasan whose sad death occurred at Delhi only the other day) has also sent Rs. 1,000 (Hali) through Tyeba Begam who is her sister-in-law. This is what a few women who love God and fear Him have done. In a way it was easier for them to do this, for men have taught them only too well the lessons of self-sacrifice and devotion to duty. But have the teachers themselves nothing to learn in this direction ? Let them answer the question—if they dare. Khwaja Sahib is not alone now at Woking. Another enthusiast who has worked in America and Japan before this has joined Khwaja Kamaluddin, and let us assure those who suffer from sectarian suspicions that the assistant whom Khwaja Sahib has received with open arms is a Sunni and non-Ahmadi. We shall be glad to give further information to anyone who asks for it and assist him in sending the funds to the Khwaja Sahib and to his

assistante. But once more our eyes turn towards a woman, noble, brave and patriotic, to whom no one has appealed for a good cause in vain. Sultan Jahan Begum's is a name familiar to all who work for such causes, and if by any chance Her Highness has not already made liberal grant for this purpose, we are sure that she would do so now and that the support from Bhopal would be in proportion to Her Highness's well-known munificence. It seems to us that the time when in all public affairs cf the Mussalmans the lead should be taken by noble women like Her Highness the Begam Sahiba of Bhopal, like Mrs. Hakim-ud-Daulah (a lady who, we are told, possesses talents and learning equalled only by her zeal in all good causes and who contributed most liberally for the Turkish Relief Fund), like Mrs. Aqeel Bilgrami, and, last but not least, like Tyeba Begam Mrs. Khedive Jung. It is the women of Islam that are the foremost in all such enterprises and it is our experience that while retaining all their womenly grace they are far more manly also than men.

23rd May 1914,

Our London Letter

MR. SARFARAZ HUSAIN IN LONDON

Mr. Sarfaraz Husain, who has come over to England to assist Mr. Khwaja Kamaluddin in his missionary work in this country, was amongst the worshippers at last Friday's Namaz at Lindsay Hall, held under the auspices of the Islamic Society. Some of your readers are no doubt aware that Mr. Sarfaraz Husain has already visited the Far East and the United States, entirely at his own personal expense, with the sole object of spreading Islam in those parts of the world. He has now come over 'to London to work 'at the feet of my chief, Khwaja Kamaluddin' — as he put it himself — and his assistance will undoubedly be of immense value to the Khwaja Sahib. The latter, in welcoming Mr. Sarfaraz Husain, briefly expressed his keen appreciation of and sincere admiration for Mr. Husain's true Moslem spirit and the devotion and energy with which he has been for the past several years advocating the sacred cause of Islam in foreign lands. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, who is an old college-fellow of Mr. Husain in their Aligarh days, also cordially endorsed the sentiments that had been so eloquently expressed by Khwaja Kamaluddin towards that gentleman and wished him every success in his noble work in this country.

The fact that Mr. Sarfaraz Husain has personally declared at Lindsay Hall his intention of assisting and helping the Khwaja Sahib in his religious work in England is very significant and very strongly emphasises my remarks in your columns a few weeks ago that Khwaja Kamaluddin has been advocating the great cause of Islam in this country on absolutely

non-sectarian basis Those who are meanly accusing him of sectarian instincts are either perfectly ignorant of the position or else are doing so with ulterior motives. Nothing could be further from the truth, and Mr. Sarfaraz Husain's generous acknowledgment of the Khwaja Sahib's 'chiefship' must for once and for all dispose of any doubts or fears in that direction. Khwaja Kamaluddin's work in England deserves the unanimous support of all true Moslems, irrespective of sect.

TEN YEARS OF THE ENTENTE CORDIALE

The Press of this country has been lately full of the benefits that have been obtained by England and France as a direct result of the *Entente* between the two countries, the tenth anniversary of which has been just celebrated on both sides of the Channel with extraordinary enthusiasm. The King's recent State visit to Paris has been recognised in certain quarters as a fitting culmination of the decade of Anglo-French 'understanding', which has just ended, and the French capital has obviously and naturally produced an excellent impression on His Majestyl's loyal subjects in these islands. I am sure the Indian Moslem subjects of His Majesty are equally impressed with the successful issue of their Sovereign's visit to France and share in common with their other fellow-subjects no little satisfaction and delight at the growth and development of the *entente cordiale* with the great neighbouring Republic.

They cannot, however, be reasonably expected to read through the dages of the past ten year's Anglo-French history with anything like unmixed pleasure. They cannot, and will not, lose sight of the fact that the *entente cordiale* that came into existence between Great Britain and France ten years ago, was the evil precursor of the 'grouping of the Power' in Europe, which has been instrumental in shattering the independence and integrity of so many Moalem States in Asia, Europe and Africa. Egypt, Morocco, Persia, Tripoli and Turkey have each in turn suffered. In days gone, by Great Britain's 'splendid isolation' was indeed a guarantee for the safety and wellbeing of smaller countries abroad. Disinterestedly and fearlessly, she could then champion the cause of the oppressed States. She was not in those days involved in any European agreements or 'understanding,' and could thus adopt independent action in the cause of humanity, nationality and freedom. Under those conditions, as is a matter of history, she could assert herself effectively. How different the position is to-day! Sir Edward Grey's association with the Foreign Office has produced nothing but ruination and disaster for the Moslem States, abroad, some of which had for years been bound by traditional ties of the closest friendship with this country. The abominable partition of Persia at the very birth of her freedom, the wicked exploitation of European Turkey, the outrageous and unprovoked raid on Tripoli and the conquest of Morocco can all be traced directly or indirectly to the *entente cordiale* Great Britain, now intimately concerned in European politics, has

been forced to sacrifice her former freedom of action. As a member of the *Triple Entente*, he is unable to move in any way without 'sounding' and indeed securing the consent of the other two Powers in the *Entente* Group. The *Triple Entente* policy as a whole is being shaped in relation of that of the Riple Alliance. In short, Great Britain is not to-day enjoying that unique position in the Concert of Europeans which was her unquestionable right in the past. Moreover, even in the Group of Powers with which she is associated, she is in reality playing a secondary or even a tertiary part. We have seen how humiliating and degrading a part she has taken in the Persian question, in which the depostie Government of the Tsar has openly and deliberately ignored her and has throughout had it all its own way, without even a feeble protest from Whitehall, in spite of solemn pledges and sacred promises. The German invasion scare has practically reduced British foreign diplomacy to the state of impotency. The whole country is so deeply overcome with the fright of a German invasion that it is prepared to sacrifice all her best traditions, her past glory and good name in the interests of brutal Russia and mercenary France. The obvious result is that to-day Great Britain is not a partner in the *Triple Entente*, but is in reality a slave to the whims and fancies of her two 'friends' in the *Entente* Group of Powers.

In concequence, Russia and France are eating Persia and Morocco respectively, as they feel convinced that their other colleague in the *Entente* would not dare to interfere with their ghastly plunders of these two ancient Moslem States, or that if she would in any way attempt to stop their ravages in those innocent and powerless countries, the mere threat of dissolution of the *Entente*, with the German bogy always staring her in the face, would be more than sufficient to silence her. The Triple Alliance is similarly convinced of the inability of Great Britain to interfere or even protest against any action it may feel disposed to take. The Italian raid on Tripoli could never have occurred without such conviction as to the unavoidable and necessary attitude of England. Bosnia and Herzegovina likewise could never have been lost to Turkey, had Austria not been fully alive to the helplessness of the British position. The Triple Alliance knows that no Great Power could to-day declare war on the Continent without causing a European War, which in itself is a sufficient restriction of, or, indeed, a formidable reason against any such procedure. The awful consequences of the grouping of Powers in Europe have thus proved most fatal and destructive to the several Moslem States, which unfortunately may happen to be situated near any great European Power.

The Anglo-French *entente cordiale*, as I have said before, is mainly responsible for the gradual and successive loss of so many Moslem countries and it will remain in Moslem history as a landmark, not of progress, prosperity or freedom, but of ruination, disaster and damnation.

THE CORONATION OF THE SHAH

The Persia Committee met at the

House of Commons yesterday under the chairmanship of Lord Lamington. It was unanimously resolved that the Government should be asked in view of the approaching coronation of the Shah, to urge upon the Russian Government the withdrawal from Northern Persia of the Russian expeditionary force.

THE AUTOCRAT OF CHINA : ABOLITION OF CABINET AND SENATE

According to the Pekin correspondent of the *Times* the Convention appointed to amend the provisional constitution has completed its task, and it is expected that the document will be promulgated shortly. Extensive powers are conferred on the President Yuan Shih-Kali, but that is hardly worth considering since he has wielded dictatorial authority since the dissolution of Parliament. The amended constitution is of little importance, since it can be torn up or re-amended *ad infinitum* merely at the convenience of the political situtation of Government. The essential feature of the political situation in China remains entirely unchanged — namely, that Yuan Shih-Kali is dictator.

The amendments, however, provide some formal changes not without interest. The Cabinet and Premier disappear and also, apparently, the Senate. Departmental Ministers hereafter will be responsible directly to the President, who will be served by a Secretary of State instead of by a Premier. An Advisory Council will be formed upon which the President will depend for sanction in dealing with Parliament. Some sort of an elective assembly is provided for, but as the constitution will be arranged by a body nominated by the Government, its powers are not likely to be extensive nor would its character be seriously representative of the people. The Advisory Council will, of course, be nominated as also the Convention which will draw up the permanent constitution.

Whether Yuan Shih-Kali is wise in practically excluding Young China from any voice in the affairs of State remains to be seen. The Constitution as amended bears not the slightest resemblance to the charter casually prepared at Nanking two years ago and will certainly embitter the feelings of the whole revolutionary party against the President and may before long lead to a further rebellion. Yuan Shih-Kali can justify his arbitray assumption of power only by the successful use of that power in the future.

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4th July 1914

Our London Letter

QARI SARFARAZ HUSAIN ON THE ‘ GOSPEL OF ISLAM’

Qari Sarfaraz Husain of Delhi, who has come over to this country to help Khwaja Kamaluddin in his missionary work, made his first public appearance before the British public at Caxton Hall, on Monday last. He delivered an able address on the ‘Gospel of Islam.’ The

Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali occupied the chair at the meeting, which was largely attended.

In introducing the Qari Sahib to the audience, Mr. Ameer Ali referred to him as an eminent scholar of Aligarh, who, after having travelled far and wide in the service of Islam, has now come over to England to continue the excellent work that he has taken upon himself as a Moslem missionary. The lecturer in the course of an excellent address dealt at first with the various schools of philosophy. He proceeded to examine the different ancient systems of religion not from a 'destructive' standpoint — as he was particularly careful to observe—but from a purely 'constructive' point of view; he further went on to show the necessity of a religion like Islam, which could only succeed in perfecting the previously existing systems of the various great religions that had prevailed before the birth of Islam. The Gospel of Islam, the lecturer went on, was most simple. It consisted of 'our belief in the unity of God, our acceptance of Mohammad as His Prophet and our recognition of peace, goodwill, and brotherhood towards humanity at large. 'Islam recognised no colour or social distinctions. A prince and a peasant were on equal footing and every true Moslem looked upon his coreligionist as a dear brother. There was no other religion that showed greater toleration towards those who professed other faiths than Islam; and, notwithstanding the popular belief that is erroneously held in certain quarters, the holy Koran has laid it down as an axiom that 'there shall be no compulsion in religion.' It is thus absolutely against the tenets of Islam to exercise the least degree of compulsion in converting people into the faith of the Moslems. This could take place only voluntarily and of their own freewill. Prayers and charity were likewise two of the most important elements that occupied a large share in the Islamic teachings.

The Chairman congratulated the Qari Sahib on his instructive lecture, which, he said, was appreciated by everbody present. He was glad he had been afforded an opportunity of being present on that occasion. He failed to see as to why Christianity and Islam could not both work hand in hand. He had humbly worked for forty years in the service of Islam and he thought he had succeeded in some degree to remove the misunderstandings and misconceptions that unhappily prevail in this country concerning the great religion of the Moslems. It was sometimes very disappointing to find high dignitaries of the Church deliberately attacking Islam, without even having the slightest notion as to its real doctrines and teachings. The Kikuyu controversy had revealed certain very interesting 'scenes' in the Christian world, but he would urge the Christian missionaries to devote their attention and zeal primarily to their own people at home. The heathen in the wilds of Africa is naturally drawn towards Islam and that is why, in spite of the gigantic missionary efforts, Christianity has hopelessly failed to overcome Islam as its rival in that and other parts of the world. He said one heard a great deal about Islam degrading the position of women. As a matter of fact, Islam had

donemore to raise the status of women in the world than any other creed, religion, or system. As a daughter a woman was not dependent on her father's will. The law provided that she should take a proportionate share of his property—half as much as a son. She received thecare and attention of her mother until marriage, and as a wife she possessed definite rights which she could maintain against her husband. She could hold property and there was no law of coverture.

During the meeting, a young English lady, Miss Faire, publicly declared her acceptance of the Islamic faith. Standing on the platform, she declared that she embraced 'Islam, completely and finally.' She then recited in Arabic the Moslem Formula of Faith, whereupon the Moslem members of the audience offered prayers for the new convert. Mr. Ameer Ali offered his warm congratulations to the lady on her adoption of the faith.



Muslim India



MUSLIM INDIA

کس کس طرح ستاتے ھیں یه بت ھمیں نظام
ھم ایسے ھیں که جیسے کسی کا خدا نه ھو

8th July 1911

'HEADS I WIN, TAILS—YOU LOSE'

It was brought to the notice of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab that while the Moslem population in the municipal limits of Wazirabad was much in excess of the Hindu population, the representatives of the Mussalmans were in a minority on the Municipal Board. His Honour, whom no one can accuse of undue partiality to Mussalmans, took steps to redress the evil by fixing the proportion of the representation of the two communities; but his decision has been criticised incessantly since then, because a section of the Hindus has begun to feel, almost for the first time, that the position of a minority, in which the Mussalmans are in almost all provinces, is not nearly so agreeable as that of a dominant majority. The same recognition led to the unparalleled agitation against the Partition of Bengal, which has given to us the anarchist and the political assassin and dacoit. The Hindu minority is not so small in the Punjab as in Eastern Bengal; but then the Moslem majority is not so weak, disorganised and backward either. The result of the equality of forces is agitation against the Government and the Mussalmans, which is an object lesson in political consistency. Says the *Punjabee*: 'The fact that in Wazirabad the Mohammadans considerably outnumber the Hindus and the Sikhs combined is no justification for permanently placing the Hindus and the Sikhs in a position of utter dependence and subordination in the Municipal Committee. Mere numerical strength, we have stated, is no standard by which to determine the extent of the representation... To place an important community permanently in such a position as almost to eliminate its representation is certainly an irritating proceeding.' We make a present of these remarks of the *Punjabee* to our Allahabad and Lucknow contemporaries, the *Leader* and the *Advocate* with the hope that they would apply them to the case of the United Provinces, where the Mussalmans are 'in a position of utter dependence and subordination' in local bodies, and 'an important community' is being daily subjected to the 'irritating proceeding' of being placed 'in such a position as almost to eliminate its representation.' The demand of the Mussalmans is not that the minority should be converted into a majority. They would be satisfied if the minority is made more

substantial in local bodies than its proportion of 14 per cent of the total population. The Local Government, following the lines adopted by the Imperial Government and the Secretary of State, invites the Commissioners of Divisions to express their views on Moslem representation, using the increase of the proportion to 21 per cent, as the basis of discussion. The suggested increase of 7 per cent has already led to more than ten leaders of the *Leader*. But in itself it is a trifle, and we are not so sure that it will help Mussalmans much. Even then they would be but a minority of one in every five and will have to depend on the goodwill of the other four. It would be by courting the friendship of the Hindus rather than their hostility that the Mussalmans will be able to safeguard their interests. Yet there is not enough magnanimity in the majority even to concede this trifle. The point may not be conceded for its own sake. It can at least be the consideration offered to secure the co-operation of the Mussalmans in emancipating civic life from official control. Shylock was asked to show mercy, but he replied that it was not in the bond, and insisted on having his pound of flesh. If the Mussalmans may not appeal to the magnanimity of the Hindus, they might surely appeal to their business instincts. But communal prejudice is evidently too strong and has overpowered both sense and sensibility. Under these circumstances it is indeed astonishing that the only faculty which is keener than ever is the one—a psychologist could give it a multisyllablic name —which is always in search of specious fallacies wherewith to support an indefensible position. Where the test of numbers gives such politicians a majority, as in the United Provinces, it is the only possible test for representation, and minorities are requested to follow the obiter dictum of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Augustine Birrel, who, adopting the remark of Shylock, said, 'Minorities must suffer; it is the badge of their tribe.' But where this test goes against them, as in Wazirabad, there is no virtue in numbers. The Mussalmans must stake all their interests on a spin of the coin, and 'Heads I win, tails—you lose!'

12th August 1911

THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT AND THE MUSSALMANS

We confess we find it difficult to understand the policy and the methods of the Bombay Government. Of all Local Governments none has a greater reputation for being 'sympathetic' towards the Congress School of Politicians, though that does not prevent its dictating courses

of study to a University in which the Government's nominees form the great majority. But, on the other hand, this reputation does not prevent its getting attacked fairly furiously by the shining lights of the Congress. The Hon. Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta's recent reference to the Government's non-official nominees as being more official than the officials themselves, and of his frank admission that there were two parties in the Council, a Government party and an anti-Government party, seem to have roused His Excellency to give a dignified but crushing reply to the knight of Bombay. The question is whether even such a reply would cure the habit of a lifetime. When it is well known that the hectoring of the Congress and of the castes and classes which constitute it succeed better than the loyalty and long-suffering acquiescence of silent minorities we do think the hectoring would grow less. In fact, the Bombay Government seems to be putting a premium on such tactics. Last year the Hon. Maulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad had compared the statistics of Moslems in Government service in 1885 with the figures of that year, which proved conclusively that in spite of the admitted progress of Mussalmans in the last quarter of a century there was no change in the figures of Moslem employment in the Services, unless it was one for the worse. But the Bombay Government and the Hon. Mr. Setalvad still harped on the old string of a famine of qualified Mussalmans. What was clearly needed then was the publication of individual instances, and the Hon. Maulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad drew the attention of the Government to the case of a Mussalman who had stood first in the High Court Pleaders' examination and was a candidate for a Subordinate Judgeship, there being then only one Moslem Sub-Judge out of a total of 113 such officers. What was the reply of the Government? 'They were not prepared to discuss in public the merits of individuals!' This was indeed a highly dignified rebuke, but it was at the same time the last indication of official bankruptcy. Dignity, indeed, covers many an insolvent, but a 'dignified' reply never turned away agitation. Nobody wished to discuss these more or less personal questions in public; but it was the Bombay Government's own attitude that provoked such discussions. At the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council Maulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad succeeded in extracting from the Government the following information. During the last ten years four persons were made Mamlatdars (Tahsildars) in the Central Division without having passed the Higher Standard Departmental Examination which is necessary for such appointments. We are often told that the Mussalmans have been favoured at the expense of other communities. If so, one would have expected to find at least half of the number appointed without the necessary qualifications to the post of Mumlatdar to be Mussalmans. But the Government of Bombay has vouchsafed the information that not only none of them was a Mohammadan, but that there are six Mohammadans in the same Division who have passed the Higher Standard Examination and are still serving in the Subordinate Service. Favoured, indeed! If

this is favour, the Mussalmans would like to be spared from such favours.

باز آئے تیرے لطف و کرم سے ستم شعار
بس بس خدا کے واسطے تو مہرباں نہ ہو

30th September 1911

'THE KABULI'

'The Kabuli' in Calcutta has fallen on evil times and an unsympatheitc Press. For much of the plight that now threatens to embitter his destiny in the metropolis of the Indian Empire, he has to thank none but his own stars. A child of the mountain and free air, born and bred amid stern inhospitable rocks, and amidst conditions of perpetual war against Nature and man, he can trust only himself, and looks on everything else in the Universe as ranged in conspiracy against him. The artificial codes of conduct and of law which a complex society has organised for its complex needs mystify him beyond measure; and like the bird pecking freely at the grain unsuspecting the snare behind it, the untutored child of Nature descends on the plains of India in search of food, and quite unconsciously stumbles into the clutches of the law. The word, 'Kabuli' like several other misnomers current in Bengal, does scant justice to his origin and quite unnecessarily besmirches him with the odium that attaches to 'aliens.' No doubt, he sometimes hails from the Land Debatable beyond the N.-W. Frontier and from Afghanistan, but in the majority of cases he is quite as good a British subject as the Bengalee of Calcutta or the Marwari of Ajmer. It is, therefore, a little irrelevant, if not positively insulting to His Majesty's 'Kabuli' subjects to talk of legislating them out of Calcutta, if not altogether out of existence. But the majority of the Calcutta newspapers and some of their patrons, the Marwaris, are dead against the 'Kabuli' and by sheer dint of agitation in the Press the hands of the Government have been forced to take a very extraordinary step in the matter. What is the 'Kabuli' problem? Stated at its worst, it amounts to this, that a number of Pathans from the Frontier have established extensive trade relations in Calcutta and the Mofussil, that they lend money at exorbitant rates of interest, that they enforce the payment of their dues at demand, that they congregate in public thoroughfars and that in some of their manners and dealings they make life a little uncomfortable for the timid folk around them. Even if all this were true, does it constitute so formidable an indictment as to justify a resort to such special measures of stringent character as are said to be in contemplation? We are sure the ordinary law is quite adequate to deal with the problem in every one of its aspects. As a money-lender the 'Kabuli' is alleged to be a very Shylock in his severity, though we doubt very much if some of his milder compatriots of the 'buniya' variety could have very much to learn from him in the mysterious art of swelling the 'unearned

increment'. But when he is so notoriously exorbitant as a usurer, we are at a loss to understand why people fall into his debts. And then, the help of the courts of justice can be invoked by anyone in all cases of 'Kabuli" high-handedness and opession. In spite of all that is dogmatically asserted against him, 'the Kabuli' is not a wanton law-breaker by instinct. We doubt very much if his share of crime would be found to be proportionately greater than that of any other classs of persons, if the comparative statistics of the police court cases were to be compiled. Sometimes it is alleged that 'the Kabuli' obstructs the thoroughfares and is, as such, a public nuisance. But for every stray Kabuli on the Harrison Road, we have hundreds of boxes and offs and ends of Marwari shops littering the pathways and obstructing pedestrian traffic. We have no objection, however, to separate quarters being erected for the housing of the homeless "Kabulis" if the Press campaign against them is to stop with their 'segregation.' But we have reason to believe that quite serious proposals are on foot in the reason to believe that quite serious proposals are on foot in the Calcutta Corporation to pass some sort of registration act for 'the Kabulis.' The proposal has been nailed with admiration by the *Advocate* of Lucknow and some other organs of the Hindu Press. These papers are, however, nevre noted for their consistency. If we mistake not, it is exactly these valiant champions of the 'birthrights of humanity' which thundered loudest against the 'iniquitous' measure of registration enjorced against the Indians in South Africa. With what grace can they delight in the same 'iniquity' in India against their own fellow-subjects. come of 'the Kabulis' are the subjects of H.M. the Amir; and how will these organs of 'India Opinion' relish the idea if the Amir were to propose the deportation of his Hindu subjects by way of retaliation? Unfortunately for 'the Kabulis', the last Bakr-Id riots, which were none of his seeking, have combined the Marwari community against him, and all possible and impossible reasons are being pressed forward to suppress him. Among other things we are told the Marwari ladies go out early in the morning to the riverside and consequently 'the Kabuli' should be removed out of sight! We wonder what would the Marwaris say if they were asked to 'segregate' and get themselves registered! They too are 'aliens' in the sense in which the term is used in Bengal, and their wealth and affluence owe much to a softened version of the trademethods attributed to 'the Kabuli.' But they have champions in the Press, while 'the Kabuli' can rely for fairplay only on himself or the sense of justice of Government.

18th November 1911

HINDI IN CASHMERE

On the strength of a very definite information that had reached us, we had published a paragraph in our issue of the 28th October, calling attention to an order of the Cashmere Education Department which, we had been told, had been issued substituting Hindi for Urdu as a medium of instruction in State schools. An esteemed correspondent, however, in forms us that no such order has been issued, and that our apprehensions were not based on facts. We are glad our previous information has turned out to be unfounded. We unreservedly withdraw what we had said then, and publish our correspondent's account of the matter in full. Says our correspondent: 'I see that you, too, have come out with a note on "Hindi in Cashmere". This agitation is very unfortunate as it is absolutely groudless. There has been no order whatever issued either against Urdu or in favour of Hindi. All that has been done is this. So far both Persian and Sanskrit were taught in the Primary Classes, but recently Urdu and Hindi grammars were introduced also as optional subjects. On this it was considered by the Education Department that it became too heavy a burden for boys of tender age, and in their interest, therefore, they have revised the scheme and excluded both Sanskrit and Persian from those classes. In the Upper Primary and Middle classes both those languages are still allowed as optional subjects as heretofore, along with Urdu and Hindi. There is thus, you will see, nothing to condemn the Durbar about, and it can in no way be called an Urdu and Hindi question. 'The majority of the boys do take Urdu and Persian here, and so far as I can see there is little chance of those tongues being replaced by Hindi which is not in any sense a popular language either in Jammu or Cashmere. For Cashmere, indeed, he would a bold man who ever suggested Hindi to become compulsory in the schools. Urdu is quite enough for the people to learn, and so far as I can see they are never likely to take kindly to Hindi.'

2nd March 1912

THE KARAMAT FUND

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Karamat Husain of the Allahabad High Court has created an endowment of Rs. 1,80,000 for the education of Moslem girls. The creation of this magnificent trust for such a useful and beneficent purpose will keep the name of the learned donor alive as a great benefactor of his community. It hals now-a-days become a fashion to taak of education as the only panacea for the ills of the Mussalmans. Fashionable opinions, however, are geneally lip-deep in most cases; and

though even the wisest dullard amongst the wiseacres of the community will begin to prate on the least provocation about the advantages of a widespread communal enlightenment, it is not a little disconcerting to see the actual indifference of the leaders who have inexcusably failed to do anything practical for the spread of popular education. When the education of Moslem boys is as yet in a disorganised condition and subject to thousand and one freaks of opinion and random accidents, the education of Moslem girls can scarcely be said to exist in any modest sense of the term. It is, therefore, all the more creditable to the Hon. Mr. Justice Karamat Husain, that he should have exercised a wise discrimination in his choice and applied his liberality to an object that deserved and needed it most. His interest in female education is well known. He has hitherto supervised with great care a Normal School at Allahabad for the training of Ustanis. The school has been doing a useful work in its own way. The generous endowment that he has now made in the cause of female education will earn for him the undying gratitude of the community. We do not know at present how and under what conditions the trust will work, nor can we state what definite scheme it has been set apart to promote. Until we know something definite and in detail about the objects that the donor has in view, we cannot offer any useful opinion or suggestion. We trust, however, that the splendid gift will be turned into a source of abiding benefit to female education and will be most usefully applied.

3rd February. 1912

THE VICEROY AT DACCA

The visit of His Excellency the Viceroy to Dacca, following after the sudden changes announced at Delhi, had been looked forward to by the Mussalmans throughout India with more than anxious concern. The changes in themselves, at any rate as regards their downright physical aspects, may not be as formidably portentous as they look; and beyond bruising certain hearts, dislocated a few vested interests and affecting the material and moral progress of the large Moslem Community in Eastern Bengal, they may not mean any distinct departure in the spirit and methods of the policy that underlies the governance of this country. But acts of State have not a mere physical aspect only. It is their moral and political effect that mostly matters, that ultimately determines their utility in the scheme of Government. The Durbar announcement may in official parlance mean nothing more than the removal of the capital to Delhi and the redistribution of certain administrative areas. It is not, however, in the spirit of redtapism that the value of these executive coups has been assessed. Calcutta feels as if it has been betrayed. The Bengali Hindu has risen several cubits in political stature and is singing lustily songs in praise of 'constitutional agitation'. The

Behari is swearing at a section of the Bengali Press that would not willingly let him enjoy the luxury of a sepparate High Court. The Mussalman, not only in Eastern Bengal, but in every other part of the country, has been left floundering in a sea of doubts to examine his political charts and compass and estimate anew the resources of 'contented loyalty'. Even official despatches conceived in the spirit of excessive gratulation and soaked in antique sentiment have their aftermath.

Be this as it may, the changes have come to stay. It is with their political and moral effect on the Mussalman opinion that we are primarily concerned to-day. Though their immediate practical effect will be elt by the Eastern Bengal Mussalman, the manner in which the ripping open of a 'slected fact' has been carried out has profoundly impressed the community throughout the land. To the Mussalman it is something peculiarly strange, this abrupt character of the change that came over the spirit of the Government policy. They feel the shifting of the political horizons and observed with no uncertain feelings the emergence of the new, incalculable forces that may conceivably render their political creed oldashioned and obsolete and thrust them out of their legitimate share in the direction of Indian affairs. If the Government can bow to a persistent political agitation out of a mere consideration of expediency in one case, why not in another? If the legitimate facilities afforded to the Mussalmans can be taken away and solemn pledge broken at the bidding of a few demagogues with historcial followings, there is no knowing that the general political status of the community may not suffer a similar fate. Such are the fears and misgivings that have begun to assail the minds of even the most temperate and politically conservative sections of the Mussalmans, and we leave it to Government of India to judge how far the existence of such misgivings in a 'contented and loyal' community is desirable in the best interest of the country.

The Vicerory's visit to Dacca, in view of the Moslem feelings throughout the country, possessed unusual interest and importance at the present time. He was expected not only to strike the keynote of the policy that the Government of United Bengal is to adopt in order to mitigate, in some measure, the hardship of the community that has been dethrown from its predominant position, but indirectly reassure the Mussalmans of India that the pledges given to them in regard to their political status shall be kept in full integrity. The Moslem deputation that waited on Lord Hardinge on the 31st January, headed by Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, was no mere conventional body of gentlemen of Dacca, approaching the Viceroy as a matter for courtesy. It was charged witht a vital mission to lay before His Excellency the feelings of the Moslem communities in Eastern Bengal created by the altered situation in which it has been left. What passed between the Viceroy and the Moslem representatives was not made public until this morning and even then the Private Secretary of the Viceroy only selected a few daily papers for communicating His Excellency's pronouncement. We do not know why the shroud of secrecy has been thrown round a matter which

has been in one way or another of so much pith and moment to the Mnsselman since the changes came to be announced. We hope it is not the result of a habit of secrecy from after the recent secret despatches, or the clinging traits of diplomacy which have outlived their necessity. In any case, we think we have genuine grievence in being wholly ignored even now when the Government has chosen to communicate what it needlessy regarded as secret and confidential.

We have already dealt in full detail with the needs of Mussalmans of Bengal and how these needs should have their full and legitimate share in all the political institutions and the public service of the province. Above all, their educational needs should be particularly looked after and should receive careful and special treatment. The *Times of India* has dealt with this question in a very sympathetic and luminous article on 'The Muhammadans of Bengal' in its issue of 13th January. After discussing the definite safeguards that the Government should adopt in order to counteract the evil consequences likely to flow from the disappearance of Eastern Bengal as a separate province and the damage to the Moslem position, our contemporary urges the importance of formulating a comprehensive scheme of Moslem education which should be systematically worked out and pursued by the Mussalmans with the help of the Government. Says our contemporary:

'Schools and yet more schools, high schools and colleges in districts where the needs of the Mohammadans is greatest, and conducted on lines which specially meet the demands and susceptibilities of the Mohammadan community—these are the means whereby the Moslems can secure their salvation in the new Bengal. We suggest to the Mohammadans who are giving anxious thought to the position that this is a programme on which they should concentrate, for it is the only one which secures the future of their race in the new province. It is one which should rally every section of the community, and in which they can count confidently upon the support of the Government of India. It demands no change of policy from those in authority, for it is but the continuance of measures which would have been pushed to their logical conclusion if the development of Eastern Bengal and Assam under its own Government had not been abruptly arrested, and it is designed to secure the fulfilment of the ends specifically declared in the despatch. We would moreover add that this is a policy which the Government of India cannot leave entirely to the Governor of Bengal and his Council. They have inferentially assured the Secretary of State that the interest of the Mohammadans in Eastern Bengal shall not suffer under the re distribution, and they cannot put aside the responsibility there assumed, leaving its execution solely to a Bengal Government with its Headquarters in Calcutta. They must see that the expectations based on their assurances—expectations which combined with their traditional loyalty and respect for the persons of the King Emperor, have induced the Muhammadans silently to acquiesce in these radical schemes—are realised, so far as it is in the power of the Government of India to accomplish that purpose.'

The tone of this article is most sympathetic, but we are not sure if it did not foreshadow the new 'boon' granted by Eastern Bengal to the Viceroy. In that case it is not so much a recommendation for sympathetic treatment of the Mussalmans of the Eastern Bengal as 'intelligent anticipation of events,' beloved of the Daily Press, and subtle efforts to persuade Mussalmans to await His Excellency's pronouncement in the spirit of the prayer, 'For all that we are about to receive, may the Lord make us truly thankful.'

The Mussalmans accepted the decision of the Government with loyal acquiescence and have refrained from giving vent to angry feelings or indulge in the sort of education which has been almost consecrated by recent tact of the Government itself. It rest with the Government to show that their interests would be duly safeguarded and that the pledges given to them would be redeemed in full. Without definite safeguards, permanently binding and not dependent on the will of a Governor or a Viceroy, however sympathetic and well-meaning, their future advancement cannot at all be assured. The Bengali Hindu exercises a very thoroughgoing and masterful influence in Calcutta, and the Mussalman cannot hoped to secure his due share in the direction of provincial affairs unless the necessary equality of opportunity is afforded to him by the Government. It is a fashion with a certain class of newspapers to talk of the identity of interests between the Mussalmans and the Hindus of Bengal and to dub all communal activities as sectarian. We have never yet come across a single instance in which any of these 'patriotic' newspapers ever assisted the Mussalmans in their efforts to improve their lot educationally even by sympathy or practical advice. The identity of interests exists as long as the Mussalmans feel no 'interest' in their own progress and well-being. We believe Lord Hardinge has acquired enough knowledge of the Indian question to be able to appraise the false cry of 'separatism' at its proper value. The blatant preacher of Indian unity who practises the most exclusive and narrow creed of caste ascendancy is the will-o'-the visp that the Viceroy has yet to distinguish from the few study lights of Indian politics —the high soul dreamers and patriots. We may point out to His Excellency the dangers of the racial and religious bias that mass to masquerade as patriotism by referring the passage in the address presented to him by 'The Dacca People Association's,' in which it was suggested that "in the regulations for the election of members to the councils . . . the principle of racial distinction in the matter of representation . . .' should be discarded. It is these sanctimonious onslaughts on 'the principle of racial distinction in the matter of representation' 'that have aroused the greatest apprehension amongst the Mussalmans, because the sentiment is so fair to outward seeming and yet, alas! so false. That they can mislead to some extent even seasoned diplomats like Lord Hardinge would be evident from the manner of His Excellency's reply. It is, however, gratifying to find the Viceroy firmly laying down 'that pledges once given by the Government will not be broken. Our only wish is that the principle should be courageously enunciated

wherever the occasion calls for it and is courageously applied. The Mussalmans ask nothing more than that the pledges given to them by the Government should be kept intact and that they should be afforded the necessary equality of opportunity in their efforts at self-regeneration.

In the light of the foregoing remarks let us examine the pronouncement of His Excellency at Dacca. It is evident that this examination must be cursory and far from exhaustive, for we got to press within a few hours of the publication of the Private Secretary's communication. We are glad the Viceroy recognised education to be the greatest need of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal, but it is equally the greatest need of the Mussalmans of Western Bengal and the creation of a University at Dacca and the appointment of a special officer for education in Eastern Bengal are an exemplication of the Persian adage.

سوال از آسمان جواب از ریسمان

What the Mussalmans want, and that throughout Bengal, East and West, South and North, is the appointment of separate officers in each grade, from the Assistant Director of Public Instruction to the Deputy Inspector of Schools, to look after the Education of Mussalmans exclusively. What good a University at Dacca and a separate Director of Public Instruction for all communities will do the backward Mussalmans only the Government of India know, and it is more than we can say if even the Government of India would tell. On the face of it the Government are obsessed by the dread of so-called sectarianism, and until and unless they are made to understand that separate interest in India assume a caste or communal rather than a territorial aspect, there is no hope of their doing anything really useful for the Mussalmans. And as agitation is acknowledged by the Government to be the only effective method of converting them, we trust the Mussalmans, who are by tradition and instinct a proselytising community, will preach this doctrine on the road side and in the market place till his Excellency and his colleagues are converted. So far as the scheme of University at Dacca is concerned, it will seriously affect the prestige and influence of the proposed Moslem University, and His Excellency's new 'boon' has confirmed the new significance that has now come to be associated with that ominous word. What the Mussalmans would have liked is in the first place, an apportionment of the educational budget of the United Bengal between the two great communities in such a way that no school which taught Moslem boys or girls could have its progress impeded merely for lack of funds as at present, and in the next place, the creation of two first-grade colleges, mainly though not exclusively for the Mussalmans, aided by the Government, one at Calcutta, and the other at Dacca. What the Government have now done, however, gives no guarantee that Moslem students will not be refused admission into the Presidency College at Calcutta, because their number had already reached 35 out of more than a 100 in each class, nor that Mrs. Sakhawat Husain, that courageous and noble lady who has founded and maintained almost exclusively at her own cost, both in money and labour, the only Muslim Girls School in Calcutta

would not be be told by the Department that she has no prospect of getting even a paltry grant of less than a 100 rupees a month, because the Bethune College needs improvements.

As regards the representation of Mussalmans upon Local Bodies, while the Viceroy deprecates the principle of proportional representation, he makes no promise at all that the Mussalmans would be treated any better than they are at present, and leaves them entirely at the mercy of the local governments. We must say this reminds us of Dickens 'my partner,' that mythical personage who never existed, but who are always utilised to refuse a bargain which the sole proprietor did not choose to accept and yet did not wish to appear personally to refuse. These satrapies has no existence whatever when the far-reaching changes announced at Delhi, which are now being so unskilfully sugar-coated, were thought of and adopted, nor do they seem to have been in existence when in their unaided wisdom the Government of India decided in secret conclave to dump another Director and University of Bengal. The question of adequate and real Moslem representation on the local bodies is no longer a provincial concern, for His Excellency's predecessor announced more than five years ago at Simla in unmistakable terms that Moslem representation must everywhere be communal and adequate, irrespective of mere numbers. From that position no future government can recede without sullying its own reputation for sincerity and consistency and without courting absolute moral bankruptcy. It is time that Mussalmans rouse this autocratic government to a sense of its moral responsibility, and if agitation is unpalatable to His Excellency, as we have been informed on good authority, we hope the Viceroy would take the only effective step to prevent an agitation on the subject. We have, however, some fear that His Excellency has a different notion to ours as to what that step really is. We had ourselves asked for a declaration that in the Executive Council of Bengal care should be taken to discover efficient Mussalmans as well as Hindus, so that Hindus and Mussalmans may alternately hold that appointment. But the promise of His Excellency that 'in the recommendations made to the Secretary of State for the new Executive Council Mohammadans' interest would not be ignored' is no answer to the demand for adequate Moslem representation on the local bodies. What the juxtaposition really suggests is that agitation would be ratified by recognising personal merits of one or two leading individuals. We held and still hold very strong views on the subject of the G.C.I.E. conferred on the honourable Khwaja Sir Saleem Ullah, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca; but we refrain from commenting editorially on this honour because there was some fear that our comments may be thought to reflect adversely on merits of that amiable and, in some respects, ideal leader of the Mussalmans. But there is no doubt that the Nawab Bahadur has himself suffered considerably in popular estimation on account of the title conferred on him only a few hours before the administration of an unmerited slap on the face of those who bore the brunt of the battle under the banner of the Nawab. While

we trust that other Mussalmans also will have their merits adequately recognized in the near future, we must say that this promise, side by side with a neglect of the plans of Mussalmans as a whole, would be adding an insult to the individuals themselves to the injury already caused to the community. It will give point to the playful remark of the irresponsible co-adjutor Mr. Gup, that the Government of India purchase peace with honours.

For the last satisfactory portion of His Excellency's reply was that which referred to the Moslem plans for an apportionment of appointments in the public service. The Shibboleth of efficiency has been staled by usage and born by frequence into the commonest of common places, and it does not argue a great resourcefulness in the Government to take over behind a somewhat meaningless phrase of long antiquity. If the Mussalmans ever ask that men not qualified for certain post to be thrust upon them we shall be the first to denounce such a demand but we do not think that even this backward community is so ridiculously foolish as to ask for moon outside His Excellency's cosmography. What the Mussalmans demand is that for every post in the gift of the Government a qualification should be fixed below which the Government will at no time go, and that so long as a Mussalman with the requisite qualification can be had no non-Moslem should be appointed to that post until and unless the Mussalmans are adequately represented in that grade of service. There is a demand about which His Excellency has been unduly reticent and we do not know what purpose can be served by this uncalled-for silence. Talents are like currency and have a similar value in the market. Now, all know the absurdities and the exasperating difficulties that would result if the legal tender in the country is deprived of two of its essential merits, a fixity in value and certainty. Yet this is just what is being done in the case of educational qualifications. Men possessing all the requisite qualifications are refused appointments because someone with a still higher academic degree who in nine cases out of ten has failed to recommend himself to the seeker after efficiency is prepared to undercell the applicant. Nobody would engage an applicant as his bearer or cook because he is a graduate and yet prepared to accept the same wages as the customary uriah or the unsophisticated baverchi. Yet this is what is being done every day in Government offices. Posts for which the matriculate of a University, full of youth and spirit, would have done well enough, are given to worn-out and disappointed B.A.'s 'failed B.A's' whose very appearance and aprise they themselves put on their talents mark them unmistakably with inefficiency. The result is disappointing in the offices and demoralising in the lecture rooms. This measuring of administrative and clerical efficiency with academic distinctions not only gives feeble administrators and droning clerks but reduces so-called liberal education to a farce and the result is incidentally most harmful for the Mussalmans who have been themselves backward in securing degrees, and in addition to it also neglected by the Government. All that His Excellency recognises is the

desirability of a proper share of these appointments being held by Mohammadans, provided they are duly qualified to do so, 'and all that he is prepared to do is 'to impress that view upon their new Governor.' Any person whom His Majesty may select for the administration of a Presidency is as a rule presumed to know a few things at least, and at the least generous computation we should have thought that Lord Carmichael knew the stale doctrine repeated by His Excellency too well to need further schooling but where the mischief creeps in is that every incoming satarap and Viceroy repeats the Shibboleth, and, after the usual five years, departs homewards with unredeemed pledges left as a *damnosa hereditas* for his successor and the still a .small voice of protesting minority is drowned in the well-manoevred applause of the triumphant majority. It is time that the reasonableness of the Moslem demands was fully recognised in the form of a Government of India Resolution setting forth the principle in unmistakable terms, if not in an Act of the Supreme Legislature, so that we 'loyal' and the 'contented' were not left to the mercy of governatorial interpretation and the whims of the secretariat. This Lord Hardinge has not foreshadowed in his reply to the Mussalmans at Dacca, and if this is the last word on the satisfaction of Moslems' claim then we have no hasitation in saying that it is absolutely dis appointed

وائے گر میرا تیرا انصاف محشر میں نہ ہو

اب تلک تو یہ توقع تھی کہ وہاں ہوجائے گا

(Woe betide the day if justice be not done 'twixt thee and me on the Day of Judgment. So far I have hoped that justice would be done there.)

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3rd February 1912

THE DACCA UNIVERSITY

THE administrative changes announced at the Durbar were too tremendous and sudden not to have stirred the feelings of people forcibly, and although this may not justify the sentiments of the Anglo-Indian community in Calcuta even to-day, in which the most pitiable mourners are some of our local contemporaries, it certainly explains the passionateness of many protests made at the time. When time has swept a little longer over the country, and things attain their proper level, a just critic would; we believe, declare that the new regime in India was one of good measures badly carried out. And this verdict would not be confined only to the changes announced at Delhi but to most of the acts of the present Government. Wrong methods have involved right measures in unnecessary odium, and statesmalike projects have received an unceservedly bad reception because of unstatesmanlike procedure.

The proposed Dacca University is one of them, for the time and

place at which it was first announced, and the manner of that announcement were such that a beneficent educational measure was bound to be regarded with a remarkable unanimity as a malicious polititical blow or an unsatisfactory political compensation. Replying to a deputation of some Bengalee gentlemen of good eminence, His Excellency the Viceroy said in conclusion : 'I am hopeful that the large issuse of educational policy, on which the future of India so greatly depends, will be viewed with the outlook, and apart from personal or political interests. Earlier in that speech the Viceroy had declared that 'the constitution of a University at Dacca and the appointment of a special educational officer at Dacca rest solely on grounds of educational policy both general and local, and had advanced the most convincing argument in support of the declaration. that 'before the arrangements annouuced by His Imperial Majesty were considered, the Government of India. . .had included in their educational programme the constitution of teaching and residential universities, including a University at Dacca.' 'But if these purely educational projects had not been announced, with some dramatic accompaniments, to a Moslem deputation which waited on His Excellency at Dacca to know what compensation his Government had decided to offer to their long-suffering and depressed community for the loss of its recently acquired political power, the Viceroy would have been spared the trouble of attempting to convince the Anti-Partitionists Redivivi that 'it was never the intention of the Government of India that there should be a line of cleavage in the Educational Department of the new province as between the two Bengals, and that 'no proposals which could possibly lead to the internal partition or division of Bengal would meet with any support from the Government of India.' Could it convince anybody that the numerical Moslem majority resulting from the Partition which led to all the excesses of the Anti-Partition campaign, and the disappearance of which caused the campaigners unfeigned jubilation which would have known no bounds if it had not been tempered by the back-stroke of the change of Capital- was a thing of not value to the Mussalmans ? We are sure we are in the right that whosoever may have thought so, the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal or, for the matter of that, of any Province—did not think so. We are equally sure that when the deputation waited on His Excellency at Dacca, its members expected some compensation boons that would in some measure reconcile them to the loss of their numerical majority in the now defunct province. What then could have been more natural than the idea that the Viceroy's announcement of a University at Dacca and the appointment of a separate educational officer was the long expected compensation? The Mussalmans and the Hindus alike took it as such, and while the former regarded it as wholly inadequate and even irrelevant, the latter saw in it the reincarnation of the spirit of the Partition and opposed it. His Excellency, of course, explained at great length to this deputation how it came about that it was to the Moslem deputation at Calcutta that he hed first announced the educa-

tional projects of his Government, But the mischief had already been done, and there has been little attempt during the four months that have elapsed since the announcement of the Government's educational policy at following His Excellency's well-meant and very necessary advice that those educational porjects should be viewed with a wide outlook and apart from personal or political interests. Almost the only attempt to discuss the proposals on their own merits has been made by Mr. P.Chaudhuri in a very thoughtful and well-reasoned paper recently read by him at a meeting of the Constitutional club and reproduced in three successive issues of the *Beugalee*, and we hope it will arrestthe attention of the Committee now appointed to grame a scheme for the Dacca University, even though it is somewhat general and discursive.

We had explained our own attitude towards the proposed Dacca University in the issue of 17th February last, in which we had stated that, in thn first place, our previous remarks 'have not been directed against the promised University as such, but against its being debited to the long-suffering Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal ;' that, in the second place, we had some misgivings that 'the University at Dacca may help to cut off the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal from the Moslem Univereity'; and that, in the third place, 'although the creation of a teaching University at the very doors of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal is bound to lessen the value of another teaching University at Aligarh, that is no reason why those who advocated the latter should come in the way of the former.' In fact, we had gone still further and added that, 'for our part, we wish every University in India was a teaching University and if the creation of fresh Universities means more education or better education, we shall continue to accord them a warm and a cordial welcome.' Finally, we had stated that 'we have already admitted our readiness to admit that the people of Eastern Bengal would receive greater consideration for their special requirements than they have been doing at Calcutta.'

To these views we still adhere; but, we must confess, we note with regret that in one important particular the project of the Dacca University as it is now embodied in the Bengal Government Resolution, which we publish elsewhere, is even less favourable to the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal than we and they had at first understood. The terms of reference to the Committee which His Excellency the Governor in Council is pleased to appoint are wide enough and 'leave full latitude to the Committee in framing their recommendations.' But the Bengal Government's resolution goes further than any published statement of the Government of India in rigorously limiting the jurisdiction of the University to the town of Dacca so that 'it should not include any college which is beyond the limits of the town.' When His Excellency the Vicerory's announcement at Dacca was published on the 3rd February last, there was nothing in it which could lead one to suppose that the Dacca University would not include in its jurisdication the whole of Eastern Bengal, and in view of the facts that

His Excellency discussed with the Moslem deputation, 'the future situation of the Mohammadan community in the hew Presidency,' and impressed upon them that 'educational progress would be the surest safeguard for the promotion of Mohammadan interests,' the inference was not wholly unwarrantable that the jurisdiction of the University would not be confined to a single town. Later, on the 16th February, His Excellency replied at length to the Hindu deputation at Calcutta in terms which have been embodied, and often reproduced, in the letter of the Hon. Mr. Sharp to the Government of Bengal, and although he dissociated his Government from all notions of an educational partition, and although he then for the first time made it clear that the Dacca University would be teaching and residential University, that did not necessarily imply that the scope of the proposed University would be restricted within such narrow territorial limits. In fact, the Viceroy explicity left 'the questions of the scope of the Dacca University and of the position of the special educational officer' to 'the new Governor to consider and advise', and if it was left to the latter to reject even 'the creation of a separate cadre for Eastern Bengal,' although the Viceroy could not himself imagine that it would commend itself to Lord Carmichael, it was reasonable enough to hope that the new Governor would also be given an opportunity of recommending within what limits the Dacca University should have jurisdiction.

It may be said that the very definiton of a teaching University excludes every chance of a Mufassil College being affiliated to it. But even the Hon. Mr. Sharp in his letter to the Bengal Government gives a wider scope to such a University, desiring that it should bind together the colleges of 'a single town or a single circumbscribed area'. We have no desire to follow the startling doctrines of the Hon. Sir Asutosh Mukharji, who laid it down in his very remarkable and emphatic Convocation Address, delivered in the spirit of a critical reply to the Government's recently announced administrative and educational measures, that the 'reproach sometimes levelled against the existing Universities that they are merely examining bodies—does not rest on solid ground; that the criticism that they are not residential in character is very wide of the mark', that the Calcutta University 'is and has always been a teaching University; and that 'it is a residential University, simply because the colleges which submit their scholars to its examinations teach all and house a small fraction of their students. But without endorsing such assertion, it may be said that the change from a University the jurisdiction of which covers the area of three whole Provinces and a Chief Commissionership to one confined to a single town is too tremendous, and that the relief provided by detaching four colleges out of fifty-two, and at the most 2,000 out of nearly 14,000 students, would not remove to any very appreciable extent the congestion in the Calcutta University. We are not in love with what are rather loosely called 'federal Universities' and are inclined to endorse the Government

of India's estimate of such Universities. But we emphatically hold that the rigorously circumscribed single town Universities cannot easily fit into the cosmology of the loosely knit together, sprawling, and impersonal institutions which have hitherto exsited, and remained uncondemned by Government even when the advocates of the Moslem University challenged a comparison between their scheme and the existing order of things. It is true that the teaching University will not benefit by any compromise and it is also true that any time spent by its teaching staff in inspecting Mufassil Colleges affiliated to it would in some measure divert its attention from it proper work. But it is equally true that a College not at a great distance from such a University would be far better inspected and looked after by it than by another located at a place two days' journey from the latter. Imagine a College at Naraingunge or even at Comilla supervised by the Sundics of a University at Calcutta, not one of whom comes from Eastern Bengal, when it has a University next door to it at Dacca under the supervision of a syndicate composed equally exclusively of Eastern Bengal people. No doubt, the affiliation of such Colleges to a teaching University would be a compromise and not strean logic. But it would be a compromise beneficial alike th to the distant Calcutta University and the neighbouring Mufassil Colleges, while impairing only to an inappreciable extent the efficiency of the teaching University located next door to such Colleges.

This is a purely general and educational aspect of the question. But there is a local and Mohammadan aspect as well. Much as Sir Asutosh Mukharji may discourse in the vein of the Greek hero of Tennyson's poem, 'Ulysses', he will find it difficult to convince people that Calcutta did not act like the Upas tree towards its distant under growth. The rapid advance of education in Eastern Bengal after the Partition is proof enough of the necessity of giving to Eastern Bengal a University of its own instead of giving one to its capital city only, and in the words of the *Times of India*, which, in an 'intelligent anticipation of events,' foreshadowed the scheme of the Dacca Univerisity, 'it demands no change of policy from those in authority for it is but the continuance of measures which would have been pushed to their logical conclusion if the development of Eastern Bengal and Assam under its own Government had not been abruptly arrested, and it is designed to secure the fulfilment of ends specifically declared in the despatch.' If in these days the wishes of loyal and contented Mussalmans court for anything with Government, we may and that the resolution moved by the Hon. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury, and carried unanimously in the last session of the All-India Moslem League, while heartily welcoming the Dacca University, urged on the Government 'the desirability of extending the operations of the proposed University over the districts of Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions, so far at least as the general control and supervision of the educational institutions in those areas and the prescrittion of the curricula of studies and the examinations are concerned.' This humble petition of

the Mussalmans has also gone the way of the rest, and the assurance given to the Hindu deputation that no suspicion of a partition of Bengal would be tolerated by the Government is made doubly sure by this limitation of its scope and jurisdiction.

We have been been taught recently to believe that the facts most likely to be unsettled are the 'settled facts' of our Government. But that may not be for all In the case of the Mussalmans, we have to accept the hard reality that 'the moving finger wr tes, and, having writ, moves on,' and we cannot encourge them with the hope that their loyalty, or, at any rate, their contentment 'shall lure it back to cancel half a line,' or that such tears as they can shed can 'wash out a word of it.' But in one matter the sheet is still blank and it is not too much that the 'moving finger' may write thereon something not unlike what the Mussalmans desire. That is the appointment of an eductional officer for Eastern Beneral. We have always attached to this proposal more importance from the Mohammdan point of view than to the Dacca University; for even if such an officer sought out the easiest bit of work to do, and in order to gain official glory, paid more attention to the forward Hindus than to the backwards Mussalmans—a thing which is only too common to-day even in that case the limits of 33 per cent are soon reached, and his successor could little kudos except by falling back on the Mussalmans that constitute 66 per cent of the population of Eastern Bengal. But we doubt if the Hindus of Eastern Bengal need any officer to encourage them. Among the reasons that have induced the Government of India to locate the new University at Dacca are two that present a contrast worthy of careful consideration. They 'are the high level of intelligence' declared to be characteristic of the Hindu middleclass population of Eastern Bengal and hence 'the educational progressiveness of these districts' on the one side, and the backwardness of the Mohammadans on the other. We believe the Hindus of Western Bengal are on no lower a plane of intelligence, nor are the Presidency and Burdwan divisions less progressive. But whether that is so not, the Mussalmans are almost equally backward throughout the Presidency, and East and West, North and South are all alike in this respect. The only difference is that in Eastern Bengal they are more numerous, through in districts like Jessore and Nadia they constitute a clear majority of the population even in Western Bengal. Would it not, then, be better to appoint a separate officer for the Mussalmans alone, though of the entire Presidency rather than for both the Hindus and Mussalmans but exculsively for Bengal? The wise union-loving Hindus of Bengal and the perverse separatists of Islam would alike favour such an arrangement, i.e. and we cannot beleive that a proposal favoured by Hindus would be rejected by the Government simply because the Mussalmans also approved of it. The Government which, in the matter of a desire for partition of any kind or shape, is so anxious to be an improvement on Ceasar's wife, would in this way please the Hindus, and spare them the humiliation of being looked after

by a protector of the poor and of the ignorant.

It may be asked how it would be possible for such an officer to inspect schools and colleges in which both Hindus and Mussalmans study together. Such a question would be based on a misinterpretation of our suggestion. We do believe that the Department of Public Instruction has not paid enough attention to Moslem students and we fear it has not always dealt fairly with Moslem employees. Not to say these things out of mere politeness will do good to nobody, and as we do not ascribe evil motives to the officials, we do not think they would bear any grudge against us for indulging in some frank truths. We trust in future this will not be, and the only remedy for these evils is a watchful central administration rather than a new type of educational officers. We would, therefore, propose that the students must be left to the present set of officials strengthened by the appointment of a good many more Mohammadans officers of the rank of Inspectors, Additional Assistant and Deputy Inspectors, and that these officials must be left to the present head of the Department who is, we feel sure, as much convinced as we are of the necessity of encouraging Mohammadan officers under him in order to have his Deparment freed from the evil of having cliques based on divisions of caste, creed, and family. In other words, to a very lerge extent, the special officer that we would suggest would have little to do with Mohammadans, once they have crossed the threshold of schools and colleges. His chief concern must be with those—and they number millions—who should be at some school or college and are not. It should be his duty to bring these to the doors of the schools and the Universities. He must set about his business by inquiring from every source, but chiefly from Moslems from taking advantage of the facilities provided by Government in the education of the people. We have answers of our own to offer to questions like these, but they can wait for another occasion. For the present we may only say, in general, that it is not always reasons connected with the Department of Educaion that keep the Mussalmans back, though such reasons are not wanting, nor few. There are social, political and religious causes which are at the root of the matter, and to our mind it is not always an aductional expert that can get to the bottoms of these affairs. What we have in our mind when we suggest a separate officer for Moslem education, is a Civilian, not very young, but yet one that has not shed the enthusiasm for education and reform which his university education has created in him, one who has larger sympathies than the average Civilian and fewer prejuidices, yet one who has personal leanings towards Mussalmans, based not on favouritism, but on a clever under-standing of their point of view, their prejudices and position, one who has been able to win the confidence of the community in his earlier official career, and would not, therefore, find their minds like a sealed book, but would get them to communicate to him freely and frankly their desires and ambition, their complaints and grievances, equally without fear and without a desire to flatter. Such

officers, though they are not too numerous, are not, on the other hand, too rare and it is men of such character and temperament, that succeed in leaving behind them a fabric of real, solid work which is never achieved by the mere humdrum and featureless individuals that soon shed their youthful fervour in the blighting atmosphere of 'Angl-Indian. Clubs and talk of what the East loves and the Oriental requires, as if such generalisations were axious of Euclid or part of Holy Writ, which none but the ignorant and the profane could question. An officer of the type that we have described above would diagnose the disease of the Mussalmans and, to their consultation and temperament. It will not be entirely left to him whether the draught prescribed should be given to the patient, nor need other communities fear that the personal leanings of such an officer would lead to favouritism in the caseof one community. It will be the Government itself that will have to dispense the prescription and in this case the dispenser would have the power to modify the prescription. Such an officer need not, and we think, should not be subordinate to the Director of Public Instruction, though he is certain to consult the latter, on many occasions he should be directly subordinate to a member of the council and should have access to H.E. the Governor like Secretaries to Government. Being a Civilia he will be in a better position than an Educational officer to know a large number of influentical people in the community and would carry more influence with them. In many cases, we confess, the disease of the Mussalmans is only indifference and the cure is not in the hands of the Government but in their own. In that case it is not the physician that they required but the preacher and an officer such as the one that we have described would act as a missionary deputed by Government to conver the community from its creed of indolence and apathy to one of energy and progress. This is the remedy that we suggest, and, we believes, we have in this matter the suport of the entire Muhammadans Community. To the Government we shall only say, 'You have tried your own remedy in Bengal for the last 150 years and that remedy has not yet cured the patient. Is it not time to try ours, even though it be only for a while and as an experiment? You have sought the right goal but chosen the wrong path. Is it not time to let others lead you even though you are conscious of your own superior wisdom? You have tried and, to be frank, you have failed hopelessly. Why not try what we suggest and wait and see" ?

All that we have said about the special Educational officer may appear to be somewhat irrelevant in a discussion of the Dacca University, but we submit that the problem is one and it is impossible to separate the two questions without laceration. In the second place, all that we know is that a teaching and residential University is sanctioned in principle by the Secretary of State and is too be located at Dacca and confined to the colleges within the town. More than that we do not know and must wait for thereport of the Committee which His Excellency the Governor in Council has been pleased to appoint. It has a wide enough latitude given to it for its deliberations and

we trust even those of its members that have its deliberations and we trust even those of its members that have hitherto opposed the foundation of such a University at Dacca would work on the Committee with the one desire of making the University the best that they can the materials at their disposal. The Committee is composed for the most part of educational experts and, so far as we can judge, there is no point of view that is likely to be left unrepresented on the Committee. The situation of Dacca with its four colleges and severial Oriental Madrassas with its thousands school-boys and its palatial untenanted public buildings in addition to the beautiful scenery of its river, so well described by Mr. Breadley Birt, is one that lends itself well enough to the purposes of educational architects, and, as one representative of Eastern Bengal has said since the partition was annulled, if Dacca is not to know the din and turmoil of politics inseparable from a seat of Government it may be a blessing in disguise if it becomes a city of learning with the calm and quietitude of a cloistered University.

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29th March 1913

MOSLEM REPRESENTATION ON PUBLIC BODIES

The All-India Moslem League, in one of the resolutions recently passed at its Lucknow Session, 'once again records its deliberate opinion that in the interests of the Mussalman community it is absolutely necessary that the principle of communal representation be extended to all self-governing public bodies.' It is not, however, 'in the interests of the Mussalmans' alone that the extension of the principle is necessary. If the minciple were an an exclusive instruprent designed to advance Moslem interests at the expense of the other communities, it would be iniquitous in spirit and mischievous and demoralising in effect. It is, however, nothing of the kind. As things are, it represents the first and most necessary stage in the political evolution of the people as a whole and in the growth of a sense of comon nationality. It secures the elementary conditions of the people without subjecting the other sections to disability of any kind. The fierce opposition of its critics in itself proves that the creation of some such safeguard was absolutely necessary and inevitable. The Hindu communal patriot who prates of united India and inveighs against separate electorates has yet found no place for the virtue of tolerance in his political creed. Separate electorates are the only means to keep before his eyes the essential, the indestructible elements of the Indian problem. Co-operation, free partnership, sense of mutual dependence and helpfulness will grow as soon as both the great communities begin to perceive that neither of them

is a negligible factor in any scheme about the future of India. The recognition of communal individuality especially of the less-favoured community, in the early stages of India's political development is an essential condition to that perception. The All-India Moslem League urges in the same resolution that 'a provision for the adequate and effective representation of the Musalmans on municipal and district boards is a necessary corollary of the application of the principle to the Imperial and the Provincial Legislative Council and at the same time essential to the successful working of those public bodies.' We do not know how long it would be necessary for the League to go on formulating the demand till its essential fairness is recognised by Government. The Hindu politician, who opposes the demand of the flimsy pretext that arms at separation, knows perfectly well that separate electorates are the effect on the Hindu-Muslim tension and not its cause. In every Hindu critic of the principle of communal representation it is easy to recognise the soul of the monopolist. The measure of sincerity of his loud appeal for Hindu-Molsem union is, in fact, furnished by his attitude towards this question. His opposition to separate electorates means, frankly, that he is reluctant to give the Mussalmans their fair share in the self-governing institutions of the country. The communal representation of Mussalmans on municipal and district boards is even more necessary inasmuch as these bodies are the lower rungs of the ladder of self-government. In the Punjab, in spite of the Moslem majority in the population, the municipal and district boards with mixed electorates are in most cases dominated by the Hindu minority. The result of this anamoly has been patent in the recent elections to the Provincial Legislative Council, not a single Mohammadan having been returned by the municipal and the district boards. Sir Louis Dane, in his reply to the address recently presented by the Mussalmans at Lahore, said that in the matter of their failure to secure a single elected seat in the Council the fault lay with the Mussalmans themselves. Is it the fault of the Mussalmans that they are so meagrely represented on the district and the municipal boards of the Province? Their only fault seems to be that they have not pressed their claim for separate and adequate representation on those bodies with a vigour and persistence that the Government could not have afforded to ignore. Sir Louis Dane has done nothing to bring about an equality of opportunity, and yet he blames the Mussalmans that they have failed to break a long-established monoply.

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29th March 1913

THE ISLAMIA COLLEGE, PESHAWAR

We are glad to note that the Mussalmans of the N.-W. Frontier Province have been able to collect together sufficient funds to establish a first-grade Arts College for the education of the Moslem youths. No one can, for a moment, doubt the need of creating such an institution at Peshawar. It would impart a much-desired impetus to education among a highly gifted and virile community if it is fully equipped and conducted on right lines. We have reason to think a fairly high ideal has inspired the workers in regard to equipment. And we trust the fullest regard will be paid to the real requirements of the Moslem boys in regard to instruction, internal discipline and management. The supreme control of the affairs of the institution has, as far as we understand, been vested in a Board of Trustees composed of Moslems, though we do not exactly know to what extent, if at all, the local Government will exerçise powers of supervion. We hope official interference in the affairs of the College will be as little as possible for a communal institution like this should in the last resort be administered by those who are direct representatives of the community and enjoy its full confidence. We are gratified to learn that Mr. L.Tipping, formerly Professor of English at Aligarh, has been appointed Principal of the College. Mr. Tipping is a fine scholar and, what is much more important, he understands the educational requirements of Mussalmans. He has great sympathy with the ideals of Moslem education that the late Sir Syed Ahmad sought to embody in the College at Aligarh, and we are sure he will work in bis new sphere in the spirit of those ideals. In the Pathan youth he will find a splendid material to fashion into a fine, self-respecting and self-reliant manhood. It is fortunate that Mr. Inayatullah Khan who had gained considerable distinction at Cambridge, has provisionally accepted the Vice-Principalship of the College. We trust his connection with the institution will not remain merely provisional. Educated Moslems of his ability and attainments can have no nobler opportunity to serve their community and their country than the one that is now within his reach.

11th April, 1914.

A REMARKABLE PETITION

We have received a copy of the sad petition which was submitted some days ago to the District magistrate of Basti by 344 Mussalman residents of Mehudupur, villages situated within the jurisdiction of the police station Uska in the district. The petitioners state

that since October 1913 they have been molested and maltreated by a number of their Hindu fellow-subjects in every conceivable way 'simply because we did not consent to give up the qurbani of cows wholly and definitely on the occasion of the last Bakr-Eed.' They further state that their individual cries have not been successful in attracting the attention of the minor local authorities ; and they have been driven in consequence to 'approach you in a body with 'the hope that you will be pleased to make a thorough and searching 'inquiry, if need be, into our real and legitimate grievances with the result that our future interests will be safeguarded and we will be' safe and free to return to our homes without any further danger to 'our lives and property.' The facts stated in the petition are as follows. Some days before the last Bakr-Eed some of the Hindu residents of the villages named above sent for some of the petitioners and ordered them to abstain from sacrificing cows and buffalos and to substitute goats and sheep in their place. As the petitioners were unable to give any pledge to that effect, they were threatened with hints of damage to their lives and property. This aggressive atittude on the part of the Hindus is stated to have been the result of the preachings of some bairagis from Ajudhya. It was proclaimed by the Hindus by beat of drum that no one shall sacrifice cows and buffalos. 'Subcription lists were opened to carry on 'the propaganda of open hostility to the established laws and custom' of the country. Upon the heels of this war-cry followed some stray acts of incendiarism the same evening, crops were destroyed in 'some of the fields the morning following and the reign of terrorism began in right earnest.' The petitioners made a number of reports at the police station, but no serious notice was taken of them, 'because no lives had heen lost and no very great damage to the crops could be pointed out at one single spot.' 'We admit,' say the petitioners, 'that every effort would have been made to bring the culprit to 'justice had we but lost a single life. But we proved cowards and at this stage we prefer remaining so.' The Hindus were in the meantime carrying on 'an organised warfare' and were too astute to commit acts that might lead to bloodshed or a serious breach of the peace. The petitioners filed a number of complaints in the court of the Sub-Divisioaal Officer of Bansi, but they failed to get any effectual remedy. They state that one of the officers, who inspected the locality, 'after gauging the feelings of the opposite faction, only thought of pacifying them by trying to prevail upon one of us to definitely give up the qurbani of cows and in lieu to accept Rs. 50 from the Hindu zamindars, which offer was very respectfully rejected.' The petitioners then respectfully call the attention of the District Magistrate to their helpless condition, the fear of organised persecution and violence that drove them out of their homes and has been keeping them in a frightful state of misery and suspense for many months past. Failing to get a redress of their grievances elsewhere they now turn

to the District Magistrate to help them and afford them safety and protection from the aggressive hostility of their determined and powerful neighbours. They state that the serious impasse seems to have been reached 'through the attitude of some of the petty officials responsible for order and good government. The petitioners assure the District Magistrate that they have done all they could to settle the matter amicably and return quietly to their homes, but their efforts have sadly failed.' They would not be allowed, it would seem, to settle down to their work in peace, unless they give up their rights and pledge themselves to abstain from peforming a religious duty. The custom of sacrificing cows and buffalos has obtained in these villages for some generations. The petitoners are poor and cannot afford to sacrifice goats or sheep. Being staunch Mussalmans they naturally consider qurbani as a sacred rite which they are bound to observe. They cannot renounce this right the free exercise of which has been guaranteed to them by the British rule. Should they, therefore, be allowed to suffer so long at the hands of fanatical cliques, when they have done nothing and mean to do nothing to offend the susceptibilities of the Hindus? They crave 'the benevolent help and sympathy' of the District Magistrate. 'Our condition' they say, 'speaks loudly of our necessity. We have left our homes with our women and children and are camping out in the open, out of the Uska police jurisdiction. This speaks for itself and we need not be more plain in language. They pray that (*a*) a committee consisting of an equal number of Hindus and Mussalmans and one European member be appointed to consider their grievances and make a report theron and that (*b*) a thorough departmental inquiry be made into the affairs of the Uska police station and, if any officer is found undesirable, he should be transferred. We prefer to say nothing at this stage in regard to the sad and amazing story that this petition discloses. We wonder nothing should have been done to look into the condition of things even after hundreds of Mussalmans with their wives and children had left their homes long ago and have since been living out in the open. They are evidently afraid of coming to live within the Uska police jurisdiction ? Do they fear being harassed by some police official or underlings ? All these matters require a through, prompt and impartial inquiry. We have just received a communication from a correspondent who says that the District Magistrate has rejected the petition. It is almost incredible to us to believe that the District Magistrate would thus spurn away hundreds of p o o r, persecuted, hapless persons, whose distress is so great and who went to-knock at his door for justice. We would await further details and information before we make out comments at length. But if it is true that the District Magistrate has refused to ensure for the petitioners some tolerable conditions for their safety, we trust the local Government will promptly look into the matter and see that the poor Mussalmans of the

villages, now wandering about in utter helplessness, get the official protection they seek and return to their homes without any risk to their lives and property.

12th September 1914

THE GRANT TO THE ISLAMIA COLLEGE, LAHORE

We published in our last issue the Government of India communique on Moslem education and expressed our gratification at the prompt and liberal manner in which the Government was trying to give effect to the proposals embodied in its circular with a view to improve the educational position of Mussalmans. We noted with particular pleasure the allowance of a recurring grant of Rs. 30,000 to the Islamia College, Lahore. It appears, however, that this grant is hedged round with conditions which, to say the least, are wholly novel and may not commend themselves to the governing body of the College, if it is at all jealous of its freedom of initiative. The Government is said to have intimated that 'in the event of a recurring grant being sanctioned for the improvement of the college, His Honour is of opinion not only that the college accounts should be audited as has been suggested in the concluding portion of the letter, but that the appointment of new staff should be subject to the approval of Government. The latter condition is an alternative to the suggestion that two officers of the Indian Educational Service might be lent to the College as is being arranged in the case of the Khalsa College, and while the offer might be kept open in the event of suitable officers being available, His Honour is of opinion that the condition requiring the approval of Government to the appointment of new staff will meet the case for the present. His Honour would further propose that the recurring grant should be limited in the first instance to a term of three years, and that its periodic renewal should be subject to the working of the College being proved to be satisfactory not only as regards educational results, but also in respect of the tone and discipline of the institution. The withdrawal of the grant would of course be subject to due notice.' We have nothing to say against the condition requiring satisfactory audit of accounts. Government has every right to see that the sums given to help an institution out of the public funds are properly and usefully spent. As regards educational results and tone and discipline of the College, it is, of course, in the interests of the institution to have a watchful eye on these matters, but this is a function not of Government but of the Punjab University. The Indian Universities are armed with ample powers to compel colleges within their jurisdictions to maintain a certain level of educational efficiency and keep their atmospheres free from unwholesome and deteriorating influences. The stipulation about

tone, discipline and results seems to us, therefore, to be wholly unnecessary, unless, indeed, we are to understand that Government intends to create a new machinery to judge these matters, wholly independent of the existing agency of the University. If such be the case, it would be an innovation of an inquisitorial character and would little serve the true interests of education. But the chief thing that takes the grace out of the gift is the insistence of Government on its securing an unqualified veto on the appointment of new staff or on the acceptance, as an alternative, by the College authorities of two professors recommended by Government from amongst the members of the Indian Educational Service. The latter alternative is fully calculated to undermine discipline, and we are sure no responsible governing body of a private institution can accept it without stultifying itself. As regards approval by Government of all new appointments to the College staff, we repeat it is a wholly novel proposal, and as far as we are aware in no other case it has accompanied a grant-in-aid. We fail to understand the need and wisdom of such a departure. Reduced to its naked essence, the proposal means that Government no longer trusts the governing bodies of private institutions as competent to choose proper men for the education of Indian youths. If that is so, why enforce a duality of control and initiative which is likely to breed irritation and even suspicion in the public mind. It would be far better to place a total embargo on private enterprise in Indian education. If Indians are still unfit to run educational institutions for which they provide the funds and which owe their existence mainly to the educational inadequacy of State-controlled schools and colleges, then why perpetuate the farce? We think the Islamia College authorities would not barter away their responsibility and freedom for a Government grant-in-aid, however large. That institution has been built up by the innumerable sacrifices of Punjab Moslems, often of the poorer classes, and they would, we trust, be prepared for still greater sacrifices to carry it on without liberal grants-in-aid rather than consent to the undoing of the magnificent work of a whole generation. May we not hope that Government would reconsider its conditions and see the wisdom of rendering them less drastic in the interest of real educational progress of the Mussalmans which it seems so anxious to promote?

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ALIGARH
THE ALMA MATER

اوروں کا ہے پیام اور میرا پیام اور ہے
عشق کے درد مند کا طرز کلام اور ہے

22nd July 1911

THE MOSLEM UNIVERSITY : WHAT SHOULD IT BE ?

Some of us in Europe are watching with admiration and delight the noble efforts of H.H. the Aga Khan and other leaders of the community to raise an endowment fund for the creation of a Moslem University. We are daily awaiting the publication of the report of the committee which is preparing a draft charter. One realises how that committee must be distracted by diverse counsels sent to it from every quarter of Moslem India; how frequently it will be advised to make concessions to expediency so as to secure popular approval. We are confident that the committee will work with a single eye to the advantage of the Moslem community and that it will be far-sighted enough to refuse to win popular applause at the expense of the lasting benefit of our people. In order to assure the committee that their proposals, however courageous, will not want support at least from some of us who happen to be in Europe, I wish to give publicity to the general principles upon which we are agreed.

We start from the axiom that what the Moslem community needs is better education and that the ground for asking for a charter is that the Moslem University will require of its alumni a better education than is at present required by the examining boards that sit at Allahabad, Calcutta and elsewhere. This axiom stands in no need of defence. It is the reality of education that will help the Moslem community, not the power of giving certificates. One cannot imagine that anyone will seriously contend that our people would in any way profit if the degrees given at Aligarh were to be obtained upon the same or upon easier terms, than the degrees conferred at Allahabad. The degree is but the same, the essential is the training and teaching. What, therefore, our charter must secure is that the training and teaching of the Moslem University represents a great and solid advance upon the training and teaching which precede the degree elsewhere in India.

As for the first, the training given to boarders in the M.A.-O. College is a great improvement upon the training given anywhere else in India, and I think one will be justified in

saying that it is not much inferior to that given in the public schools or universities of England. But we must remember that hitherto it has been given by the M.A.-O. College voluntarily, without direct recognition by the University. What we must now do is to make it compulsory. And the only way to do that is by getting the Moslem University to impose residence as a condition to the degree. But that is only a small point of the answer to the first question. Residence must be in Aligarh and not elsewhere. Those of us who have had long experience of the M.A.-O. College know with what trouble its traditions have been formed; we know how many generations of students have gone to the building up of that code of conduct which sets its seal on every student who comes within its walls. It is now in the atmosphere of the place; it hangs about the Union, the cricket field and the Courts which Sir Syed Ahmad planned, and every student, whether from the Pujnab or Madras, from Calcutta or Persia, imperceptibly falls beneath its influence and recognises its bending authority. As long as residence is confined to Aligarh we can be sure that all the graduates and under-graduates of the Moslem University will be staturated with the Aligarh spirit. But we can have no assurance that the same spirit will prevail and have the same controlling force at other centres. It may be that in other Mohammadan institutions, in the Islamic College of Lahore and in the Sind Madrassa, another and equally admirable 'genius loci' will be generated. But of that we cannot be certain, and over it the Senate or Syndicate sitting at Aligarh will have no control. If the Moslem University is to exact residence as a condition to the degree it must be able to guarantee that the conditions of residence are wholesome. This will appear to many a hard saying and it will appear to court unpopularity. But unpopularity must be braved in the true interests of our people. It would be far better never to have a Moslem University at all than to have one which is a failure. If we cannot make a genuine improvement upon the present system of education in India, we have no claim to ask for a university of our own at all.

The second point which is just as essential is that the charter itself should contain guarantes that the teaching and scholastic equipment should be efficient. One has seen in too many colleges in India, and it has been even known in Aligarh, that the teaching of a subject is sometimes undertaken with a woefully insufficient staff and equipment. The young University will at the outset be poor; however generously the public respons to the appeal of His Highness the Aga Khan we cannot hide from ourselves that the Moslem University for some years to come will not be able to give teaching up to a true University standard in more than a few subjects. But there will certainly be a popular demand that the University should teach all sorts of subjects in addition to the limited Arts and Science courses now taught at Aligarh. There will be a demand for the teaching, for instance, of Engineering and Medicine and the claim to confer a degree in those faculties. Are we confident that

our Senate or Syndicate will have the strength to resist that claim? What we are afraid of is that in deference to popular clamour they will engage a Professor on Rs. 200 a month with an Assistant on Rs. 50 and confer degrees on those who have attended their lectures. This would bring the whole University into contempt and it would damage, not promote, the cause of Mohammadan progress; the graduates so taught would be failures in life; their sham degrees, which corresponded to no reality of knowledge, would not enable them to build a bridge or treat a patient; they would be defeated in the struggle of life by men who had a genuine training and had acquired solid knowledge. This is a danger so real and so imminent that we think safeguards against it should be incorporated in the charter. This might be done in various ways. The charter might in the first instance authorise the institution of only such faculties as the founders could prove to the Government they could make adequate provision for. When the University desired to add another faculty it would be incumbent upon them to demonstrate to the Government that the provision for teaching was adequate for the purpose. Moreover, by putting a clause of this kind in the charter we will be limiting the sphere of outside interference such as the Government which will not be the case if the recent proposal is followed —— that every Viceroy should ex-officio be the Chancellor of the Moslem University.

We want the Aligarh degree to be a hallmark which will be accepted without hesitation not only in India but in Europe also. That we believe can only be secured if the provision for instruction is liberal. We want a competent and numerous staff, we want well-equipped laboratories, we want well-stocked libaries kept constantly up to date. If provision of this kind is in abundance we are not very much concerned as to the stiffness of the examinations. Let the doors of the temple of knowledge be flung wide open and every facility given to the undergraduate to learn and think. These are the essentials of rational culture and it is by these that the young Moslem will benefit both himself, his people and his country.

SYED RASS MASOOD

London, 19th June 1911

18th April 1914

ALIGARH OLD BOYS

Since 1907, when the Aligarh Old Boy's Association for the first time secured a constitution, every recurring annual re-union used to be attended with a crisis of no little importance to the College and to the Association; for the forces which had succeeded in securing a constitution for the Association after a hard struggle had still to contend with those who were anxious to keep the Association within 'managable'

proportions from the point of view of the reactionary that mistrusts the multitude. Luckily, however, the Old Boys' Association had a franchise that was the despair of the reactionary. Unlike the Trustees of the Aligarh College, whose numbers are limited and who become members of the Board by co-option, every Old Boy of Aligarh could become a member of the Association by contributing one per cent of his income. The reactionaries aimed at killing all interest in the Association on the part of its present and prospective members, so that they could always remain in office and use it as a tool in furtherance of their own designs and in thwarting the efforts of those who held different opinions. On the other hand, those that desired to see the Old Boys take a deeper interest in the affairs of their Alma Mater and a correspondingly larger share in the administration of its affairs worked hard to increase the membership of the Association. For many years one saw the strange spectacle of the office-bearers of the Association doing less than nothing to increase the number of its members and yet reluctantly offering the tribute of well-deserved praise on this score to those whose influence in the Association they heartily desired to diminish.

But even though the Association became 'unmanagable' in size, its office-bearers continued to 'manage' it, because most of its members were scattered over a vast area, and when they met together once a year at Aligarh, they were no match for a powerful clique that controlled resident members. These latter were for the most part in the service of the College, and thus in awe of the Association's office-bearers who also happened to be Trustees possessing enormous power on the Board of their employers. The non-residents, however, could not be easily convassed by any party, and when they came to Aligarh their votes could be easily divided. Naturally, they were averse to the making of parties within the ranks of a brotherhood, and a certain excess of 'conscience' supplied the place of party discipline. The result was, however, intolerable, and a Reform League was founded with a view to canvass the members and secure a solid vote in the Annual Meeting of the Association based on the views of the majority of the members of the League. In other words, a new party was created with a view to crush the party feeling created hy an existing clique.

This homeopathic treatment succeeded in effecting a cure in a remarkably short space of time. Those who established the Reform League had always had logic and ethics on their side ; but logic and ethics do not always prevail in such contents, and, therefore, 'brute force' prevailed. By organising their forces on party lines, they added 'brute force' also to their stock of ethics and logic. Their opponents soon gave up the game as lost, and one by one fell away and ceased to take any interest in the Association. The result is that among the resident Old Boys also, the remnants of the old clique cannot secure a majority, and the Association is at last free to work without party machinery. Those that honestly apprehended a permanent split among the Old Boys through the establishment of the

Reform League are now satisfied that they were wrong to think so, for the Regorm League has quietly disappeared after the breakdown of the old clique. This has synchronised with a period of unprecedented prosperity for the Association. For the first time its membership reached four figures and its income reached five last year. The Report of that year was a record of great progress, but even more significant was the tone and temper of the meeting in which it was presented by the new Honorary Secretary. The proceedings were characterised by a camaraderie which was wholly unlike the party spirit of the previous years, and the perfect unanimity that prevailed was shown by the easy passage of a new set of rules and the voting of so large a sum as Rs. 25,000 for the construction of the Old Boy's Lodge which was first decided upon in 1907.

When the Old Boys met once more this year, the atmosphere was to some extent charged with electricity. This looked something like a return of the old clique days and needs some explanantion. Last year a new element, then only imperfectly understood, was introduced in the annual meeting. An Old Boy had proposed that Sir Theodore Morison should be received in a fitting manner by the Association a few days later when he intended to revisit the College. There was nothing strange in honouring a former Principle, though many members of the Association frankly mistrusted the attitude of Sir Theodore towards the College, and almost all disapproved of his share in the decisions of the Secretary of State with regard to the Moslem University. But signs were not wanting to show that the honouring of Sir Theodore Morison was intended by some of those who had at first suggested it not as the honouring of former Principal, but of a present member of the India Council. When this event came off, the suspicions entertained at first began to be confirmed, and more recently they have been proved to the hilt. Whatever one thought of the old clique one had to admit that its motive-power was to be found among a section of the Old Boys themselves. But the new element that has begun to make intself felt seems to receive its mandate from the outside. Last December, on the occasion of the Annual Sessions of the Educational Conference and the Muslim League, there was a remarkably large attendance of Old Boys, and the mandatories asserted themselves with a degree of self-confidence that was alarming. They insisted on the Honorary Secretary's renunciation of his connection with the 'Secretay of the Ka'bah Society' and threatended to go on a strike if their demands were not accepted. This stiffened the attitude of the Honorary Secretary who had been contemplating a resignation of his office in the Association itself, and he now announced the intention of countinuing in office for the full term. This resolve was assisted by the confidence which an overwhelming majority of the Old Boys then present at Agra appeared to repose in him.

Shortly after this a special meeting of the Trustees of the College was held at Aligarh in which an unfortunate resolution relating to the Old

Boys Association was passed in the teeth of the opposition of a large number of Old Boys who took part in the deliberations as Trustees. We dealt with this matter at the time and need not refer to it in great detail. The old rules of the Association made it possible for a student expelled by the authorities of the College to be admitted as a member of the Association if a majority of the members voted in his favour. This rule appeared to be too harsh in one respect and too lenient in another. To treat every expulsion as a disability seemed unnecessary, and it was, therefore, decided that only such expulsions should make on Old Boy ineligible for membership as involved, in the opinion of the authorities of the College, a degree of moral turpitude. But naturally no disability could constitute a perpetual bar. Nevertheless, it was decided that if a majority of two-thirds, instead of an ordinary majority as under the old rules, voted in his favour, an Old Boy who had been expelled from the College could be admitted, as member of the Association. Of course if the bar was removed by College authorities themselves, there was nothing more to be said about the matter. As a further restriction it was decided that the question of such an Old Boy's admission could not be raised in the Annual Meeting merely on his application as under the old rules, but required the recommendation of the Central Standing Committee as a condition precedent. These rules were drafted by a Sub-Committee of which the College Proctor was an approving member. The draft had been circulated in February 1913, fully a month before the Annual Meeting of the Old Boys. It was discussed very fully in the Meeting and passed in a slightly modified form without a dissentient voice. One would have thought that this had given an ample opportunity to all concerned to raise such objections as occurred to them. But in Aligarh it is not unoften the unexpceted that happens. After the rule in question had been unanimously passed, the Honorary Secretary of the Trustees raised an objection, based, as we believe, on an objection taken by the Principal of the College to the presence of Mr. Ghulam Husain, Sub-Editor of the *Comrade* at the Old Boys' Annual Meeting and Dinner for which he was at Aligarh for a few hours last year. The Honorary Secretary of the Trustees moved them to pass a resolution to the effect that no student of the College expelled by the authorities should ever be admitted as a member of the Old Boys' Association except with the previous sanction of the Honorary Secretary and the Principal of the College. It is an irony of fate that neither he nor his predecessors in office should have taken an objection to the old rule which was obviously more lenient, but that he should have objected to a more stringent measure. But it was still more surprising that a few Old Boys themselves as Trustees voted on this occasion with the Honorary Secretary after having voted before as Old Boys in favour of the rule to which objection was now taken. But it is absolutely inexplicable how the Proctor of the College could sign a Circular Letter condemning in a violent manner

those who stood by the new rule after having himself assisted in drafting it.

As we have already stated, the resolution of the Trustees was passed in the teeth of the opposition of a large majority of the Old Boys present on the occasion on which it was discussed. One of them, who represented the Old Boys' Association, gave notice of a motion for the Annual Meeting of the Association, that in view of the foregoing considerations, the Trustees should be informed most respectfully that, as at present advised, the Association did not see its way to amend the rule in question in the manner suggested in their resolution. The letter accompanying this resolution explained at length all the circumstances of the case, and not even the most captious critic could detect in the letter or the resolution itself any indication of a want of respect for the Trustees or their resolutions. Nevertheless, two of the resident Trustees and half a dozen employees of the College who were Old Boys, including the Proctor, circulated a violently partisan letter in condemnation of the motion, its mover and its supporters, and, in fact, of the Association as a whole. What object was meant to be served by this denunciation is more than we can say, for even if the motion had been rejected, the rule to which the Trustees had objected could not have been amended this year for the simple reason that the authors of the Circular Letter had not taken the trouble to give notice of any amendment.

These two matters than were expected to be the storm-centres in this year's re-union of the Old Boys, the position of the Honorary Secretary of the Association and the question of admitting such Old Boys as members who had been 'sent down' in their College careers. But those who were content with watching the surface and could also discern things lying deeper were not troubled by any grave apprehensions, and their optimism was fully justified by the sequel. Two stray resolutions, sent in by a non-resident Old Boy who had heard of the Honorary Secretary's intention of resigning this year, but had not heard requesting him to continue in office for the full term, although superfluous from the Honorary Secretary's point of view, provided an ample opportunity for all those mandatories who had threatened a strike three months previously at Agra if the Honorary Secretary did not renounce his connection with the Servants of the Ka'bah Society. A prominent spokesman of the tribe was present on the occasion, but, after the trial of strength at Agra, appeared to be no more than an exploded volcano, and when it came to voting even he refrained from opposing these resolutions. Of the written votes only eight had been received against the two motions, and one may have a sign of relief that very probably one would hear nothing of a strike of mandatories for some time to come if the Honorary Secretary did not renounce the habit of offering prayers five times a day, or did not shave off his beard.

As regards the question of membership, the mover had occasion to learn that the Honorary Secretary of the College was evidently labouring

under a misunderstarding with regard to its motive and purpose. The Old Boys only meant to make it clear that their Association was an independent body which could not surrender into other hands no matter how capable its discretion as regards admitting Old Boys to its membership, and that it disapproved of the doctrine of Eternal Damnation. So long as these two points were placed beyond pale of controversy and doubt, not only in theory but also in practice, no one desired to disagree with the Trustees. Out of deference, therefore, to the Honorary Secretary of the Trustees, the mover of the resolution suggested an amendment that a deputation consisting of Mr. Justice Rafiq, the Hon. Syed Riza Ali and Mr. Mohammad Ali should wait on the Trustees and explain the reasons why they could not make the admission of any Old Boy to their membership dependent on the previous sanction of the Honorary Secretary of the College and the Principal, and to express the readiness of the Association to give their earnest consideration to every proposal of the Trustees and to meet them more than half way so long as it could be done without prejudice to the independence of the Association was one who suggested a different personnel for the deputation. But he was very fully answered when his own name was suggested for membership of the deputation by another pseudo-dissentient amidst loud laughter and his own louder protests.

This was the end of all the apprehensions of a 'split' of which false prophets have not yet ceased to talk in spite of repeated experience during the last six months. We have every hope that the Trustees would realise the insurmountable difficulties in the way of the Association's acceptance of their resolution of last January, and they would reconsider the matter and leave things undisturbed so long as necessity does not force an amendment of the existing rule on the Association itself. One thing, however, was made fully clear during the discussion on this question. Not a single dissentient voice was raised when members of the Association were pointedly asked whether they desired the Association to continue as an absolutely independent body or were prepared to accept, at least in practice, any modification of this absolute independence. We, therefore, trust no occasion will arise in future when this universal verdict would become a subject of dispute. The Old Boys of Oxford and Cambridge constitute the ultimate authority of the University, and the time is not far distant when the Aligarh Old Boys would occupy the same position at Aligarh. The independence of their Association must, therefore, be respected, and we have every reason to believe that the Trustees will always respect this if only the remnant of a once powerful clique among the Old Boys themselves would not carry its jealiousies into the deliberations of the Board of Trustees.

Unfortunately, a very destructive tendency was shown by a member or two of this clique during the two days' sittings of the Association. Incredible as it may appear, it was actually moved that, although the full interval provided for by the rules between the issue of the agenda

and the receipt of written votes was allowed by the Honorary Secrerary, by curtailing the time allotted to him under the rules for recording these votes, the Annual Meeting should not take place on the dates fixed, simply because the agenda was issued to a few members a day or two later than the due date through default of the press, in spite of the fact that nobody had complained of it and many Old Boys had come to Aligarh for the Meeting from every corner of India. A no less absurd objection was raised, and with less justification even of a technical character, that as the Honorary Secretary, in the capacity of an ordinary member of the Association, had not proposed more than one Old Boy's name for every seaton on the Muslim University Association, allotted to the representatives of the Old Boys' Association, the Association should not be represented on that body till another meeting had taken place. This was proposed simply because the objector would have preferred to see more members of his own type elected and had not taken the trouble to nominate them for election in spite of a sufficiently long notice. When the objector was asked to state what section of the rules had been contravened he gave up the quest after wasting a good deal of the Meeting's time. Nevertheless, he was more persistent than this suggests, for what he could not do in person he asked a legal representative of his to do for him. This gentleman wasted some more time, but finally the President ruled the objection out of order. These are matters far too trivial to discuss in these columns, but we are compelled to refer to them because the objections were taken by no less a person than Dr. Ziauddin who has recently officiated for a long time as the Principal of the Aligarh College, and no doubt regards himself as an exemplar of discipline.

But it would be extremely unjust to the Association if all this should lead anyone to believe that the Annual Meeting of this important body concerned itself only with squabbles about the Ka'bah Society and admission of expelled students as Old Boys, or frivolous objections of the character we have mentioned. As a matter of fact, only a couple of members were responsible for most of these things, and the Association was in no mood to agree with them or even take them seriously. On the first day a very interesting ceremony was performed by the President, Mr. Syed Zainuddin, when he opened the first storey of the Old Boys' Lodge. The building contains two spacious reception rooms, four suites of bed—dressing and bath-rooms and four bijou hexagonal rooms in the turrets on the four sides, besides a large hall or corridor in the centre of the building which would later on have a staircase leading to the top storey with similar reception rooms and suites of living rooms. The place is neatly furnished and is sure to attract a constant stream of Old Boys who were often prevented from visiting their Alma Mater on account of lack of accommodation near the College for such guests. The Honorary Secretary gave a short history of the scheme of the Old Boys' Lodge and tried to remove some peculiar notions which were entertained in certain quarters asregards the object for which

the Lodge was proposed to be built. He assured every will-wisher of the College and particularly his colleagues, the Trustees, that no one considered the traditions of Aligarh more sacred than the Old Boys, who were at once a conservative and a progressive element in the body politic at Aligarh. The President replied in a most feeling speech in the course of which he said that they who had lived in their College careers in the boarding houses near by, and had the time of their life in those glorious days, now felt as if after the vicissitudes and wanderings of their worldly careers they had once more been admitted into such a boarding house to revive old memories and associations. But he reminded the Old Boys that discipline used to be rather lax in their old boarding houses in those glorious days, but the discipline of their new boarding house would be far more stringent. They were expected to provide example for their younger brothers, in fact, in many cases for their own sons, now studying in the College, and he felt he could give to the Trustees, of whom he is one, and to the world at large, the assurance that the Old Boys would never belie the best expectations that could be formed of them.

A notable resolution passed after a protracted discussion of the details has autborised the expenditure of Rs. 4,000 a year on two scholarships to be offered by the Association to members of the Indian staff, one in the College and one in the School, for proceeding to Europe for at least six months to study the system of education. The amount of the scholarships is obviously too small to provide for all the expenditure that a member of the School or College staff would have to incur even in a six months 'trip to Europe. Similarly, the minimum period is obviously insufficient for a very close study of different systems. But it is hoped that the scholarship would be a handsome contribution towards the expenses of such a trip, and even 20 or 22 weeks judiciously employeed according to a carefully prepared scheme would give to an Indian graduate already employed in teaching considerable insight and a much wider outlook than he possessed before. We trust the experiment will prove successful, and, in any case, the Association would be able to judge within a few years whether it would be more profitable to increase quality at the expense of quantity, unless of course it could afford to do both.

In this manner the Association has more than doubted its contribution to the College, for hitherto it had been paying only Rs. 3,600 a year for the Science Chair, and would now contribute Rs. 8,320 a year, paying, in addition to the old contribution, Rs. 4,000 a year for the new scholarhsips and Rs. 720 for two engineering scholarships for Roorkee which existed merely on paper before. We hope and believe that, for their part, the Trustees of the College would also increase the representation of the Old Boys on the Board of Trustees from 5 to 15. It would be a graceful acknowledgment of the assistance rendered by the Association if the Honorary Secretary to the Trustees himself proposed the suggested increase in the next Annual Meeting. It must be remembered

that the Association would have made a much larger contribution to the funds of the College if it had not had to provide so large a sum as Rs. 35,000 for the Old Boys' Lodge and a fairly large sum for the preparation of an exhaustive Directory of the Old Boys. But this expenditure is non-recurring and the Directory would enable the Association to double its membership and income before many years. The Budget estimate of the Association is now nearly Rs. 28,000, though this amount includes a large aggregate of contributions for the Old Boys' Lodge. But it may safely be hoped that in the following year the net contribution of the association to the College would not fall much short of Rs. 12,000 a year. The progress hitherto achieved is, we hope, noly an earnest of better things in the future.

But it is not in money alone that the Old Boys can and do contribute their mite to the College. Mr. Said Mohammad Khan has this year been elected a Trustee for five years on behalf of the Association in the place of Mr. Mohammad Faiq who was elected last year at a bye-election. We hope the presence of the new Trustees on the Board would be no less valuable than the monetary contribution that synchronises with his election, and we trust Mr. Mohammad Faiq will once more become a Trustees very soon, and be enabled to continue the good work that he has hitherto been doing. It was a very difficult choice between the two, and our only regret is that both candidates could not become Trustees this year.

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2nd May 1914

THE ALIGARH OLD BOYS' DINNER

The following speech was made by Mr. Ross Masud at the Aligarh Old Boys' Dinner while proposing the toast of the College:

Mr. President and Gentlemen.—Of all the duties that fall to one's lot there is none which is more pleasant than that of proposing the toast of one's Alma Mater on an occasion such as the one which has brought us together to-night. Whichever side I turn my eyes, I see the faces of old and dearly loved friends and I begin to wonder whether all the long years of separation have been a myth or not. I wonder how many of us realise the fact that gatherings of this kind help to keep one young. The very walls of our Alama Mater resound with a welcome and the atmosphere they exhale and in which they envelop him who has lived there before, takes that man's mind back to the days of his youth and so strong and magical is its power that as long as he stays within the four walls of his Alma Mater he no longer feels himself the old and careworne individual that he is in the world outside.

I also wonder how many of us have recognised the debt we owe to the institution where we have received our education and where we have spent the happiest time of our lives. Throughout our lives this College of ours is our haven of refuge, and from the storm and stress through which one has to pass in this world we turn to it as one would to his mother for peace and solace of mind. And remember if there be any Old Boy who does not rejoice when visiting this institution and who does not look upon it with the affection he would bestow upon his home, then I say that man is not the true son of this College and miserable, indeed, is his lot. When we are sore beset with temptations and when we are faced wijh what seem insurmountable obstacles in our struggle for existence, it is the memory of having belonged to a worthy institution with noble traditions that comes to our help, and these traditions form our shield when we battle with all that is low and mean in this world. The feeling that one belongs to a corporate body of men and the reversed sense that one carries on one's shoulders, the honour of one's Alma Mater, are things which give stimulus to a man's soul and courage to his heart and thus help him to crush the temptations and overcome the obsta-cles that he finds in his way. Thus the debt we owe to our Alma Mater can never be repaid.

You must remember that in this world of ours every bond that helps to keep human beings together, and everything that engenders a spirit of kindliness and fellow-feeling, are sacred. And I ask you, is there any bond which can unite men of various temperaments and nationalities more firmly together than the bond of having belonged to the same Alma Mater? There is one thing upon which I should very much like to lay emphasis to-night, and that is that each and every true son of this College should do his best to annihilate all those forces that tend to weaken this bond of union and that are prone to create a spirit of schism amongst the alumni of this institution. Let all of us—those who have already issued forth from the dearly loved portals of this College, and those who are to leave them soon—be firmly united in the common and noble endeavour of improving the social and the intellectual condition of our community, by crushing all that is evil and by creating all that is good and consequently great. Lest it never be said of the students of this College that they have helped to increase evil in this worldand that they have brought into it not union but disunion. Our aim should be to unite the friend and the foe, and not to disunite friends. It is thus and only thus that we who pride ourselves on being the sons of thisinstitution can ever hope to do any good to our community and to the land to which we have the honour to belong. Frankness, truth, courage and self-sacrifice should be the motto of those who have been educated here.

Speaking as I do on behalf of the Old Boys, to whom I have the honour to belong, I should like to tell you who are the present students of our College that we expect great things from you. Not only we but also the eyes of your community watching you most anxiously, for all its hopes rest on you. You have

yet to pass through a great ordeal—the ordeal of life; you have yet to be tossed on the ocean of worldly strife, you have yet to face manifold temptations, and we who are your elder brothers are anxious to see how you behave in the world that lies beyond the walls of this College. And let me tell you why we, Old Boys, expect great things from you. It is because you have had better chances than we had, it is because you began your student life at a time when education was the cry of your community, it is because you have had better opportunities of comparing, things than we had, and, last of all, it is because you are receiving your education at a time when your native land—the land of Hindustan—can no longer he called a country that lives in its past, a country that is asleep. You are destined to play a very important role in the history of your country should prepare yourselves earnestly and carefully for the work that awaits you, and I assure you that as long as sincerity and toleration are your watchwords you can never go wrong. We wish you to be the best representatives of the highest intellectual life of your country, and in you who are our younger brothers we wish to see that combination of sound intellect, modesty and toleration of mind which is possessed by those who belong to a community that is healthy, a community full of mental energy.

But before I sit down to-night I should like to say something about a topic which is very dear to me. These annual dinners give us, the Old Boys, the best opportunity of giving you, the present students, any advice which we think might be useful to you. You must remember that you are now on the threshold of professional careers and I request you most earnestly to think carefully before you choose your profession. India is changing rapidly and life here is becoming more complex. A person with an incomplete knowledge of many things can no longer be admired nor can he do any good to his country ; the time for specialisation has come and you must follow no idle family traditions or sentimental whim in your choice of a suitable profession. I take it that we all wish to see our community and our motherland great ; now it is my firm conviction that it can only be done by our developing to the highest pitch all that is good in us. Each and every healthy inclination of the mind should be encouraged to the highest extent. In other words, what I want you to do is to take real inclination to be your only guide in choosing a profession.

Gentlemen, I now ask you to charge your glasses. I have the honour to propose the toast of 'The Dear Old College and the Trustees who govern our Alma Mater.'

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6th June 1914

THE OLD BOYS OF ALIGARH

Mr. Shaukat Ali, Hon. Secretary of the Aligarh Old Boys' Association wirtes to us :—'I would be extremely obliged if you would kindly allow me to appeal to the Old Boys to take up Aligarh and other communal work seriously in hand. The Moslem University Association must be brought into existence as early as possible. The Trustees, the Mohammdan Educational Conference and the Old Boys have already elected representatives. The Moslem graduates, the zamindars, the tax-payers and the Press have to fill in the vacancies allotted to them respectively. I am informed that owing to various causes, which have been distracting the attention of our people, very few names have been registered in the graduates' and the zamindars' guilds. According to the rules such Aligrah Old Boys as are graduates of five years' standing and send in Rs. 15 at once to the Honorary Secretary of the Moslem University Association, would be eligible for election and have a vote. So far only 6 names have been registered for 20 vacancies. The zamindars also can get enrolled by the payment of Rs. 15 only. Ten names have been registered for10 vacancies. We have no desire to pack the Moslem University Association with the Aligarh Boys, in fact we would be glad to give others a chance but if they are not forthcoming, the Old Aligarh graduates and Old Boy zamindars should gladly come forward. We are not ashamed of the part the old Aligarhinas have taken in communial affairs and I think the general Moslem public has often gratefully acknowledged our services. Our College and its students have won a warm corner for themselves in the hearts of the Mussalmans and never did our community love Aligarh more than it does at the present time. Now, we must devote our time to work for the development of our University. I appeal to all the old Boys to take this work up in right earnest. They have to build up Aligarh and they must do it. They should help us also (1) in increasing the membership of the Old Boys' Association (the College needs greater financial aid and we ought to contribute our share to it), (2) in clearing up arrears from them, and (3) in the building of the upper storey of the Old Boy's Lodge, so that in future, we may be free to place all our income at the disposal of the College. We Old Boys mustwake up now."

NATIONAL PRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT

یہ دستور زباں بندی ہے کیسا تیری محفل میں ؟
یہاں تو بات کرنے کو ترستی ہے زباں میری !

23rd March, 1912

THE 'ZAMINDAR'

The rapid growth in popularity of the *Zamindar*, an Urdu jounal of the Punjab, has been the outstanding feature of Indian journalism during the last year. Before Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, B.A. (Alig.), took up the editorial work, at first at Karamabad, and laterly at Lahore, the circulation of the paper was, we believe, confined to a small numbe of people either interested in the work and the advocacy of the cause of the zamindars of the Punjab,or personally acquainted with Mr.Zafar Ali Khan's late lamented father. Although even then the paper dealt with general topics also, it did not then carry more weight in a discussion of such questions as provincial vernacular papers generally do. What led to the rapid rise of the paper subsequently is the fact that a very able man, a graduate of Aligarh, and one not only experienced in the management of affairs in more than one province of India, but also in touch with modern culture and politics, and in sympathy with the Islamic world in India and abroad, took up the profession of journalism, which had never attracted such men before, and possessing, in addition to a good knowledge of English, a brilliant style in Urdu prose and a rare facility in Urdu versification, swept his readers off their feet in a remarkably short time. He habituated them to a class of Urdu composition to which they were hitherto complete strangers, at least in newspapers, and after which the ordinary Urdu newspapers tasted insipid and stale. We trust we shall not be misunderstood when we say that if the *Zamindar* in Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's hand was not as staid and dull as the *Paisa Akbar* it had not also the quiet dignity of the *Vakil* But for several purposes it had a more effective style than any other Moslem journal, and we were sure that a man of the education of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan woulduse his brilliant gifts for the elevation of his readers. When the Turco-Italian war brokeout and the Russo-Persian affairs reached a critical stage, these gifts naturally lent themselves to impassioned writing about the immoral tendencies of European international politics. The *Zamindar* preached the might of right to the already converted and its resourcefulness, its excellent translations from English papers—for Mr. Zafar Ali Khan is one of the best translators in the country—its closer acquaintance with Europe and its ways, together with the brilliant style of its compositions in prose and rhyme, made it the ideal paper for

these times and increased its already growing circulation. Knowing India as we do, we would not be surprised to find there was a great deal of truth in Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's assertion that 'the professional jealousy' of some brother jounalists 'could ill brook the phenomenal progress of a rival paper.' Add to this the nervous apprehensions of those nice old ladies who often go by the name of 'leaders,' especially in the sturdy North, who consider a condemnation of Italy as high treason and the expression of doubts about Russian good faith as sedition against the British Government, who would never dream of collecting funds themselves for war sufferers in Tripoli, and would pay a little to others, if their heart bled too much for their suffering co-religionists, on condition that their participation in a humanitarian cause was kept 'strictly confidential.' The *Zamindar* dar says that it has criticised the doings of these so-called leaders in its columns and that its writings 'were instrumental in pulling them down from the high pedestals to which they had very little title.' We may be sure it has done that only too effectively in the Punjab, and we are even less sorry for the results of its activities in this direction than for the passion it has aroused against Italian and Russian aggressions. Now, the *Zamindar* suspected that its rivals and the so-called leaders had been doing not a little backbiting, and that the officials, whose knowledge of Indian languages is, with extremely few exceptions, very meagre, were made to believe that the *Zamindar* had been publishing articles of a dangerous character. One of the cock-and bull stories to which it alludes is that, according to one official, he had suggested that the Bible be consigned to the flames. The result is that although, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan tells us, only last December H. H. Sir Louis Dane had shown his approval of the *Zamindar's* work. early this month a high official is said to have told the Editor that the paper was 'in every way objectionable,' and now the District Magistrate of Lahore has demanded a security of Rs. 1,000 each for the weekly and the daily editions, and the Additional District Magistrate of whose manner when warning journalists the *Zamindar* and other papers and complained, adds an order of his own calling upon Mr. Zafar Ali Khan to explain what he proposes to do. We publish elsewhere the two orders and Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's reply, and shall not deal with the legal aspect of the question at present partly because the latter has himself dealt with it and partly because we do not wish to prejudice the Magistrate who has to deal with the matter in a day or two one way or the other. But it is our plain duty to draw the attention of the Government to one aspect of the matter, What has the Press Act to do with the war in Tripoli or Russian action in Persia? Are we subjects of His Majesty King George V, Emperor of India, or of King Victor Emmanuel and of the Tsar of All the Russias? Again, does one come under section 124A, of the Indian Penal Code because one exposes the hollow pretensions of so-called 'leaders' and thereby

brings 'their leaderships' into contempt? The District Magistrate has strangely enough specified no passage of the paper which can even remotely come under the provisions of the Press Act, and this seems to confirm the suspicion that he has based the charge of an grounds possibly only hinted at by others. But the term 'objectionable' is too vague. What we want to know is the nature of the objection. There are many things which are perfectly legal yet otherwise objectionable, and one of these may be vulgar abuse of Italy or Russia. As for want of moderation, the charge is not clear. Moderation in what? In the absence of a more clear and precise accusation, it seems to be just possible that the Magistrate has mixed up his duties as a Magistrate who has to deal with crime with those of a literay critic who has to judge of tone and taste. In all conscience, the Press Laws and the Penal Code are wide enough for any Magistrate who has time on his hand and a desire to use authority. He may well leave tone and taste to the readers and the literary critics, ad with the undoubted journalistic jealousies in India he may be sure no paper is going to be spared by its rivals. When we read, as we have occasionally to do for our sins, the taunts and gibes of the *Watan* and the *Zamindar* against each, other we confess we have to hold our head down in shame. Only the other day these two papers had formed a Press Association which we too were invited to join. For various reasons it was impossible for us to join it, but we are now glad we did not join, for the quarrels of two of its members supported by a few others would have been an excellent comment on the character and tendencies of the rest also. A movement is a foot among the subscribers of the *Zamindar* to contribute the whole of the amount demanded as a security, and others too are anxious to show Mr. Zafar Ali Khan their sympathy. We hope this will be unnecessary; but should the Magistrate persist, it is only right and just that the readers who wish the paper to continue should contribute towards its maintenance. The Magistrate's order has not convinced us that his action is justified, and so long as he does not do so, we shall extend to brother journalist our fullest sympathy and support. We have no desire to obtrude this on public notice, and would have kept the fact that we telegraphed our offer of help to Mr. Zafar Ali Khan wholly to ourselvs. But journalists, like others in difficult times, must stand together, for who knows who may be led next from the tumbril to the guillotine. If anything that we and other contemporaries write on this subject makes the Lahore Magistrate reconsider his decision, or induces the Punjab Government to intervene when it can do so without sacrificing even official 'prestige,' we should have done something to help not the *Zamindar* alone but indirectly ourselves also. We must not fail to express here our appreciation of the action of the *Tribune* in dealing from time to time and very effectively with the legal aspect of this case. We trust its efforts would prove successful.

6th September 1913

THE CONFISCATED PAMPHLET

Case Agent *Comrade*

At the Calcutta High Court today a Special Bench, composed of the Chief Justices and Justices Stephen and Woodroffe, was engaged in hearing an application made byMr. Norton on behalf of Mr. Mohammad Ali agaisnt on order of the Government of Bengal declaring the forfeiture of a certain pamphlet entitled 'Come Over Into Macedonia and Help Us.' The Advocate General opposed the application.

Mr. Norton said that Mr. Mohammad Ali received from Europe certain copies of that pamphlet which was a translation into English and summary of statements made by persons of position and authority and newspaper correspondents which were at first published in French. The object of the pamphlet was to ask the English people at Home to use their influence upon the Government of England to stop the massacres of Mohammadans by Bulgarians, Servians and Greeks. Mr. Mohamad Ali reprinted the pamphlet in his papre the *Comrade* in May and June last. On the 16th July the Local Government of Delhi, i.e. the Government of India, passed an order forfeiting all copies of that pamphlet, and on the 18th July a similar order was issued in Bengal. Mr. Mohammad Ali, through his solicitor, surrendered one copy of the pamphlet to the Commissioner of police, Calcutta, and was told in reply that the copy wasforfeited to His Majesty.

Counsel then submitted that the notification did not satisfy the requirements of the Press Act as it did not state the grounds of the Government's opinion, and was there fore illegal. Continuing, Mr. Norton. asked the Advocate-General to tell him which classes the trend of the pamphlet purported to bring into hatred or contempt.

The Advocate-General. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that every page of this pamphlet draws an antithesis between Mussalmans and Christiong. But in course of reading one cannot read it without finding that every class is incidentally mentioned, such as Greeks.

The Chief Justice. Are there any Greek subjects of His Majesty in India? I want to know which class comes under this notification.

The Advocate-General. My answer to that is that it refers to Christians in British India—Christians generally, as also Englishmen.

Mr. Justice Stepheh. Is there any reference in the Act as to intention?

Mr. Norton. I think not. The present legislation is an invasion upon our liberty.

Continuing, Mr. Norton said that Mr. Mohamad Ali was a Mohammadan. The pamphlet came from Constantinople. It was unquestionably an appeal to the British public to rise and interfere with the massacres—massacres of women and children. The Mohammadans could not easily go against the Christians. That was against the teachings of the

Qur'an Christ being one of thir six most distinguished apostles. The following were the names of these six apostles of Mohammadans ; Adam, Noah Abraham Moses, Jesus and Mohammad. The name of Christ was held by Mohammadans in as much reverence as that of Mohammad. They appealed to the English people for the reason that Englishmen were known, as Sir Adam Block says in his preface, to be just. Englishmen should be proud to have their countrymen appealed to and to have them selected from among all other European nations. That was the highest public tribute that could be paid by one nation to another.

Mr. Justice Stephen. Ignorant Mohammadans may consider that Christisanity was the common tie between those who are outraging Mohammadans ?

Mr. Norton. They are outraging Christians and Jews as well.

Mr. Norton read the pamphlet from end to ead and argued that it was perfectly innocuous.

The Advocate-General in reply said that Mr. Norton had failed to show that the pamphlet did not contain words, signs or visible representations which were likely to bring into hatred any class of His Majesty's subjects in British India. In one place it was stated : 'Perish scores of thousands of innocent Mussalmans ; let thousands of women be violated rather than that Europe should stultify her policy by an action admitting that her proteges, these liberators, civilisers and Crusaders were a horde of bloodthirsty and licentious sevages, worthy descendants of their ancestors the HUNS.' What was the likely effect of that? It was addressed to the Mohammadan population of India. That passage alone would justify the action of Government. That passage, however, did not stand alone.

The Advocate-General. I fully agree which your lordship.

Continuing, the Advocate-General said that there and in other places the reference was to the Crusaders Those who were responsible for these proceedings and who, they must take it, had knowledge as to the state of the country and the present circumstances of the Mussalman world passed that order. The pamphlet had been proscribed by the Government of India. There was nothing in the Act which suggested that grounds should be mentioned.

The Chief Justice pointed out that under section 20 proof by the Government was contemplated.

The Advocate-General. Should your Lordship indicate even at this stage that it is desirable that information should be given on this point or on that point, an affidavit will be forthcoming immediately.

Mr. Justice Stephen. Do you at all agree that a ground or two ought to have been stated in the original order?

The Advocate-General. My submission is that the grounds have been stated.

Mr. Justice Stephen. You do not want to amend them?

The Avocate-General submitted that the requirements of the Act had been complied with. If their Lordships indicated that there was any need for

amendment that was a matter for consideration.

The Chief Justice. Do you wish us to order the Executive to amend its notifications?

Mr. Jusice Stephen. Do you say that the order as it stands is satisfactory?

The Advocate-Genral. It is not satisfactory. It is clearly not drawn up by a lawyer. It is a loosely worded notification.

The Chief Justice. Surely on loosely worded notifications you cannot confiscate people's property.

The following is another report of the proceedings on the 16th instant, summarising the main points and giving important observation of the Honourable Judges.

The first day's discussion centred round two main points. Firstly, whether the notification stated the grounds of the Government's opinion as required by section 12 of the Press Act. The Advocate-General first suggested that the grounds had been stated because the notification said inasmuch as the words in pamphlet are likely to bring into hatred or contempt certain classes of His Majesty's subjects in British Indis. Mr. Norton pointed out that this was merely a repetition of the words of the section describing the offence. The Chief Justice said that the words 'inasmuch as' signify the same thing as the words 'to wit.' Mr. Justice Stephen said that this was as if the notification had declared a man to be a thief inasmuch as he had committed theft. The Chief Justice said that the notification did not even say if it was a single class or more than one that was brought into hatred or contempt, nor whether it was brought into hatred or into contempt, The Avocate-General said that 'hatred or contempt' meant 'hatred and contempt.'

Mr. Norton. I may hate a man but have no contempt for him or *vice versa*.

Continuing, Mr. Norton said that through Mr. Sinha, then Law Member, the Government had assured non-official members in the Imperial Council that the satement of grounds would be an important safeguard and had thus obtained votes for the passage of the Press Bill in 1910. Now, Government was breaking its promise. It was keeping us in the dark and embarrassing the defence.

The Chief Justice. Under section 19 we can't set aside orders except on one ground, namely, that the words of the pamphlet are not such as are described in section 4. Consequently we may only say that the notification is bad in law, but we have nothing on which to pronounce judgment. Probably Government would return you your pamphlet.

Mr. Norton submitted that under section 19 the Bench must decide one way or the other. The Chief Justice stated that Government could have referred to the state of the country, to Moslem feeling or other data as grounds of its opinion. It might have its officers' report. But there was nothing before the Court. A discussion then arose as to whether the Act contemplated the giving of any evidence by Government in favour of its opinion. The Advocate-General doubted. The Chief Justice referred to section 20.

The Advocate- General. The onus of proof is on the applicant.

The Chief Justice. Section 20 refers to proof offered by Government as to the 'nature or tendency of words, signs or visible representations.'

The Advocate-General offered to procure affidavits of officials even at that stage. Mr. Justice Stephen asked if he considered the notification to be satisfactory.

The Advocate-General Well, yes.

Mr. Justice Stephen Wouldn't you like to amend it?.

The Advocate-General. If your Lordship would like it to be amended.

The Chief Justice : Do you want us to order the Executive to amend its orders?

Mr. Justice Stephen pressed the Advocate-General who at last said that the notification was not satisfactory. It couldn't have been drawn up by a lawyer. It is loosely worded.

The Chief Justice. Surely you can't confiscate people's property on loosely worded notifications.

After this the second point was the character of section 4. The Chief Justice stated that while section 22 was very narrow, section 4 was very wide. In fact, every criticism was covered by it. Every critical article, historical, narrative or political wascovered by it.

Mr. Norton. It means that the net is cast very wide, but its meshes are very small and nothing can escape.

The Chief Justice. Can you believe anything can escape it? It covers words that are likely or may have a tendency, but even these are included that may have tendency—not only directly but even indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication—and even 'or otherwise' to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India. It doesn't even say into whose hatred or contempt. It may be the hatred or contempt of one man only.

Mr. Justice Staphen. It may be the hatred or contempt even of a single foreign subject.

The Chief Justice. Yes.

Mr. Justice Stephen gave the instance of certain political cries which come under section 4, for instance, 'God save Ireland,' or as in the American war 'Mary, had a little lamb.'

The Chief Justice. I think what we are saying comes under the Act and may be prescribed by Government.

In the discussion about the character of the pamphlet the Advocate-General referred to a passage as typical, but the Chief Justice pointed out that the preceding paragraph showed that if any people were brought into hatred or contempt they where the French authorities who rejected the appeals of the commanders of their ship to intervene at Dedeagateh. They were not His Majesty's subjects in British India. The Advocate-General pleaded that the Viceroy was at the head of the Government of India and in touch with the Foreign Office which was criticised. So was also Sir Edward Grey.

The Chief Justice. Surely not as Christians. The criticism appears to show that British Government had its complications of foreign affairs, and the British nation was appealed

to induce the British Government not to be influenced by those complications but to intervene to prevent the massacres. This was not even a condemnation of the Home Government's apathy. In any case there was an attack neither on Christians nor on Englishmen as such.

On the 27th August the proceedings were as follows.

Mr. Justice Stephen. Do you not think that stating of grounds implies the allegation of facts?

The Advocate-General. If it becomes necessary under the Act for the Government to state the cirumstances as to the condition of things at a particular time which in their judgment makes it necessary to pass this order, if they got to state these, the necessary consequence would be that the Government itself would be perpetrating the very evil to avoid which is the object of the Press Act.

Counsel then went on to discuss the question as to whether the grounds should be stated in the notification. He contended that the words in the section with reference to the statement of grounds were directory and not mandatory.

The Chief Justice. In this case there is this difficulty. The only fact we have is that certain copies passed into the hands of Mr. Mohammad Ali. Supposing a copy is sent to me. Is my poor individual copy going to bring people into hatred or contempt ?

The Advocate-General. It appears that they were reprinted.

Mr. Norton. That is not the reason assigned in the notification. That notification is for the pamphlet.

Continuing, the Advocate-General said that it was indicated on Tuesday that it was a slur upon Mr. Mohammad Ali. That was not so.

The Chief Justice. Do you attribute anything like criminal offence to Mr. Mohammad Ali ?

The Advocate-General. Not a bit. His intention, we will assume, was the highest. We suppose that he was acting in the highest interest of civilisation and humanity in ventilating this. Still the authorities are of opinion that there is a danger in submitting this case to the public because it has a tendency to stir up hatred. Although Government thinks so, it is not suggested that Mr. Mohammad Ali intended it. That there is no slur on Mr. Mohammad Ali, I submit, is perfectly plain. He did it in the highest interests of civilisation. Nevertheless, if the Government of its own knowledge thought that . . . .

The Chief Justice. We do not know the facts. Only the Government has the facts.

The Advocate-General. If the Government is bound to disclose them it can bring into the court evidence as to the state of affairs, local and foreign.

The Chief Justice. We can do nothing except in the eye of public, whatever our convictions may be of the character of the Government. We cannot form any opinion apart from the facts.

The Advocate-General. What is got to be done is for Mr. Norton on behalf of the applicant to satisfy your Lordships that this pamphlet under no cirumstances can create hatred or contempt.

Mr. Norton. That must be given in the ground of the notification.

The Chief Justice. It is intended that the court should be in as good a position as the Government to judge the merits of any proscribed thing. That is why the grounds should be within the knowledge of the Government that certain innocent words bear a sinister significance which we may not know. But it is a slur on any man against whom the act operates. It is meant for the very worst class of people. Is it not so? But the words of section 4 are so wide that even the eulogy of one class may bring it into hatred or contempt of others. Any ingenious combination of circumstances would bring e v e r y t h i n g under the Act, from the certain to the impossible.

The Advocate-General. They can come to the High Court only on one ground. In the High Court's Rules too the applicant is to state the grounds and he states only the ground that the pamphlet is not covered by section 4.

The Chief Justice. That is a somewhat specious argument. By section 12 you are required to state the grounds and you repeat the words of section 4. That is not stating the grounds. If the applicant states as his ground that the pamphlet is not such as section 4 contemplates, that is sufficient ground for upsetting the order. It is only playing with words.

The Advocate-General : As your Lordship pleases.

The Chief Justice. It is not as I please, but as I fear it must be. The grounds mean facts and not law.

The Advocate-General. When we mention that the pamphlet is of such a character and we therefore proscribe it we give facts.

The Chief Justice. That is to say, 'We are of opinion because we are of opinion.'

Mr. Justice Woodroffe. The less particulars are alleged the more difficult it is to say that a publication does not come under section 4. We are left to guess a lot of things.

The Advocate-General T h e grounds depend upon the character of the pamphlet.

The Chief Justice. Not if it is directory.

Mr. Justice Woodroffe. According to your agreement nothing need be set out at all. Government may be in possession of the grounds and yet they are not bound to declare what these grounds are.

The Advocate-General. Yes.

The Advocate-General then dealt with the pamphlet in question. In the first page there is a passage that 'the Oriental, and the Turk in particular, has always trusted the Englishman, because he is known to be a just man, I am afraid that this belief is passing away.' This statement of Sir Adam Block, counsel considered, was defamatory.

Mr. Norton said that he should be proud to have his countrymen singled out.

The Advocate-General. For what? For this that the belief that they are just was passing away ?

Mr. Norton. This is the view of Sir Adam Block ; but where the Turks themselves appeal on page 68 and reprint these words of Sir Adam Block's preface, they omit his words 'I am afraid that belief is passing away.' That is not their opinion.

The Advocate-General then read out extracts from the pamphlet and

said that the whole of the pamphlet fell within the purview of the Indian Press Act. The reference throughout the pamphlet was to Christians, Christians, Christians.

The Chief Justice. To whom is the appeal made?

The Advocate-General. The appeal was first made to England, but when it was republished in this country its character was altered.

The Chief Justice. I suppose the appeal was made to the Christians, to the better side of the Englishmen on the ground of their religious creed.

The Advocate-General. Your Lordship makes it quite a touching publication. But could that appeal be made to the small band of Englishmen here?

The Chief Justice. I want your view. Suppose the reference to Christians was with a view to show that Bulgarians did these things in spite of their Christianity; would it not enhance the effect?

The Advocate-General. Yes, it would.

The Adocate-General then referred to the alleged atrocities and said that two things which appealed most to the Moslems were the violation of their women and the desecration of their mosques.

Mr. Justice Woodroffe. Suppose the facts are these; should they not be mentioned because the Mussalmans resent them?

The Advocate-General. There would be a reflex action here.

Mr. Justice Woodroffe. You must show the nexus between the people who did these things and the people whom you say it has a tendency to bring into harted or contempted. There is no obvious political nexus. We are not political allies of the Balkan Allies. We are Christians and so you say we might be brought into hatred or contempt. You must show the nexus.

The Chief Justice. The effect of the notification is to band us as allies of the Christian Bashibuzouks.

With reference to the effect of not stating the grounds the Chief Justice said: If the words in the Act were stronger and said that the order of forfeiture shall state the grounds, and it did not, could we not say there was no order? And there was no order, then nothing follows.

The Advocate-General. No, but there is an order *de facto*.

Mr. Justice Woodroffe. What is your argument? Has a reference to this Court any reality at all? Can this Court fulfil any function at all?

In a discussion of the merits of pamphlet Mr. Justice Woodroffe, the addressing the Advocate-General, said: Your argument comes to this that whatever may be done by Christians in Europe, no one in this country can raise a protest because there is a Moslem population here?

The Advocate-General. It depends on the way the protest is made.

Mr. Justice Woodroffe. It comes to this that a protest is to be allowed if you can sufficiently water it and make it weak?

On another occasion Mr. Justice Woodroffe asked the Advocate-General: 'Must not the words have a tendency to arouse evil passions?' The Advocate-General submitted that the pamphlet had such a tendency, upon which Mr. Justice Woodroffe said: 'Such a feeling is what may be called "righteous indignation."' With reference to

the atrocities attributed in the pamphlet to Christians Mr. Justice Woodroffe drew the attention of the Advocate-General to references to acts of kindness and generosity of the Christians.

The Chief Justice. What do you say to Mr. Norton's argument that the Act was passed to prevent evil passing under the guise of innocence, that the Act was passed as part of a scheme of enactments to deal with quite a different state of affairs and a class of men very different from gentlemen like Mr. Mohammad Ali, who has, if I may properly say so, committed no criminal offence.

The Advocate-General. I would request your Lordship to apply to this case the well-known rule of interpretation that Acts should be looked at as they stand.

The Advocate-General objected to references to speeches made in the Council in the Press Bill debate, but the Chief Justice pointed out that they could refer to the history of such legislation.

The Chief Justice. Do you accept that the Act was passed for a particular part of India ?

The Advocate-General. *Inter alia.*

The Chief Justice. What are the *alia* ? Was not the Act directed against a large scheme of crime ?

The Chief Justice referred to the history of the legislation with a view that it may throw light, for instance, on the meaning of class hatred. He drew attention to what he called 'a very proper explanation' under section (153) A of the Indian Penal Code and pointed out that the Press Act had no such explanation. He said: 'Even if a man published something with a view to give an opportunity to Englishmen here to say "we protest against this," he is liable to the serious consequences under this Act. In section (153) A it is not a proviso, or an exception, but an explanation of the law.'

Mr. Norton in his reply sought to prove that a statement of grounds was mandatory and referred to a similar statement of grounds in section 145 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and again argued that the Government would not have been able to secure the non-official support wherewith to pass the Press Bill if the non-officials knew at the time that such clauses of the Bill would be used at such times and in such a manner to brand such publication as seditious.

The Advocate-General. I disclaim as clearly as possible any suggestion that there is anything seditious in this pamphlet.

Mr. Norton tried to show that the very wide words of section 4 of the Press Act were narrowed down by Explanation II which stated the comments expressing disapproval of the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, or of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection do not come within the scope of clause (c) of the section. But the Chief Justice said that this did not cover the bringing into hatred or contempt 'any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India." It only applied to bringing into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India: 'And,' said the Chief Justice

'the explanation seems to be that this explanation was taken from section 124 (A) and the explanation from section 153 (A) was overlooked.'

Among other things the Chief Justice referred to 'a curious departure in language' in section 12 of the Press Act from other sections. Throughout sections 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 16 and 20 'copies of books or newspapers' have been mentioned, but in section 12 the reference is to 'book or newspaper' only and not to copies, The Chief Justice remarked: 'We are told that in the same enactment different language is used, it must signify some difference.' Addressing the Advocate-General and the Standing Counsel, he asked 'What is the significance here?' No reply was forthcoming.

The Chief Justice on another occasion said:' For some reason or other there is a distinction drawn between "contempt or hatred" of section 4 (1) (c) of the Press Act, "enmity" of section 153(A) of the India Penal Code and "antipathy" of Act IX of 1878.'

Mr. Norton's reply was a short one, but most eloquent and affecting. He was himself visibly moved and the Chief Justice was noticed to be similarly affected.

Mr. Justice Stephen asked Mr. Norton: Who are the people against whom the pamphlet is directed?

Mr. Norton. Bulgarians, Servians and Greeks.

Mr. Justice Stephen. What is common to the three?

Mr. Norton. Atrocity, Mr. Lord. Your Lordship perhaps expect me to say 'Christianity,' but I am not going to say it.

Mr. Norton referred to the view taken by Englishmen in England of this pamphlet, which contrasted violently with the view of Government. There Lord Lamington had formed a Committee, with Mr. M. Houston-Gibbs as its Honorary Secretary, and its offices at the house of Lord Lamington himself, for the purpose of giving greater publicity to the appeal of the Turks and demanding an International Commission of Investigation. Mr. Norton said he had in his hands a pamphlet—based on the proscribed pamphlet to which Lord Lamington had contributed a Foreward. It was entitled 'The Balkan Massacres: A Turkish Appeal to the Women and Men of Great Britian,' and underneath this title was printed in red a Cross, and below that the words, 'A British Response and Demand for an International Commission of Investigation,' and two texts from the Gosple according to St. Matthews. That, he said, was the response of England. But the notification proscribing the same pamphlet was the response of the Government here. He was told by the Advocate-General that the first to proscribe it was the Government of Bombay. Had Lord Lamington been still the Governor he was sure the Government of Bombay would not have proscribed the pamphlet

The Chief Justice. Don't say that, Mr. Norton. Don't say that.

Mr. Norton, continuing, said, he would then make the words of Lord Lamington his own and read the foreword which was as follows:

'The object of this pamphlet is to stir up public opinion so that an International Commission may be

appointed to inquire into the treatment of Mohammadan persons during the recent war and to provide for the security of their lives and property now, and when a settlement of the country takes place.

'It may be impossible to verify all the alleged atrocities. But I know from unimpeachable sources that gross barbarities have been perpetrated. Besides, too, Sir Edward Grey's refusal to publish Consular Reports is eloquent negative evidence in the same direction.

'It is a poor retort to say that the Turks would have behaved in the same way. The Christian States attacked Turkey on the plea of introducing orderly and civilised government into Turkish territory. It is hardly a Christian method to do so by wiping out the population.

'Why should our sympathies be confined to Putumayo? Or to the inmates of Portugese prisons? I fear one reason is that in the last two cases we do not mind offending the authorities implicated, whereas in the case of the Balkan States we are fearful of incurring displeasure. This timidity, however, has brought about its own revenge by exciting the feelings of our Mohammadan fellow subjects.

'Apart from self-interest, surely a Government which ranks amongst its members those who condemned their own fellow-countrymen for waging war in South Africa by "methods of barbarism," should try to secure for the Turks the usages of modern warfare and protection from the barbarities of a bygone age.

'I hope that this pamphlet may help to bring home to people in this country some idea of the horrors that have been taken place."

JUDGMENT

On the 1st of September at the Calcutta High Court Special Bench consisting of the Chief Justice and Justices Stephen and Woodroffe judgment was delivered in the application of Mr. Mohammad Ali, Editor and Proprietor of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Delhi, against an order of the Bengal Government declaring under section 12 of the Press Act a pamphlet entitled 'Come Over into Macedonia and Hep Us' forfeited to His Majesty.

The Chief Justice. This is an application to the High Court under section 17 of the Indian Press Act, 1910, to set aside what is described as an order forfeiture under section 12 of that Act.

The order of which complaint is made was published in the 'Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary' July 22nd, 1913, and runs as follows: Notification No. 2296 P.D, The 18th of July 1913. Whereas it appears to the Governor in Council that a pamphlet entitled 'Come Over into Macedonia and Help Us' contains words of the nature described in section 4, sub-secion (I) of the Indian Press Act, 1910 (1, 1910), inasmuch as they are likely to bring into hatred or contempt certain classes of His Majesty's subjects in British India. Now, therefore, in exercise of the power conferred by section 12, sub section (1) of the said Act, the Governor in Council hereby declares all copies of the said pamphlet wherever found to by forfeited to His Majesty.

This is not the first pronouncement on this pamphlet for by a

similar notification published in the 'Gazette of India' on the 16th July, 1913, the Governor-General declared the pamphlet to be forfeited. And even before this there had been a notification to the same effect by the Government of Bombay.

Section 12 (1) is in these terms: 'When any newspaper, book or other document wherver printed appears to the Local Government to contain any words, signs or visible representation of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1) the Local Government may by notification in the local official Gazette stating the grounds of its opinion, declare such newspaper, book or other document to be forfeited to His Majesty.'

The relevant portions of section 4 are as follows: 'Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any printing press in respect of which any security has been deposited as required by section 3 is used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representation which are likely or may have a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India then the consequences indicared in the Act are to follow.'

There is a curious difference between the language of section 4 and of section 12. Under section 4 what may be declared to be forfeited 'all copies of such newspaper, book or other document.

Under section 12 what may be declared to be forfeited is such newspaper, book or other document. Section 12 stands alone in this respect and its language may be contrasted with that of sections 6. 7, 9, 11, 13, 16 and 20 as well as section 4. I doubt whether any difference of operation was intended.

Sertion 17 entitles any person having an interest in any property of which an order of forfeiture has been made under section 12 to apply to the High Court to set aside the order, but only on the ground that the newspaper, book or other document, in respect of which the order was made, did not contain any words, signs or visible representation of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1).

Together with this section must be read section 22 by which, with a qualified exception in favour of the High Court, all jurisdiction is in effect barred. This section, save for the exception, reproduce 16 of the shortlived Press Act of 1878 commonly known as the Vernacular Press Act.

Two conditions then are necessary to a forfeiture in accordance with the terms of section 12. First it must appear to the Local Government that the publication contains words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), and secondly the Local Government must by notification in the local official Gazette, stating the grounds of its opinion, declare such publication to be forfeited to His Majesty. The first condition implies that the Government prior to its declaration of forfeiture for it must first form an opinion. Though there is no evidence as to this, the Advocate-General assured us that a

copy must have been in the Local Government's possession before the declaration. I will assume this to be so.

ABSENCE OF GROUND

'The second condition is one which has given rise to considerable discussion. It has been urged that it is a necessary condition of an effective forfeiture that the grounds of the Local Government's opinion should be stated and that this has not been done in the present case.

'On learning that it appears to the Government in any particular case that there are words of the nature described in section 4, first question that occurs to anyone whose duty it is to inquire, is : why does it so appear, what are the grounds of its opinion ? Those responsible for the Act foresaw this, and so they specifically provided that the forfeiting notification should state the grounds of the Local Government's opinion.

'But when we turn to the notification no such grounds are stated ; nothing in the nature of a fact is set forth, there is merely a citation of those words of the section which are invoked. The notification seems to take this shape:—"It appears to the Local Government that these are words likely to bring into hatred or contempt a class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India and the grounds of its opinion are that the words are likely to bring into hatred or contempt certain classes of His Majesty's subjects in India."

But the repetition of an opinion cannot be its ground, and yet that is all that the application furnishes in the shape of grounds. This is obviously insufficient and not a compliance with the terms of the Act. Moreover, I think that this direction in the section is mandatory and that the Legislature intended to impose and has imposed on the Local Government an imperative obligation to state the grounds of its opinion.

'The language of section 4 may be compared. It requires that the notice forfeiting the copies of the publication should be in writing and state or describe the offending words, signs or visible representations. The provisions as to the statements to be contained in forfeiting documents were, I think, designedly inserted and were intended to be a check on the power of forfeiture vested in the Local Government for it is easy to see that the obligation to state grounds furnishes a valuable safeguard. The statement of grounds may be another reason to be regarded as an essential part of the Legislature's scheme ; for it might help the High Court to perform the duties cast on it under section 17. And in fact, we have in this case been considerably embarrassed as will appear later, by the absence of grounds.

'The notification therefore appears to me to be defective in a material particular and but for section 22 of the Act it would (in my opinion) be our duty to hold that there had been no legal forfeiture. That section, however, provides that every declaration purporting to be made under the Act shall, as against all persons, be conclusive that the forfeiture therein referred to has taken place. The result is that though I hold the notification does not comply with the provisions of the Act still we are (in my opinion) barred from questioning

the legality of the fofeiture it purports to declare.

'This brings me to the question whether the pamphlet under discussion contains words of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1). The provisions of section 4 are very comprehensive and its language is as wide as human ingenuity could make it. Indeed it appears to me to embrace the whole range of varying degree of assurance from certainty on the one side to the very limits of impossibility on the other. It is different to see to what lengths the operation of this section might not be plausibly extended by an ingenious mind. They would certainly extend to writings that may even command approval. An attack on that degraded section of the public which lives on the misery and shame of others would come within this widespread net: the praise of a class might not be free from risk. Much that is regarded as standard literature might undoubtedly be caught.

DEFENCE OF THE PAMPHLET

'It is, however, argued that even so this pamphlet is outside both the spirit and the words of the section. And now I will notice the argument that has been addressed to us as to this. The pamphlet, it is said, is an appeal to His Majesty's subjects, followers of the Christian faith; and it is an appeal to them as Christians to move the British Government to such individual or concerted action as will put a stop to outrages that shock all feelings of humanity, if they in fact occurred. And so, it is contended, this is an appeal to the people of Christian nation, just because they are a Christian nation, and this would be the first to protest the cruel disregard of the principles of its faith by some who profess to be its adherents, and against acts so abominable as to have earned the scathing denunciation or the Christian monarch of one of the allied nations. Nor does the argument rest there, for it is brought to our notice that the pamphlet contains passages which show that Christianity as a creed is not attacked notably that which states that "it was ever the symbol of humanity and mercy" and that it states that those who were fighting under the Cross betrayed it. It is true that it refers to crusades, but this has reference not to any crusade proclaimed by Christianity but to the proclamation of the King of Bulgaria. On the other hand there are passages which expressly state that Turkish excesses are not condoned which show that Christians are not attacked as such and narrate the protes made and help given by Christians other than the Balkan allies engaged in the war. There is no racial or political tie between the Balkan allies and the Christian subject of His Majesty in India which would make it possible that wrongs committed by the former should be considered imputable to the latter. Nor is there really any creedal link because it is not suggested that the acts complained of were done in the name of and with the authority of Christianity, but in betrayal of it. On the contrary, it is argued, the suppression of this pamphlet might tend in the Mussalman mind to band the Christians of this country with the authors of these wrongs and make it appear that it was desired that these should not be made public

lest they might throw discredit on Christian subjects in India. The pamphlet then, it is said, so far from bringing Englishmen or His Majesty's Christian subjects into hatred or contempt is the highest compliment that could be paid to them.

'This is the argument and it may be very forcible when addressed to those who can be swayed by it. The Executive Government can be moved by such reflections; our investigation is of a more prosaic order.

THE BURDEN OP PROOF

'The Advccate-General has admitted, and as I think, very properly, that the pamphlet is not seditious and does not offend against any provision of the Criminal Law of India. But he has contended, and rightly, in my opinion, that the provisions of the Press Act extend far beyond the criminal law; and he has argued that the burden of proof is cast on the applicant so that, however meritorious the pamphlet may be, still, if the applicant cannot establish the negative the Act requires, his application must fail. And what is this negative? It is not enough for the applicant to show that the words of the pamphlet are not likely to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India, or that they have not a tendency in fact to bring about that result. But he must go further and show that it is impossible for them to have that tendency either directly or indirectly, and whether by way of inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor or implication. Nor is that all for we find that the Legislature has added to this the all-embracing phrase "or otherwise."

'And here, I may, not inappropriately, invite attention to section 153 (A) of the Penal Code, which has such affinity to the statutory provision governing this case that it may be regarded as its basis. That section was added to the Penal Code in 1898, and was directed against the promotion and attempts to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes. It will be noticed that the feeling here described is one of enmity or hatred; no provision is made for contempt. But the more important divergence is that while the Penal Code requires that the enmity or hatred should be not only towards a class but by a class, there is no such limitation in the Press Act as to the source from which these hostile feelings should proceed; it aims against all hatred or contempt regardless of these by whom it is entertained. Nor is this the only direction in which there is a greater stringency in the Press Act. To section 153 (A) there is appended an explanation 'which are producing or have a tendency to produce the feelings of enimity or hatred' indicated in the section. And yet no such qualifying words are to be found in section 4 of the Press Act, and this is the more remarkable because the qualifying explanations of section 124 (A) are introduced though they relate to an even greater offence.

'It may be that the omission was an oversight but whether that be so or not the Government insists on the absence of this explanation though it leads to a curious result. I think the Government is entitled to stand on the letter of the law though it deprives Mr. Mohammad Ali of an opportunity of relying on an explana-

tion concerned in the spirit of that which forms parts of section 153 (A) of the Penal Code. Had the Press Act incorporated the explanation to section 153 (A), as it has that to section 124 (A), Mr. Mohammad Ali might perhaps have made a very strong case in view of the Advocate. General's admission as to the character of the pamphlet and the applicant's purpose and intentions.

'The applicant, however, contends strenuously that the pamphlet does not come even within these all-embracing terms of the Act and that the Legislature aimed at something wholly different. The incalculable powers of forfeiture vested in the executive are a sure sign that the Act was called into being by urgent political necessity. And it is of sufficiently recent date to enabie us all to remember that the mischief chiefly aimed at was the prevalence of political assassination and anarchial outrage. Comprehensive words were designedly used to catch crime and the incitement to crime posing in the guise of innocence. The Act was directed against crime and aimed at its prevention. I doubt whether publications with an authorship, a source and a purpose like those of the present pamphlet were thought of; and I recognise the force of the argument that the Act is now being applied to a purpose never intended. But be that so or not, if the Legislature has employed language wide enough to cover the pamphlet, this lack of reserve affords no answer to the forfeiture now attacked.

'I have already dealth with one phase of absence of grounds in the notification. This defect and the Government's failure to place before us any materials beyond those provided by the applicant have simply added to our difficulties in discharging the peculiar duties cast on us by the Act. The notification does not even specify the classes that might be brought into hatred or contempt or which of these two diverse sentiments is apprehended. And so when Mr. Norton rose to address the Court he had to seek this information from the Advocate-General.

'The first answer implied that it included Christians, Greeks and Englishment, but as under the Act the classes are limited to those composed of His Majesty's subjects in India, the Greeks were withdrawn and the first and the last retained. Still the answer in its original form is not without its significance though it was afterwards modified. The pamphlet would doubtless bring into hatred the un-Christian Christians whose deeds of atrocity are described. The theory presented is that the reflection of this hatred might fall, set indeed on the Government, but on His Majesty's Christian or English subjects in British India. If this be the Government's view with all the information at its disposal, the Court, no more informed than the man in the street, cannot (in my opinion) affirm this could not be so and affirm it with a degree of assurance that would entitle it to set aside a measure of safety on which the Government had solemnly resolved.

'The Advocate-General has convinced me that the Government's view of this piace of legislation is correct and the High Court's power of intervention is the narrowest; its power to pronounce the legality of

forfeiture by reason of failure to observe the mandatory conditions of the Act is barred; the ability to pronounce on the wisdom of the Executive order is withheld, and its functions are limited to considering whether the applicant to it has discharged the almost hopeless task of establishing that his pamphlet does not contain words which fall within the all-comprehensive provisions of the Act. I describe it as an almost hopeless task because the terms of section 4 are so wide that it is scarcely conceivable that any publication would attract the notice of the Government in this connection to which some provision of that section might not "directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise, apply."

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE.

'I have said that the ability to pronounce on the wisdom or unwisdom of Executive action has been withheld. There was good reason for this. Courts of law can only move on defined lines, and on information brought before them under limited conditions. It is not so with the Executive authority. It would be paralysed if it had to observe the restrictions placed on the Courts. Its action can be prompted by information derived from sources not open to the Courts, and based on consideration forbidden to them: it can be moved by impression and personal experiences to which no expressions can be given in court, but which may be a very potent incentive to executive action. The Government may be in possession of information which it would be impossible to disclose in a court of law, and yet obviously requiring immediate action. Therefore the jurisdiction to pronounce on the wisdom or unwisdom of Executive action has been withheld and rightly withheld. It may be a question whether even the semblance which this Act provides should not have been withheld as it was by Act IX of 1878. Political considerations, reasons of State are the life-blood of Executive action, but they have no place in a court of law.

' "The constitution," said Lord Mansfield, "does not allow reasons of State to influence on judgment." God forbid it should. We must not regard political consequences, howsoever formidable they might be, if rebellion was the certain consequence we are bound to say *Fiat Fustitia Ruat Caelum* (case of John Wilkes, 19 H.W. St.Trials 1112).

'The fact is that the Executive and Judicial authorities stand on a wholly different plane for the purposes of arriving at a decision as to the properiety of Executive action. And the one cannot sit in judgment on the determinations of the other *St. Judicus, Cognosva, se regnus, jula.*

'And what then is the conclusion of the whole matter of the two alleged checks on executive action, supposed to be furnished by the Act, one, the intervention of the Courts is ineffectual, while the other for this very reason can be, and in this case has been disregarded, without imparting the practical effect of a forfeiture purporting to be under the Act.

"NOT A STAIN ON HIS CHARACTER"

'One word more and that is as to

the motive of the present application. The applicant, Mr. Mohammad Ali, is by no means unknown in India; he is a journalist of position and repute. Though he is not an accused, he tells us that he regards himself as under the stigma which (he declares) must attach to any journalist who has come under the operation of an Act directed, primarily at any rate, against a criminal movement marked by outrages which so shocked the public sentiment as to call for this drastic legislation. But even if he has not succeeded in proving the negative that fate and the law have thrown in his way, at least his application has not been wholly in vain. The Advocate-General, representing the Government, has publicly announced that Mr. Mohammad Ali's forfeited pamphlet is not, in his opionion, a seditious libel, and, indeed, that he attributes no criminal offence to Mr. Mohammad Ali: he was even willing to concede and believe he was acting in the highest interests of humanity and civilisation. In this, I think, the Advocate-General made no admission which it was not proper for him to make. Mr. Mohammad Ali then has lost his book, but he has retained his character; and he is free from the stigma that he apprehended. And this doubtless will be some consolation to him when we dismiss, as we must, his present application. I think there should be no order as to costs.'

Mr. Justice Stephen delivered a separate judgment agreeing with the Chief Justice that this application should be dismissed without cost.

Mr. Justice Woodroffe agreed with the judgment of the Chief Justice.

20th September 1913

MOSLEM PRESS AND PRESS ACT

We know the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in his *Causes of Indian Revolt*" laid the greatest stress on one point, and that was that there must be a common medium of understanding between the Government and the people. The Representative Assemblies and the Press were undoubtedly the best means through which a foreign Government like ours could learn what the people were feeling and thinking about.

In the extraordinarily quick development of this country, the Press has had a very big share. It has opened the eyes of the people and taught them to dream dreams. Still more important, it taught them how to realise those dreams. The Moslem papers, both English and Urdu, have performed their share nobly, from the *Social Reformer* of Sir Syed down to the smallest paper or magazine. Nobody can say that the Mussalmans have not made up since the foundation of the Aligarh College in 1875.

The Mussalmans and Moslem Press have done and are doing all

they could to support Government as long as they feel that the Government was just and its officials anxious to respect the feelings of the people. No praise was too good for them. If any critic of the present Moslem attitude took the least trouble and went over the files of Moslem papers of two years back, he would find the community grateful, especially at a time whent it was, through its own wanting some who shook their heads being disagreeably surprised at the energy and power of organisation displayed by a community who had deprecated itself and was taken literally at its words and so despised. Then suddenly we heard, the ominous rumours that Mussalmans should not be trusted, and it would be great mistake to leave them to manage their educational affairs. Tripolian, Persian, Morrocish and Balkan troubles followed quickly one after the other, and we regret to say that responsible British Ministers said and did things that shocked the good Moslem subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor. What did the Mussalmans and their Press do then? They only redoubled their efforts and organised help for their coreligionists who were in trouble and whom their great Faith has taught them to look upon as their own 'brethren.' They respectfully but persistently told the Government that they felt genuinely and strongly on the subject and resented the unjust treatment meted out to their brethren, and they requested that England at least should not take a prompt part in this filthy game of thieving. We still maintain, in spite of the Anglo-Indian Press and Sir Edward Grey, that His Majesty's Indian subjects of every class and creed have as much right to give advice in the affairs of the Empire as any resident of the British Isles or of the Colonies, and our voice sooner or later will have a fair hearing.

However, the difficulties that the Indian Press has to face are enormous. According to the Anglo-Indian papers, it has no business to offer advice to British Ministers and Government on foreign affairs. Well and good; but what about Indian affairs? Here, too, it has to write to order. If it writes frankly and honestly, the net of the Press Act, with all its paraphernalia, is cast wide and, to quote the Hon. the Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court, 'nothing could escape it.' A heavy security is first demanded, followed by its confiscation and the demand of a still heavier security, and then the tragic end. All this depends entirely on the personnel of the Government. If the higher officials were broadminded and sympathetic, capable of meeting the situation and of realising the danger, everything would be well —the country quiet and the Press in peace. If otherwise, things would be done thoughtlessly, sometimes deliberately, which hurt the suscepti bilities of the people and upset their daily quiet life. People then would express that they feel—

کیوں دل جلوں کی لب پہ ہمیشہ فغاں نہ ہو
ممکن نہیں کہ آگ لگی اور دھواں نہ ہو

We think a wise and good Government must know exactly what its subjects felt and must see what it could do to give them peace and rest. This could best be done through free press and free speech. It will be a mistake to stifle them, the evil conse-

quence of which no one can foretell.

Taking the present case in the United Provinces, one feels sorry its officials should be so short-sighted. Do they think the Mussalmans of India are babies and their present attitude a childish freak? Are they crying for nothing? Or do they seriously believe that the Mussalmans in India want to get up a huge rebellion against the Government? What for? For establishing a Mohammadan Kingdom? We do hope Sir James Meston knows the real causes. The fact was that some of his advisers thought Mussalmans were getting a swelling in their heads, and it was time they were knocked about a bit.

It is unfortunate that His Honour should have chosen the Cawnpore mosque affair to show his strength, with results that we all deplore. It was a question of 'the House of God,' and we feel certain that the Mussalmans will always feel sore about it until justice is done and the demolished portion rebuilt.

People have to express their feeling; and stronger the feeling, the stronger will be the expression. The Moslem Press is being unnecessarily hounded for doing this, and even such papers as *Towheed* of Meerut are not secure. The Editor of the *Muslim Gazette* had to leave Lucknow within a few hours, and every Government Gazette brings out the confiscation of some poems or articles written about the Cawnpore affair. His Honour knows full well that his masterful subordinates, Messrs. Tyler and Slm, are responsible for this and even the docile people of this country could not cheerfully allow themselves to be made scapegoats for them.



the World of Islam

THE WORLD OF ISLAM

چین و عرب ہمارا ، ہندوستاں ہمارا
مسلم ہیں ہم وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا

8th June 1912

MOSLEMS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Some time ago we had called the attention of the Indian Government to the humiliating disability that the Transvaal Government had imposed on the Indian Mussalmans, resident in the Colony. We had shown a Mussalman was liable to arrest and fine if he happened to have more than one wife. We regret to say that the disability continues to be imposed in all its irksome rigour. What is actually happening in those dismal regions dominated by the little Africander and how His Majesty's Indian Moslem subjects are being treated are now a matter of History. We need not discuss the notorious regulations in detail, but in certain of their effects they are well worth pondering. A Judge of the Transvaal Supreme Court has laid it down that the Transvaal law does not recognise the Mohammadan law of marriage, that Mussalman wives are therefore not recognised as such, that for the purpose of the Immigration Law, a Mussalman Indian may elect to name any one of his wives (supposing him to have more than one) and that even though she may be the last married, she may enter the Transvaal to the exclusion of all the others. It is held that the clause providing for the admission of the wife of a non-prohibited immigrant does not include wives where there are more than one. Again, a Mussalman subject of H. M. the Sultan of Turkey is liable to the disabilities of Laws 3 of 1885, including ineligibility even for the Municipal franchise, and inability to own fixed or landed property, while the Christian subjects of His Majesty enjoy perfect freedom of movement and same rights and privileges as the free-born white colonist. We have reason to believe that all Ottomans, irrespect of creed and race, resent this humiliation and will see that the citizens of the Empire are treated with due respect abroad. Our primary concern is that the Indian Mussalman in Africa should not be subjected to such iniquitous treatment. In spite of all that has been promised by responsible British statesmen in the way of relaxing the existing regulations, nothing effective has yet been done to break the far sinister of colour and creed. The only remedy that we can think of under the circumstances is that similar regulations should be enforced by the Indian Government to bring home to the Little Africander the enormity of his arrogance and the danger that he is creating for the future of the British Empire. The Indians have no

reason to accept the existing inequality of conditions as a part of some immutable law of Nature. The Imperial citizenship is a farce as long as they are treated like helots and pariahs in an intergral part of the British Empire.

15th July 1911

THE LEMTA AFFAIR

More than a month ago the Tangier correspondent of the *Times* had wired that despite the assurances of immunity by the French and by the Maghzen, the fertile district of Lemta outside Fez was sacked and burned on the very eve of the relief of the city by a detachment of the Fez garrison commanded by the officers of the French Mission. The correspondent had added that 80 women and children had been publicly sold in the market. But the *Times* had explained that the raid was made in consequence of the barbarous cruelty of the inhabitants to the French couriers and the sale of women and children was positively denied. The French accounts stated that the French officers had left when the ruthless chastisement of villagers began. This was an exceedingly convenient proceeding, but no one was bound to believe that, although the raid was undertaken to avenge, the French officers had left just when the real game began. French accounts also stated that the open sale of women and children was untrue. According to them, only a few small boys were sold in a clandestine manner, but that afterwards when the facts were known they were restored to their families. Their accounts had even then roused suspicion, for if the French officers had left the troops so early, how could the French vouch for the fact that an open sale did not take place and that only a few children were sold? But the mail brings more news, and the Tangier corresponent of the *Times* states that in addition to the five or six children who were restored to their families by the Maghzen, a further and much larger number, including women, have been purchased and rescued by private individuals at Fez. Nearly all belonged to families of people employed by Fez Moors on their Lemta estates, and it is through the efforts of these proprietors that they have been discovered. Altogether over 80 women and children have now been traced, and it is known where others are. It is still hoped that more will be rescued but many others will never be heard of. If this is true, then is there any doubt about the duplicity of the French in this as in other affairs relating to Morocco, and the readiness of the *Times* to dress the window for its friends, the French? Just as it was not the Moorish troops alone that were responsible for this outrage but also, and mainly, the French officers, so it appears that it is not French and the automaton in

French hands, who is still called the Sultan, but the Moors of Fez who repurchase and rescue as many of the unfortunate women and childern as they can discover. Had all this happened in Albania, Torgut Shevket Pasha and the Young Turks would have been cursed by the Powers and the whole European Press, and Islam itself would have been held responsible for such outrages. But the women and children were not Catholic Malissoris nor Mirdites but only Moslems and Moors. So, who cares ?

29th June 1912

ISLAM IN RUSSIA

We have often observed that Mussalmans in every part of the world have got to deal with problems that are in theirmain features the same. Indeed, the very first impression of a student of present-day Islam in its broad social intellectual and moral aspects is that the essential factors of the Moslem situation are universal in scope and identical in character. Grave differences bring into prominence all the more clearly the universal nature of the malady that afflicts the various Moslem communities to-day. Political conditions have a great power for good or evil, but they cannot break the structure of a social organism or modify its essential features, however far-reaching and drastic they may be in their operation. Diversity of political status in the case of the Moslem communities is simply a question of facilities or lack of opportunities, of suitability of methods, of the adaptation of means and must find, at any rate in its broad outlines, an identical solution. From Morocco to China and from Northern Siberia to the heart of Africa, amid a variety of political conditions and the influences of race and clime, the spirit of Islam is struggling to be free. The weapons may not in every case be the same; but the nature of the hopes and the character of the efforts are identical. The hopes have found a clear, unmistakable utterance. The accents, though now and then unfamiliar, are understandable of all.

The Moslem problem is neither a political issue nor a social question, though in some of its aspects it includes elements of both. Essentially it is a religious problem. We hope we have made clear the full import of what we mean. The word 'religion' has unfortunately not escaped a certain attenuation of meaning in these days of the specialists. It has become a mere technical expression in the hands of the thinker who has begun measuring social phenomena in terms of biology. To the scientific spirit 'religion' is merely a form, a ritual, a bald physical satisfaction of some physical need, and he explains it as he would, for instance, explain the existence of chairs, the presence of curled moustaches or shaven heads, or the human appetite for pilau or apple pies. Need we say that the vital phenomena described as 'religion

cannot be strangled by specialist phraseology? The shadow of scientic dogma-tism, however, lies thick across the word, and even the sanest and most clear-headed thinkers feel ashamed of using it without apology. Yet it is the non word that sums up the idealism of man as distinct from the brute realism of his physical environment and the cosmic process that has given him birth. It is at once his achievement and his aspiration. It is as tival as life. When we say that the Moslem problem is a religious problem, we simply mean thereby that the Mussalmans are perhaps the only portion of mankind who accepted certain ideals of human life and purpose as true for all time irrespective of place and circumstance; and their past history and present condition are to be explained with reference to those ideals. Their future endeavour shall manifestly be inspired by those ideals if the ideals themselves have not become shibboleths. Unlike many varieties of non-Moslem polities that have grown round the nucleus of some secular need out of the stress of economic or political forces and have decayed in the course of history, the various Moslem societies have risen and fallen in pursuit of the same principles, for the Mussalmans had definite and fixed principles for the fashioning of their social and political systems. Those principles have not been strictly followed in practice and the history of the decline and fall of the various Moslem States is in fact due to their falling off from the original standards of conduct, social duty, and moral purpose. Unless they are prepared to sink into the position of a community socially disintegrated, yet held together only by the sense of its helplessness as a despised and fallen people, they must recover either their principles, catch their pristine inspiration and make a fresh effort for pogressive social development, or discard them definitely and once for all, merging themselves into the non-Moslem races that surround them. The latter alternative is abhorrent to every Moslem. He feels that he has yet his use in the world as a Mussalman, that his Message is yet half-delivered, and that it is necessary for the ultimate good of mankind that it should be delivered throughout the world. In short, he cannot renounce his creed without feeling that he would thereby be beggared of every fine hope and purpose that makes his life worth living. The only course open to him is to remodel his life on the principles that he learnt at the Master more than 13 hundred years ago. This explains the identical character of the efforts that have recently been made in China, India, Egypt, Persia, Turkey and Russia to liberate the spirit of Islam from the grip of the ultra-secular influence.

Lord Cromer has learnt to think of Islam as a stagnant creed and a fearful obstacle in the way of human progress. He has written of it as a bundle of dead formulas, definitely opposed to the spirit of modern culture, science and thought. His Lordship, however, has the common dogmatism of those who lack the historic sense. He sees a certain social group under certain conditions. He finds those conditions to be decidedly harmful in their bearing on social efficiency and moral progress. Forthwith he concludes that the people are stamped with a

ruthless psychology which has made them a species apart — cramped and crippled for eternity. The argument is of a piece with the series of psendo-scientific reasonin with which 'the Asiatics' are often shown to be unfit for the democratic organisations of Europe. The fallacy thrives on a gross unscientific habit of mistaking the accident for the type. The only effective refutation of this kind of arguments is to point out that the Mussalmans who have tasted something of the spirit of modern culture and have received their intellectual training in Europe or in seminaries imparting Western education, remain Mussalmans, by conviction ; and their love and sense of patriotism for their creed have developed a more robust fibre because their increased intellectual sensibilities have given them a deeper perception of its power, beauty and truth. At the head of every movement for Moslem renaissance in India, Turkey, Egypt and Russia are men equipped with Western knowledge or admirers of Western science and thought, who feel no intellectual absurdity in making an essentially religious appeal to the Mussalmans to rise to the spirit of Islamic teaching, adopt new methods, if need be, and prepare themselves for the growing synthesis of mankind without losing their individuality.

Every Moslem land has had its Sir Syed, and the spirit of Aligarh has found everywhere its local habitat. The leaders of the new intellectual movement in Russia are men of great strength of character and versatility of mind. Foremost among them are Ismael Bey Gasprinsky, the renowned editor of *Tarjama*, and Ahmet Agaeff, the powerful publicist and author on Islamic subjects, who has now become a Turkish subject and has been appointed inspector of primary schools in Constantinople. Ahmet Agaeff had his former centre of activity in Baku. He has done more than any other single Russian writer to combat the prejudices of the Russian Mussalmans against Western education. By means of lectures, pamphlets and through his writings in the press he has brought home to the Russian Mussalmans that modern science and thought are not opposed to the teachings of Islam and that they must learn what Europe has to teach them if they want to lead successful and honorable lives. Ismael Bey Gasprinsky is the pioneer of what is called 'the New Method Movement,' i.e. a movement to create a new literature through a reformed language and to found schools in every centre of Moslem life in Russia which would impart sound modern education along with instruction in religion. Ahmet Agaeff created the necessary atmosphere for the success of the Gasprinsky programme. The movement has succeeded in evoking fresh energy and enthusiasm amongst the Mussalmans; and though it encountered fierce opposition at the outset at the hands of the mullahs of the old school, it has outlived that opposition and is now spreading rapidly in every part of the country. It has created and is rapidly multiplying a new and powerful literature in Turkish which has become the literary language of all the different Moslem tribes living in the Russian Empire. This work has been carried on with marvellous

energy and devotion for the last twenty-five years and has already resulted in uniting the separate Moslem tribes in Russia into 'One Moslem nation' inspired by endeavour. The overwhelming majority of the Russian Mussalmans are ethnographically of the same stock as the Ottoman Turks. It was, therefore, a wise step on the part of Moslem leaders in Russia to create unity of intellectual outlook and greater facilities for the diffusion of knowledge by adopting Turkish as the literary language for the people. This purely educational measure has, however, been construed as a political move with the spirit of militant 'Pan-Islamism' behind it. The Russian Government has always looked askance at these educational activities; and efforts have from time to time been made by reactionary officials to suppress them. The recent ukase of the Tsar stopping all Moslem schools in Astrakhan is the most violent blow yet aimed at the new intellectual movement by the Russian Autocracy. The plea for these repressive measures has invariably been sought in the existence of what has been called the 'Pan-Tjoork' movement. It is alleged that an active undercurrent of sympathy between the Russian Mussalmans and the Ottoman Turks is uniting them for a common political purpose which is full of menace to the peace and security of the Russian Empire. To remove this menace the Russian Government has embarked on a campaign of repression, and its most decivive act has taken the characteristic shape of a summary fiat suppressing all educational institutions. All talks about Pan-Tjoorkism as a political movement are no better than the usual Muscovite bluffs. One might as well regard, and perhaps with much greater reason, the Pan-Slavism of the Christian Russia as a potential danger to the peace and prosperity of Europe. The true inwardness of the motives that lie behind these acts of repression must be sought in the obscurantist nature of the Russian despotism coupled with its deep-rooted prejudice against the faith that still retains its virility and cohesive power, in spite of the fanatical efforts of a Catherine and a Peter to stamp it out of existence. One always thinks of Russia as a country oppressed as if by a hideous nightmare, where the mass of the people drag out lives of distress and of toil, deprived of even the elementary rights of humanity and occasionally serving as food for powder and shot. The Moslem sitution in Russia is beset with many dangers. The next few years will reveal the extent to which the Mussalmans are intellectually and morally equipped for self-preservation. They are one of the most vigorous Moslem communities, and the success of their efforts for self-regeneration and self-discipline will react powerfully on the whole Islamic world. From Central Asia to the shores of the Adriatic, in Transcapia and northen Afganistan, in the regions of the Caucasus and in Northern Persia, in Asia Minor, in the Crimea and south-east Russia the future the Moslem communities depends to a very large extent on the success of the 'New Method Movement' which has created the 'Pan-Tjoork' lanaguage and literature and its weeding the various tribes

into a united people for intellectual and moral progress. The educational institutions through which the movement is working form the most important factor of the Gasprinsky programme. A detailed study of the work that is being carried on by these schools will be full of interest and instruction for the Indian Mussalmans.

The ancient mektabs (primary schools) and medressas (high schools), which have for many centuries existed throughout the Moslem world, are being rapidly changed by the Russian Moslems into efficient modern schools for up-to-date secular education. Turkish language is the medium of instruction. The syllabus of studies has been framed on modern lines which has a fairly high standard approaching the programme of the European public schools. The curriculum for secular instruction includes Turkish Language and Literature, Arabic Language and Literature, History of Islam, General History and Philosophy of History, Mathematics, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Geography, Natural History, Physics, Chemistry, Agriculture, Book-keeping, Hygiene, Psychology, Logic, Method, Calligraphy, Russian Language, and French and German (optional subjects). Religious teaching is compulsory and comprises lessons in Koran, systematic Theology Fikh (Law), Usool-i-Fikh (Fundamentals of Law), Rules of Morals, Farais (Laws concerning Inheritance), Tefsir (commentary on the Koran) and Hadis and Fundamentals of Hadis. Both the secular and the religious teaching comprised by these curricula are spead over eight years, after which a boy passes to a course of higher studies in the University of Kazan of Ufa. The most important feature of the syllabus is that it combines the liberal as well as the practical aspects of modern education and at the same time gives the Moslem boys a thorough grounding in the principles of their faith and their own secular history. The far-reaching and useful effect of this happy and wise combination can well be imagined. It is surely a great improvement on anything hitherto attempted in Moslem institutions in this country.

The principal centres of the New Method education in Russia are Kazan, Ufa, Orenburg, Troisk and Baku. In Central Asia, Tashkend, Khokand, Andijan and Samarkand are growing in importance as centres of educational activity Bokhara, the once famous seat of learning in the world of Islam, whieh has lost its ancient glory and is still wedded to obsolete ways and customs. Kazan now holds pre-eminent position as the seat of modern learning and has become the nerve-centre of Islam in Russia. It is also the chief centre of the Moslem press. Many newspapers are issued from the place which enjoy a vast circulation throughout the Russian Empire and in northern Persia and Turkey. The intellectual activity of the place may be gauged from the fact that several hundred new books on Islamic and cognate subjects are published annually with a total of about five million copies.

Ufa is the headquarters of the principal Moslem Ecclesiastical Assembly with the great Mufti as its president. The Assembly administers the Moslem law in accordance with which the family and religious

life of the Moslems is regulated. The administration is carried on through a hierarchy of mullahs, imams, and akhunds who are nominated by and are subjects to the Assembly.

The Mussalmans of Eurpean Russia are generally literate. In many districts the percentage of literacy among them is higher than that of the Russians. In the Asiatic provinces about 50 per cent of the Moslems must be literate. The number of schools in Russian Turkestan was 6,026 in 1907. Accurate statistical data in regard to these matters are, however, not available. The Mussalman population of European Russia and of the Caucasus theoretically enjoy the same rights as the Christian population of the Empire. They are admitted into military service and civic life and take part in parliamentary elections. They are allowed to act as jurymen and no restriction is imposed on their liberty to enter the government service on equal terms with the Greek Orthodox population. In practice, however, this equality of status is reduced to a mere sham. They are often subjected to harassment by the executive authorities. In spite of their greatest efforts they have not yet been able to secur a reproportionater representation in the Duma. 'They have no right to be presidents of the district education boards, teachers of humanitary sciences in Russian schools or school-masters in primary schools for Christian children.' The Mussalmans in Asiatic Russia 'have no courts, with jurymen and have no right to send deputies to the Duma.' An organised agitatation against these disabilities is being carried on most vigorously by the Moslem leaders with the active sympathy of the Russian Liberals. A mosque was recently opened in St. Petersburg with great ceremony and a society for the protection of Moslem interests was organised in the capital. How far their efforts to achieve real equality of treatment will be successful remains to be seen.

The material condition of the Mussalmans of Russia in Europe is as good as, if not better than, that of the Russians. There are great merchants, traders and captains of industry among them. Morally they hold a decidedly higher place in the popular estimation. They are straigh forward and self-reliant and their fearless and independent bearing attracts the pagan tribes into the fold of Islam. A Moslem convert at once begins to feel pride in his new social status and becomes a 'Tatar' whatever his original tribe may be. A convert to Christianity has, on the other hand, to bear a decided loss in social position.

The future of the Russian Moslems, as we have already observed, depends on the success of their new intellectual movement. The obstacles in their way are ma ny and formidable, but the growing sense of unity and patriotism among them inclines us to believe that their future, through stress and storm, is assured. They are patiently and steadfastly elaborating ways and means for their intellectual emancipation. According to Ismail Bey Ilministey, they have fully realised that 'the world is constantly changing and progressing and the Moslems are left behind for many miles. We need to create a general awakening of the hitherto sleeping Moslems.' The need is

clearly general throughout the Islamic world; and the most happy sign is that its urgency has been recognised everywhere. The present-day attitude of the Moslem world was summed up in a singularly direct and outspoken expression of opinion by a leading journal of Constantinople immediately after the Revolution. Said our contemporary:

'The Moslem world is in the throes of a regeneration which will affect its social as well as its political conditions, and indirectly must concern its ecclesiastical affairs. It will undoubtedly have the same influence that the reformation of Luther and the French Revolution had upon society and culture. The dethronement of three absolute monarchs in three independent Moslem States is a novel chapter in the history of Islam, and calls for grave reflection by the adherents of that faith. The social and economic affairs of a nation, as well as its religion, are closely allied to its politics, and there cannot be serious disturbance in one without having a great influence upon the others. It means either decay or progress, because there is no such thing as rest or stagnation in society. The human race cannot remain in repose. It must either advance or go backward.'

31st May 1913

ISLAM IN SERVIA

I had read with great interest the articles on the Mohammadans of China and Russia in the *Comrade* and was inspired through them to inquire about the condition of the Mohammadans of Servia and Bulgaria on my way to Constantinople. I was able to stay in these States for about two weeks, and I am glad to say that ample opportunities were afforded to me to gain true and authentic information.

In Servia I was in Nische and in the capital. In Belgrade I had the honour of being a guest of the Sheikh-ul-Muftian who is, for a great part, the source of my information. Mohammad Ramzi Bey is a young 'alim of about thirty years, but one can have no idea of him from our own ulema in India. For his prototype one must look to an Aligarh Old Boy. He is working, as far as he has a most limited liberty to do so, for the amelioration of the condition of his coreligionists in Servia. We had together many and repeated discussions about the present state of the Moslem world, but for the sake of relevancy I would write here only about the present condition of the Servian Mohammadans.

The number of the Mohammadans, in the whole of Servia who are the subjects of the Servian Government is twenty thousand. This estimate is based on Government records and is corroborated by the Muftis. Besides these there are always living in Belgrade between one and two thousand non-Servian Mohammadans all the year round who come for purposes of trade of an insignificant kind. These outsiders are mostely Albanians

and Bosnians, nnd when coming to Servia almost always leave their families behind in their native countries, for there is little personal security for Mohammadans there.

Although Servia was not so long ago a part of the Ottoman Empire, no evidence of Ottoman occupation or rule is to be found now. All that remains to remind of them are the ruins of a Turkish fort in Belgrade, Hammam and the tamb of a mujahid (Mustafa Pasha), besides a few Turkish guns. All the rest has suffered utter destruction at the hands of the Government and the Christians. The headstone of the grave of Mustafa Pasha is lying broken outside the mausoleum, and the inscription on the archway entrance has been all effaced except the word Mustafa. This was done a few years ago when one of the periodically recurring outbreaks of Christian fanaticisms had occurred. There are no Turks in Servia now except six families living in Nische and Belgrade. In Belgrade I had the chance of seeing an old man of 77 who is one of the few survivors of the time of the Turkish rule. When I asked him what change had taken place in general since then in the country, he replied: 'Effandam, only this much. Where there are houses now there were roads, and where there are roads now there were houses. Where there were mosques then, there are cafes now. In Belgrade and everywhere the Christians have left nothing.' In Servia I learnt rent for the first time what Christian Europe has done and is doing to to the Mohammadan people in the Balkans, and I feel a shudder when I think what it will do to them in future if its cruel hand is not checked, as it will be, by Turkey. If I continue this subject any further I will be going beyond the scope of the article, though what I have heard and seen has made me mad.

The material condition of the Mohammadans is very bad, and it could not be otherwise under the political, economic and social pressure which is brought to bear upon them. There is not one rich Mohammadan in the whole of the country. All belong to the agricultural labouring class, with the exception of about a few hundred who can earn a decent livelihood or are well-to-do. The whole trend of Servian politics is that the Mohammadans should be systematically impoverished so that, being obliged through want, they may either die out or may accept the Christian faith and be merged among the Christians. But, though poor in the possessions of the world, the Mohammadans are rich in the possession of great moral and social virtues innate in Islam. They are known everywhere for living a simpler and purer life than any other people in the conntry. The vices of drink, gambling and incontinence are comparatively unknown among them. Their family life is more patriarchal than that of the Christians. Women go about with freedom, but observe the purdah in covering the whole figure and a great part of the face. Polygamy is seldom or never practised. Among the poor class the dress of both men and women is different from that of the Christians, and this, I believe, is the result of the special requirements of a life different from other communities, of the

purdah among women and of a desire to keep themselves distinct from the Christians. But the easiest sign of their recognition is the Fez which slowly and surely is becoming the head-dress of the Mohammadans of the world. Although they are Serbs the Mohammadans differ even in their features from their non-Moslem fellow-countrymen. The cause of this, I think, is only the reflective effect of a different environment. I would not be very wrong if I say that the Mohammadan Serbs are like the Baluchis and Afghans in their general appearance. Those who are well-to-do or Turks wear European or Turkish clothes, and in their life are not much different from the Turks.

The Mohammadans suffer under disabilities of all kinds. There is neither toleration nor justice for them. They are one and all the victims of Christian oppression and official repression. The position of the Serbs working on lands is that of Helots and slaves, and the treatment meted out to them is often cruel and barbarous. The Government is always a willing accomplice in all criminal and unlawful attempts for their extirpation or forcible conversion. It is only since a few years that they have been allowed, through the intervention of the Turkish Government, to offer prayers in their mosques and to say the Azan. Even now there are very few mosques in Servia as the Government hinders their erection. In Belgrade there is only one mosque. Not long ago there were eleven; but they were all, one after another, destroyed by the Christians. But the Mohammadans do not grow less. The conserving virtues of Islam have saved them, or else they would have succumbed to such unfavourable surroundings. They are very religious, and all have the love of Islam at heart. Under no promise of reward or threat of punishment do they waver in their faith. Even when it comes to the breaking point they prefer death to renunciation of Islam.

But the power of religion in the present environment in which the Mohammadans find themselves all over the world is only a weapon of defence, and alone it will not avail for long against the joint and combined forces which threaten their existence. It is necessary that they should undergo a voluntary process of variation to bring themselves in harmony with the surroundings that have been forced upon then, so as to fight through to victory in the struggle for existence. This can only be done through education that may adapt them to these new conditions. The Mohammadans of Servia lack education here most hopelessly. The fault is not entirely their own. The Mohammanans like all other subjects are taxed by the State for educational purposes, but they do not receive back even a small part of what they pay for the support and maintenance of the State schools and colleges. The Mohammadan educational institutions are limited to the Makatib-i-ibtidai which are nominally supported by the Government. As the Mohammadans are poor they are not be able to do more. In most of the Mohammadan schools there is only one teacher, and in not a few places the same teacher has to travel from village to village to give lessons in each. Instruction is, to a large extent, confined to Theology and is given in the Servian language, but

the Mohamdans write in the Turkish or Arabic characters. Besides Mathemetics, Geography and History, a little of the Turkish lunguage is taught as well ; but its teaching or study is looked upon with suspicion and disfavour by the Government. In Belgrade there is a State University ; but there are only two Mohammadans studying in it, and none of them is a Servian. They are from Bosnia. One is studying Mathematics and the other Philology. Next year about 20 more students are expected from Bosnia. I mention this because if, after finishing their education, some of them are inclined and permitted to live in Servia, they would in time be able to help the Servian Mohammadans in their educational needs. But I must not forget to mention that there are also two Europe-returned Servians belonging to two of the above-mentioned Turk families, one of whom is in Nische and the other in Belgrade. Both of them are professors in High Schools.

In the eyes of the State the Mohammadans seem to have no status. The laws exist for them only in name. They are excluded from military service. There is not one Mohammadan holding any responsible civil appointment. In all there are about 100 Mohammadans in Government employment, all of whom are in minor and insignificant posts. The legal position of a Mohammadan is the same as that of a Christian, but a Mohammadan can never hope to get justice done in his case if the other party happens to be a Christian. In marriage and inheritance, the law of the shariat is recognised. The contract of nikah is solemnised by the Muftis, and they constitute the matrimonial courts in cases of applications for devolution of marriage or disputes about dower. The cases concerning the devolution of property and inheritance are heard by the Sheikh-ul-Muftian, but any party has the right to renounce the shari 'at and to place himself under the Civil Law. In these Mohammadan courts, the Law of Evidence and Procedure is also Mohammadan.

The idea of a union of the Moslem world is not absent from the minds of the Servian Mohmmadans. Khutbah is read in the name of the Caliph who is known as Mohammad Khalifa-i-Muhammad-ur-Rasulullah. The Turco-Italian war has aroused feelings of deep concern, and I have myself seen a crowd of Mohammadans coming to the Sheikh-ul-Muftian every evening to ask about the latest news about the mujahideen in Tripoli. Prayers are daily offered for the victory of the Ottoman arms, and an appreciable sum of money is contribured nearly every month towards the Funds of the Red Crescent Society.

About the future of these twenty thousand Mohammadans I can say that it is the same as the future of the Mohammadans in all other parts of the world. There is a movement in Islam and it is forward, progressive and towards ordered development. But as yet it is only a lief-seeking blind instinet waiting for the evolution of a self-conscious will which is sure to comein time. All must work for it.

28th June 1913

QURRATU 'I' AIM

The present Woman's Movement is a tree grown now to such dimensions that its branches extend to the remotest land were men and women live in any kind of ordered community. The roots strike deep down into the very hearts of the mother of the race, and spread beneath the surface of life, wide as the fruit-bearing branches overhead.

But this tree has been of slow grouth so slow that the roots were already strong and ineradicable before even a green shoot appeared. Unnotied unheeded, often trodden under foot, were these first green shoots, but again and yet again the indomitable life in the roots put forth new growth and always with renewed vigour, untile now, in every land the women are awakening from their age-long sleep. Even in the most reactionary countries they are beginning to stir and shake off the apathy bred of hopless centuries behind high walls, barred windows, and veils. It needed but a match to set fire to the smouldering spirit of revolt, the outraged sense of justice, the bitter suffering, physical and mental, of crushed and mutilated womanhood all the world over. A little glimmer of education, an accidental glimpse of some other woman belonging to a more civilised country, a picture, a song, or a modern novel from France or England, any one of these has proved enough to set the woman behind her grilled window thinking, thinking till her heart was stirred within her and the fire kindled.

The Indian woman, her body crippled by child-bearing before she has herself emerged from childhood ; the Chinese woman hobbling on her poor crushed feet ; the veiled and purdahed women of Turkey, Persia, Egypt, whose minds have been crushed like the Chinese feet ; the sweated, underfed European women debarred from the rights of citizenship and many even more vital rights ; all are forming into one great united army not for the avenging of their wrong or the punishment of man—the score against him they leave to be settled by that inevitable old lady, Mrs. Bedonebysayoudid when he enters her domain—but for the freeing, not only of herself, but of Man ; he, who, in crippling her, his other half, has crippled himself and his son after him. The Women has at length realised, though Man still fails to do so, that the human race can no more run with one leg than the bird fly with one wing. Once awakened, she will never sleep that drugged sleep again, for, enough of her window has been opened to let in a ray of sunlight and a breath of the fresh, life-giving air.

But this great awakening has like all other onward and upward struggles of the race, claimed its sad toll of martyrs, and among these no name deserves to stand higher than that of Qurratu 'i' Ain, the Persian woman.

Born about the year 1820, Qurratu'l'-Ain was married young to a Mohamedan priest, Mohammad, whose father, like her own, also belonged to the priesthood. From

her youth up she was therefore enclosed, not only by the high walls of the women's quarters, but by a mental wall of the strictest orthodoxy and tradition.

But Qurratu'l'-Ain was gifted not only with exceptional beauty, but with intellectual gifts and a quality of mind which refused to be bent and moulded by external influences, however strongly they gripped her. There are some plants of such vital essence that they will grow in a dungeon and push up a stone slab in order to reach the light.

The barred windows of Qurratu-'l' 'Ain's chamber, the high walls of her garden, and the still more impassable barriers of religion and ancient custom, all alike gave way before the spiritual force of her personality. Even before her marriage she achieved much from which her country-women were debarred, few of them being able to read or write. For her father, who was both fond and proud of her, seeing hers was no ordinary intellect easy to hold down in the narrow groove allowed to women, permitted her great concessions in respect to books and teachers, with the result that Qurratu'l'-Ain became a scholar of no mean order and a writer of verse showing great poetic gift.

She was twenty-eight and the mother of two children when that happened which changed the world for Qurratu'l'-Ain. At heart she had always rebelled against the condition of her country-women, but believing, in accordance with the teaching of her religion, that this evil condition was decreed by Allah, she had tried to stifle the protesting voice within her and had forced herself to submit in silence.

But one memorable day, while stying with relations at Kerbala, she hard a new message frome Allah. Standing with her young sister Fatima behind a curtained window overlooking the courtyard of the big house, Qurratu'l'-Ain listened to a voice. Who the speaker was she did not know, but he was addressing a crowd of men who sat in a circle round him listening intently.

His mission was not only to Persia, but to all the world, proclaiming the universal brotherhood of mankind; the unity of all religions as having but one centre, God the Father of all; and the absolute equality of the sexes, sons and daughters alike of God. Religion, said this new teacher, must evolve with the needs of man, the message of Truth could never be final, the esoteric law alone being eternal, the exoteric law changeable and mutable even as man himself.

Qurratu'l'-Ain, behind her barred window, felt her soul stirred to the very depths ofbeing; like a winged creature from the chrysalis, her spirit shook off the old bonds and fetters and came forth into the light, conscious of her divine nature and the wings which could bear her to Heaven.

That the preachaser was the messenger of Allah she recognised beyond any shadow of doubt for he made all dark and perplexing things clear to her. He brought the Water of Life for which her soul had so long been athirst; he opened the door of her dim prison-house and she rose up and knew herself free in a world which might be flooded with joy and beauty if only men would receive the Truth. No more war, no more race-hatred—no more sex

slavery and oppression. For woman was to be free. Allah had so created and ordained her, man alone had willed it otherwise for his own lust and to the irreparable injury of the child as well as the mother.

This was the message of Mirza Mohammad Ali, called by his followers the Bab, or Gate, for it was he to whom Quarratu'l'Ain had listened that day at Kerbala.

The Bab commenced his mission about the year 1844. The foundation of this new doctrine had been laid, however, as early as the seventeenth century by Mulla Sadra, the philosophical teacher of the Shaikhis, the immediate progenitors of Babists. His bitterest foes from the first were the all-powerful priests of Islam, but the disciples of the Bab increased only the more in number and in fervour with the persecution directed against them. 'By the martyr's blood the tree must be watered before it can grow strong,' said the Bab.

Through one of her uncless who had become a follower of the Bab, Qurratu'l'Ain learnt more of the new religion. With his assistance she obtained some of the written teachings and corresponded with the Master. On one occasion she even managed to hold a conversation with him. The Bab discerned in her from the first a rare spirit, and a powerful acquisition to him in his work, and the eloquence and personal charm which not even her barred windows and veil could effectually hide, made him eagerly welcome this new disciple. He told her that hers was the voice which was to rouse her sister women, preaching to them the gospel of freedom and light, that she must henceforth devote herself to this work, for it was Allah Himself who had called her.

All that was noble and heroic in the soul of Qurratu'l'Ain responded to his appeal. The Bab had hadded her the torch, and she joyfully accepted the task of bearing it to her downtroden sisters.

Inspired by this ideal, she began at once teaching what she had learnt to the women around her. They listened at first in doubtful wonder, which slowly turned to wondering joy, as Qurratu'l'Ain's glowing words, coined red-hot from her heart, found the way straight to their own.

Everywhere she spoke she gained converts. It did not occur to her at first that a teaching of such lofty beauty could excite the wrath and bitterness of any true servant of Allah. But she had a rude awakening on her return to her husband's house at Quaswin. Higherto Mohammad had found Qurrato'l'Ain a model wife. In spite of her rather unnecessary intellectual gifts, she had shown herself always obedient and submissive to his will.

But now here was a lamentable change. No longer was the approval of her lord and master the touchstone of all her actions, the final appeal in all questions of right or wrong. Allah, and His Sipirit as revealed within her own heart was the supreme court to which she now appealed, just as though a mere female woman could have direct access to the Highest even as a God-created male. The soul of the priestly husband was filled with righteous indignation.

It soon became evident that the evil had not even stopped here. The

wife whose ideas and affection had hitherto been decorously bounded by the four walls of her own home, now spoke and acted as though all men and women held a place in her heart as brothers and sisters. Nor did she even restrict this sentiment to her own countrymen, but preached a universal brotherhood extending all over the world. Mohammad had, of course, heard of the mad Bab and his highly undesirable teaching, but little had he thought to come up against him in his own well-ordered home. The poor man was staggered, bewildered, and beside himself with wrath.

Qurratu'l' Ain, when reprimanded, instead of, as formerly, showing humility and repentance for her errors, became only the more earnest in holding to them, and even endeavoured to presuade her husband to accept the monstrously evolutionary doctrines of the Bab, and to co-operate with her in spreading them far and wide.

Mohammad silenced her sternly, and gave her the choice between restoration to his favour on resuming her right mind as an orthodox Mohammadan wife, and the disgrace of divorce, which would involve separation from her beloved children.

Qurratu '1-'Ain replied that she needs must choose the latter, though it should tear her heart in twin; Allah had called her through His Prophet, and she dare not disregard His voice. Then the heart of Mohammad become as stone towards this women he had once loved sincerely in his limited way, but who now dared openly to defy and disobey him. He divorced her, and, from his point of view, being as he was a consistent Mohammadan priest, he could not do otherwise. Qurratu'l-'Ain went back to her father, Haji Mulla Sahib, whose more easy-going outlook on life did not oblige his living up to his religious principles in the severely logical manner of his son-in-law. Salih appears to have left, in truth, a sneaking admiration and sympathy for the offender and her unorthodox ways. This sentiment, however, he kept to himself, for his daughter was, while in his house, practically under detention, all Babis being regarded with suspicion, aud their leader now in the prison from which death alone was to release him.

Qurratu'l'Ain, though her sphere of activity was thus perforce limited, never ceased preaching and teaching the new Doctrine to all those with whom she came in touch. This she continued to do till an event occurred which caused the smouldering hatred of the Mohammadan priests to flame into active persecution of the followers of the Bab. Mulla Taqi, the father-in-law of Qurratu'l'Ain, was assassinated by a crazy fanatic who, unfortunately, had joined himself to the Babis. Though he at once confessed and declared he alone was responsible for the crime, four other Babis were arrested as accomplices, and, after being tortured, were executed.

This was the signal for a fierce persecution, led by the priests. Wherever the hated Babis were to be found they were handed over to be first tortured and then either killed or imprisoned under conditions of renewed suffering.

The Bab, who knew his own days were now numbered, sent word to his followers to be of good cheer,

for soon another and a greater prophet than himself would come forward as their leader, one for whom he had but paved the way. That other was to be Baha U'llah, already a distinguished follower and teacher of the Babi doctrines.

Meanwhile it was rumoured that Qurratu'l'Ain had secretly instigated her father-in-law's murder, and though no one seriously believed it, her father's house became no longer safe for her, and her presence there a danger to her people. So in accordance with orders received from Baha U'llah, she silently left her home one night while all the household slept, with the aid of a rope scaled the city wall and joined a faithful follower who had chariot and horses in waiting for her. They travelled to Badasht, where Baha U'llah was holding a great assembly of the Babis encamped outside the city.

It was while here that Qurratu'l-'Ain made her first definite public appearance, and once and for ever cast aside the symbolic veil, a step requiring, even for one of her undaunted spirit, exceptional courage, the courage which is ready to face not only martyrdom of the body but that of mind and spirit. She realised that even those who loved her best might misjudge and misinterpret this violation of ancient custom, but also that 'Courage being the mother of all the virtues,' Love itself is unworthy the name unless mothered by this strong-heated goddess. The Bab had come to break down prison bars, cast away veils, and let in the light; his faithful followers must not shirk the fight.

In the camp of the Babis a great meeting was being held. At the door of her tent Qurratu'l-'Ain listened, absorbed in thought. Her uncle Ali, he who had so helped her in the past, arose and spoke:

'Let us arise,' he crird, 'out of our graves of superstition and egotism. Let us go forth into the world proclaiming far and wide the love of God, the brotherhood of mankind, the equality and freedom of women, for the day of Resurrection is at hand and the trumpet shall sound.'

Suddenly Qurratu'l-'Ain stepped into their midst, and, throwing aside her veil, she addressed the astonished assembly, turning her fair face full on them as she cried:

'Yes, my brothers, the trumpet shall sound; it is sounding to-day, it is my voice. The day of Resurrection is here, a new era commences, the Qur'an is completed. Even as I fling away from henceforth my veil, so I conjure you fling away the old bonds and chains that have bound you. Arise and open the prison doors of the women of your land, living in slavery of body and soul, I proclaim to them this day their Resurrection'

But men who would have heartily assented to all she said of woman's equality and man's brotherhood, could not consent to this first revolutionary step, the casting aside of the woman's veil. The wife of a Mohammadan priest, showing her naked face unabashed and unashamed at a public meeting, outraged these worthy Persians as greatly as the English Suffragist outrages her Britith brothers when she lifts up her voice at a public meeting in 'question time.' Strangely illogical is the working of the human mind. Even these enlightened and progressive Babis, who had arrived at the point of accepting and teaching the

absolute equality of the two halves of the human race, experienced a shock of revulsion at the first sight of their theory converted into practical action.

A murmur of disapprobation and outraged feeling ran through the camp, striking a chill to the heart of the woman so confidently appealing to her 'brothers.' But the faithful uncle Ali stood by her loyally, and presently Baha U'llah appeared from his tent where he had been lying sick, and ordered that the Qur'an be read describing the Day of Resurrection. He then proclaimed authoritatively that the voice of Qurratu'l'Ain was, indeed, the trumpet which should sound, and bade all heed her words, arise and cast away their feeble fears, their hindering superstitions.

The result was that though those of finer metal rallied round Qurratu'l'Ain, many of the weaker brethren left the camp. The Bab, hearing in his prison of the event and of the scandals which now attacked the fair name of Qurratu'l'Ain, sent word that from henceforth she should be named Tahira, 'the Pure,' so that no man calling himself a Babi should dare reproach her.

From this time began Qurratu'l'Ain's active public life. Throughout the length and breadth of the land she went teaching and preaching as though she bore a charmed life. In spite of the persecution still going on, more or less everywhere in Persia, the only attempt at this time made to silence her ended in failure for her enemies. She was taken before the Shah and accused of dangerous and unorthodox propaganda. But called on to curse, the royal personage, like the prophet of old, turned round and blest, remarking he liked the look of the culprit and telling the prosecutors to 'let her alone.'

Much discomforted they withdrew and Qurratu'l'Ain continued her mission, going from village to village, attended by a small band of devoted followers and enjoying absolute liberty.

On one occasion she even entered the mosque at Kerman after prayer had concluded and addressed the worshippers. She possessed an extraordinary power of drawing to her men and women of all classes; scholars, mystics and peasants alike were stirred and convinced by her words. Yet her beauty and wisdom drew them not so much to herself personally as to the Creator and Author of all beauty and wisdom.

'She is sent of Allah' This was the verdict wherever Qurratu'l'Ain was heard. They seemed to recognise her influence as purely spiritual. Her fame grew, and many of the Persian grandees received her as a welcome guest in their houses. For two years this went on, and then the priests who had been watching and biding their time, found their opportunity.

Attempt was made on the life of the Shah. In spite of evidence to the contrary, the guilty man was accused of being a follower of the Bab, and this was the signal for a violent renewal of persecution and slaughter of the Babis. The imprisoned Bab himself was taken out, hung on a wall, and shot, while thousands of his disciples met with a far less merciful fate, being put to every imaginable torture before death released them.

Qurratu'l'Ain was at first merely deprived of liberty and detained in the house of a Governor, where she soon made her influence felt among

his women folk. But this mild form of detention did not satisfy the implacable priests, and before long they procured her removal to prison.

Qurratu'l'Aain faced whathever befell her with a perfect serenity, looking forward to death as the Gate of Life. From this time till the hour of her death, some two years later, little is known of her except vague remours. One thing only is certain, that even in the darkest dungeon her dauntless spirit burned bright and stead fast. Hardened ruffians sent to her cell to torture and insult her came out, it is reported, protesting they could not do this thing, they dare not lay hands on such an one. Others left her, the tears streaming from eyes unknown to weep, declaring she was a saint and spoke such words as made all things changed for them from that day forth.

At last the people clamoured so loudly for beloved lady's release that it was decided to do away with her by stealth. The authorities gave out that she was to be let out of prison and sent back to her father's custody.

One night she was conveyed secretly to an empty pavilion in a deserted garden, and there told to await her friends. The friend she awaited she well knew to be Death, and that friend she was ready to meet with joy. Knowing that her particular task on earth was finished, and, with that second sight of the soul granted to such high spirits about to quit their earthy tenement, she foresaw that the seed she had sown would be quickened into such life that one day her sister women of Persia would shake off their shackles, and, their brothers helping them, would stand up free human beings, rejoicing, instead of deploring, that Allah had decreed them to be women.

The new day was just dawning in the deserted garden when a negro, hired for the purpose at the price of his own life, crept up to the quiet pavilion where sat his waiting victim. He kept his eyes averted, and cotton wool was in his ears lest the sound of that voice which had brought comfort to so many a weary soul should cast its spell upon him. In his hand he held a long scarf. With fierce rapidity he accomplished the deed, than fied, trembling at the remembrance of that calm and shining face.

—(*Elizbath Maud*)



The Caliph & His Capital



GLIMPSES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

THE CALIPH AND HIS CAPITAL

گفتنی نیست که برغالب ناکام چه رفت ؟
می توان گفت که این بنده خداوند نداشت

27th April 1912

RUSSIA AND THE DARDANELES

In the case of Great Britain and Russia the closing of the Dardandelles is after all merely a question of some commercial loss. But to Turkey it may mean life or death. Yet she knows that it is not only Italy that she is fighting but that every hand is anxious to be at her throat; and the Russian hand is most anxious to be there, though Mr. Leo Maxse of the *National Review* assures an unbelieving world on that most reliable piece of evidence, his own unsupported testimony, that 'few Powers are more obviously interested in keeping the peace than Russia.' In Persia, Turkey has for the past few years kept Russia on tenterhooks on account of her army in Urumia, which commands the route to Tabriz, and can prevent an advance on Teheran when Russia shows unmistakably her intention to annex Persia. But the question of the Straits is even more important, and Russia has been most uneasy about it since in the Russo-Japanese War she realised the difficulty of concentrating her naval strength quickly at the seat of war. Her diplomacy has since then been directed towards opening the Straits to her men-o'war, In 1833, by the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, which she forced on Turkey, she required Turkey under a secret clause in certain contingenies to close the Dardanelles to the warships of all nations in Russia's hour of need, which meant in effect the closing of the straits against the invader from the Mediterranean when Russia was threatened. But the powers were averse to this, and on the 13th July 1841, by the Protocol following the Conention of London, the Straits of Dardanelles and Bosphorus became closed to all foreign warships. In 1856, after the Crimean War, the Treaty of Paris was signed, the principle of that Protocol was confirmed, and, by Article XI of that Treaty, the Black Sea was neutralised, its waters and its ports thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, were 'formally and in perpetuity interdicted to the flag of war,' and, consequently, by Article XIII, 'the maintenance or establishment upon its coast of military, maritime arsenals becomes alike unnecessary and purposeless; in consequence His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan engage not to establish or to maintain upon that coast any military maritime arsenal.' In the Convention annexed to that Treaty, the Sultan declared his firm resolve 'to maintain for the future the

principle invariably eatablished as the ancient rule of his Empire' prohibiting the passage of foreign warships through the straits, and Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and the 'King of Sarinia' on the other part, engaged themselves 'to respect the determiination of the Sultan and to conform themselves to the principles above declared.' But Bismarck had received assistance from Rnssia in defending the Prusian Cabinet against the jealousy and enmity of Austria and France, and in return for thse services Bismarck helped Russia to recover a portion of what she had lost by the Crimean War. For, thanks to his connivance and diplomatic support, she was able in 1871 to denounce with impunity the clauses of the Treaty of Paris which limited Russian armament in the Black Sea. As the Plenipotentiary of Austria said in the Conference at London, it had ostensibly been called 'to give a fresh pledge for the faith of Treaties,' but was it clear from the Earl of Granville's speech on the very first day of the Conference that it was entered upon with foregone conclusions and made freedom of discussion impossible. The Russian Plenipotentiary pointed out 'how much the present situation of Europe differs from that which existed at the time of the Congress of Paris,' and that in view of this 'it would be an act of prudent and wise policy to submit the stipulations of 1856, relative to the navigation of the Black Sea, to a revision guided by an unanimous sentiment of equity and concord.' The stipulations, he declared, were 'no longer in harmony with the relations of good neighbourhood which exist at this moment between the two Riveraain Powers.' The Plenipotentiary of North Germany showed only too clearly that the talk of 'a spirit of conciliation, of equity and of peace" was insincere, and that he came with instructions to support R u s s i a, though he proclaimed his own Government's 'entire impartiality and perfect freedom of judgment.' The sequel proved that Bismarck and Russia could do what they liked. But even then the principle of the closing of the Straits was maintained, though Russia was enabled to rebuild Sevastopol and construct a Black Sea fleet. The 'relations of good neighbourhood' were disturbed six years later when the Russo-Turkish War commenced. At its conclusion the Treaty of Berlin upset the arrangements decided upon in the Treaty of San Stefano, but by Article LXIII, which is of a general character, the provisions of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 about the Black Sea and the Straits, as modified by the Treaty of London of 1871, were confirmed and maintained. But Russia has no respect for all these Treaties and pledges, and would use any pretext that comes her way to provoke a quarrel with Turkey and force her to open the Straits to her Black Sea fleet. That is the natural consequence of the Conference of 1871 which made the consequences of the Black Sea fleet possible, and Russian diplomacy has always been directed to the end. Very probably the Italian provocation to Turkey to close the Dardanelles to merchant shipping also for the present was a move planned by Russia herself, for Russian 'friendly notes' are the

stormy petrels of her diplomacy, and one has just been addressed to Turkey. But if it was not, Italy stands confessed that her only weapon to-day is the creation of chagrin and worry to the neutrals so that they may bring pressure to bear upon Turkey. Is this war or what? A tiny Turkish gunboat is sunk ; a yacht belonging to the Khedive is seized, the cables between Asia Minor and the Turkish Archipelago are cut, and the Italian fleet of 30 ships returns to Italy 'having accomplished its object.' If this is war it is not different to the despicable shifts to which Satan is put in the last books of Paradise Lost, and though there was never anything angelic about this war, its present condition does not even show the least trace of the grim determination of the Devil as he fell from heaven. Even the disgrace of Adowa cannot compare with the ragged and prolonged misery of the last six months, and when the war is over lovers of righteousness even in international politics would have the satisfaction of seeing the most unrighteous aggressor getting her deserts by sinking in a few years into a third-rate Power. Nemesis is not far behind now and will soon overtake Italy, in spite of Mr. Leo Maxse who asserts that 'Italy has triumphed in the "stricken field".

14th June 1913

HUSAIN NOURI CHAOOSH

In our Pictorial Supplement to day we reproduce a portrait of a boy of twelve in military uniform whose name will be remembered with pride by every Turk when he thinks of him. The boy, Husain Nuri, is the son of a soldier who was killed in the battle of Lule Burgas. His widowed mother, together with her two sons, was driven out of her home and desolation and misery that so suddenly overwhelmed them and in his inconsolable grief vowed to avenge the death of his father. With this resolve he went to a commander at Tchatldja and begged to be supplied with a rifle and ammunition that he might fight the enemies of his faith and country. The Turkish officers who heard the boy's wish felt a pride in him, but, considering his age, could not, of course, comply with his request. He was kept for some days in the camp and was treated with all kindness that he might be beguiled out of his insistent desire. But the boy's resolve was firm and unshakable and, perceiving that officers were reluctant to give him what his heart yearned for, he stole out of the camp and set out on a wild quest for a rifle in the debris and wreckage of the battlefields near Tchataldja. Chance favoured him and he soon found a rifle and a number of cartridges.

The next day a serious engagement was proceeding between the Bulgarians and the Turks and rifle shots were whistling through the air. Presently an officer in command of a Turkish detachment observed that a young boy standing at some distance from the soldiers was firing in the direction of the Bulgarian line with a rifle much longer than himself. The officer was amazed at the fearless courage and cool determination of the boy and, unable to restrain his admiration, he took the boy in his arms and carried him to Izzet Pasha, the Commander-in-Chief. Izzet Pasha was delighted as he heard the story and, after testing the markmanship of Husain Nouri, which was remarkably steady and accurate, allowed him to be enlisted as a regular soldier in the army. Husain Nouri at once became the favourite of the officers and men. He distinguished himself on many occasions for his wonderful resolution, zeal and courage. Once he cut off the head of a Bulgarian spy who was an officer in disguise and brought the trophy in triumph to the Commander-in-Chief. He was soon mentioned in dispatches and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan conferred on him the rank of Chaoosh (Commander of forty men). He once received a serious wound in the thigh from a bursting sharpnèl and was sent much against his will for treatment to the Egyptian Red Crescent Hospital at Hademkenym. The Sultan did him the single honour of going in person to inquire after his health in the Hospital. After he was cured of his wound he went to Constantinople and stayed there for some days as the Imperial guest. He was received in audience by the Sultan. He wore his full military uniform and his photograph was taken on the occasion. He soon after left to join the army at Tchataldja. The story of this boy hero will, we are sure, be read with pride and enthusiasm. Husain Nouri should be an ideal of every Moslem father and mother of what their children should be. If the ideal becomes a living inspiration no one need despair of the future of Islam in the world.

27th September 1913

ASIATIC TURKEY

RESOURCES AND TRADE POSSIBILITIES

In view of the prospect that the Turkish Empire will shortly mean the Asiatic possessions of Turkey, with some slice of European territory, a correspondent of the *Times* devotes an interesting article to explaining what those possessions really are and what are their commercial and industrial possibility.

Few people (he writes) seem to

realise the extent of the Asiatic dominions of Turkey. Asia Minor alone — Anatolia — has considerably more than double the area of Great Britain. The total area of those dominions, not including the independent and semi-independent portions of Arabia, amounts to within a fraction of 700,000 square miles being one equal to the combined area of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, and Hungary. The population of this vast territory is certainly 20,000,000; Asia Minor represents about 11,000,000; Syria about 4,000,000; Armenia and Kurdistan, 2,500,000; Mesopotamia, 2,000,000 and the Arabian province, another 1,000,000. The population is small for so great an area, and even after making ample allowance for extensive tracts of desert and inhospitable highlands, there remains an immense margin for its growth. While the Turkish race demonates he whole of these, the greater portion of the population belongs to races who take more kindly than do the Turks to agricultural pursuits or to certain manufacturing industries and at the same time a keen and vigorious trading community mainly concentrated towards the Aegean coast, penetrates to every part. Hardy and industrious upon the whole, these peoples need nothing but reasonable conditions of government in order greatly to enlarge the existing and to create new and prosperous communities.

THE BAGHDAD AND OTHER RAILWAYS

Nearly, 3,000 miles of railways are now open; certain portions under French and British control, the rest under the direction of the German Gesellschaft de Anatolischen Eisenbahnen. The sole right to build railways in Armenia and the north-east of Asia Minor is claimed by Russia, who has yet done nothing in that way. On the other hand, Germany, who holds a railway monopoly covering the great central plateau of Asia Minor, has done much. In the Baghdad Railway, which she has so carefully nursed through more than one trying period, Germany holds not only a great political asset, but the means of developing immense and historic regions which only call for appropriate engineering to surpass in fertility and human activity the greatest days of their famous past. This railway, starting from Haider Pasha on the Sea of Marmora now stretches in a rough diagonal right across the peninsula to beyond Bulgarli, east of Eregli, and over the whole of that extent is in regular operation. It has now to be pushed through the Taurus Mountains; a difficult task, but one quite within the powers of the modern engineer. Operations on a certain scale are being conducted on the other side of the mountains; and now that a definite understanding has been reached between the United Kingdom and Germany as to the terminus of the railway, there appears no reason why the estimates of the engineers should not be realised, and the railway be in operation in 1918. At one time it was feared in certain quarters and hoped in others that this remarkable railway would constitute a new route to India. It will, of course; but it is now recognised that the value of the line will lie much more in the aid it may lend to the commercial and industrial development of the region through which it will pass, than in the alternative route it may provide between

Europe and the Far East. The line naturally aims to connect, through Constantinople, with the European railway system, the French and English lines, serving the west and south of Asia Minor; on the other hand it aims to connect through Smyrna and the sea route with the Mediterranean and British ports. Apart from the lines now working, extensions and projects are in hand which represent between 2,000 and 3,000 miles. Electric tramways are in operation in Smyrna, Damascus, and Beirut.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

For some time, no doubt, commercial interest in Asiatic Turkey will continue to be concentrated mainly upon Anatolia; and indeed the region will justify a much further exploitation that it has yet received. It is one of the most remarkable portions of the earth's surface Possessing every variety of climate, from Arctic severity to extreme tropical heat, and every form of physical conformation it is rich in both agricultural and in mineral resources. Its lands are nearly everywhere fertile, and in certain regions remarkably so. Even the great treeless plain which constitutes so striking a feature of the country is well provided with wells, and where cultivation proves highly productive. The range of the agricultural products of this country is well illustrated by its fruits, which comprise, at the one side, apples, pears, plums, and cherries, and at the other oranges, lemons, citrons, figs, olives, dates, and pomegranates. Statistics relating to this territory are very largely estimates, but it is probably safe to say that the area under cereals is about 14,000,000 acres, producing 150,000,000 bushels of wheat, 110,000,000 bushels of barley, and probably 50,000,000 bushels of oats, rye, and maize. The United Kingdom during the three years 1909-11 took nearly £2,500,000 worth of barley from this country. The wheat of Sivac, a province in the north of the peninsula, is famour and is exported to the United States. Vinses grow nearly everywhere except in the highlands, the area under cultivation being about 1,500,000 acres. The area under cotton and flax may be put at 800,000 acres, the province of Adana on the Mediterranern produces about 80,000 bales of cotton a year. Tobacco is at present cultivated under a monopoly but the monopoly expires in another year, and in any case, this industry is almost certain to be greatly extended. Mohair, the beautiful wool of the Angora goat, is one of the peculiar products of Asia Minor, but sheep and lamb's wool is also produced on a large scale.

Silk is being cultivated with some system and vigour, and admits of immense development. The value of the silk obtained from the Turkish Empire during 1911 by France alone amounted to £1,600,000, a large proportion being obtained from the Asiaticprovinces. To these great staples must be added, in addition to the fruits already mentioned, coffee, rice, opium, valonia, galls and other tanning and dyeing substances, cane sugar; the gums, benzion, tragacanth, and others; mastic, liquorice, locust beans, saffron, salep, sesame seeds, sunflower and cotton seed, olive oil, hazel nuts (Germany has taken as much as £175,000 worth of nuts and kernels in a year) aloes, aniseed and coriander seed, hides and skins, and eggs. The

United Kingdom took nearly £3,500,000 worth of fruits in the three years 1910-11, and Germany nearly half that value. The value of the eggs imported by France from these regions in the year 1911 was close upon £500,000.

MINERAL PRODUCTS

While agricultural products will doubtless provide, for some time, probably always, the principal materials of the commerce of Asia Minor, the country is singularly rich in minerals. There appears, indeed, to be hardly any mineral of economic value, with the exception of the rare metal, tin, which is not known somewhere in this country. Coal and lignite are worked in the north-west of the peninsula, the output being about 500,000 tons a year; there is every likelihood that copper mining will develop on a large scale; silver lead ores are being obtained to the amount of about 20,000 tons per annum; chrome ore is being worked at Kutaia, the output being about 15,000 tons, zinc ores are found at Karasu. Aidin, and elsewhere, the present production being about 5,000 tons annually; antimony is produced on some small scale in Brussa; meerschaum is an important product of Eski-Shehr; emery of Smyrna, Aidin, and Adana and crude forms of borax of Panderma. To these minerals, which are all worked on a commercial scale, must be added as minerals which have been obtained on some scale during recent years or are known to exist in payable quantities-mercury, solfram, manganese, nickel, sulphur, iron including magnetite, kaolin, fullers earth, asbestos, alum, magnesia, and rock salt, whilst asphalt is found in Syria and in the valley of the Euphrates. Th valley of the Meinder (Meander) contains an extraordinary number of thermal springs, and, like many other regions, would probably furnish rich rewards to systematic exploitation. It is a little surprising that amongst this wealth of mineral products mineral oil does not appear. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that the near future will see it included. Various forms of bitumen are already known and used, and, indeed, the most ancient accounts we possess of bitumen and naphtha relate to regions now included in the Asiatic provinces of Turkey.

Manufactures are not yet on any considerable scale with the exception of hand-woven carpets, in which a considerable business is done. Finally, in addition to her other resources, Asiatic Turkey possesses a commercial asset the value of which could be greatly increased, in her sponge and pearl fisheries.

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28th February 1914

'LIFE IN THE HAREM.'

Your lady-readers may perhaps be interested to know that, under the above heading, a series of articles, from the pen of an English woman, Grace Ellison, have recently appeared in the Daily Telegraph, which ha been giving an nnusual prominence to the communications. It is satisfactory

to note that on the whole the tone of the articles has been friendly and the writer has certainly rendered a useful service to her Turkish sisters by removing the deplorable impressions which unfortunately exist in Europe concerning the 'harem' and Moslem women. Grace Ellison has been in close touch with some of the best families in Turkey, with whom she is on terms of intimate friendship, and so she can speak with an authority seldom possessed by the thousand and one European women, who have in the past atempted to write on this important subject from 'per sonal experience.'

'The Turkish woman,' says Grace Ellison, 'does not often open the doors of her home to the foreigner, has lost her confidence, the foreigner has made fun of her, and, above all, the foreigner "pities" her. But when the Turkish woman opens her door to the foreigner, she opens her big, generous heart too. Always and always, however intimate may be their conversations, the honoured guest stands on a pedestal, and the generous hostess is at her feet, longing only for an opportunity of showing courtesy and kindness. In no other land have I met such a lavish hospitality——hospitality even that makes one feel a little uncomfortable, especially when one realises how little one has done to deserve it. The courtesy also is almost over whelming. Every time I go in and out of the room the assembled company, men and women, stand, and every time coffee, cigarettes and sweets are brought by the slaves for the guests, my hostess rises to serve me herself. It is the custom, too, for the master of the house to pay all the visitors' bills. That I should have proposed to stamp my own letters hurt my friends more than anything I could have said or done. I feel almost guilty when I accept all and give nothing in return, and always I have before me the haunting fear of the terrible disappointment my friend will have when she visits my country, for our hospitality cannot be compared in any way to this.

The writer goes on '............But cleanliness, as everyone knows, is godliness itself in the Moslem religion...............The Minister of the Interior, Talaat Bey, a man of surprising energy with a clear understanding of men and things, a real Godsend to this country in its present state, encourages any work for the advancement of women, and he is paying particular attention to their education.......................The dawn is coming slowly; but it will come if the Turkish woman really wishes it and works always with that aim before her——the uplifting of her sex..........................Every time coffee is served——and coffee is offered to every visitor—I take a cup, it gives me a better chance of studying the curious scene in which I am playing a part, and the more I look, the more beautiful it seems to me, and it makes me almost sad to think I cannot meet with this spirit of democracy in any other land. But the most beautiful part of it all is the absolute "naturalness" of the situation. The rich woman has not the patronising attitude of the Western woman towards her humble sisters, the poor woman has not the cringing gratitude of the West for favours received; each knows her part, each is fulfilling

her destiny, each is content with her lot'.

WESTERN MISCONCEPTIONS

Grace Ellison's own words, in rhe noble attempt to remove the sad misconceptions. prevailing in Europe as regards Turkey and the Turks, are precise and full of significance. 'I do not swear,' she writes, 'by everything Turkish, much as I love the Turks. They have their faults ; which nation has not its faults ? But as a woman, who has led the life of a Turkish woman, surely I am privileged to point out to the reader the most beautiful features of this life as I see them. We have been unjust to Turkey ; we have for so long confounded the Turkish subjects with the cruel despots of the Hamidian regime ; we have for so long now condemned wholesale everything Turkish, and the novel-writers of the day describe a Turkey which certainly does not exist to-day......... And the word harem ! When will Europe understand the meaning of that unfortunate word ? An Arabic word, meaning "sacred" or "forbidden," it is used to describe those rooms in a Turkish house exclusively reserved for the women. Imagine for a moment a Konak (Turkish palace, a large Turkish conntry-house), situated on a hill. and with a magnificent view over the sea of Marmora and its picturesque islands. The wooden gates are always open. the beggars enter at leisure and loiter in the carriage-drive, and walk along the garden-paths, and sit under the trees and eat the fruit ; so that unless you notice you have entered a gate you would imagine yourself still on the road. To the ordinary tourist this garden would seem a mass of ruins, a waste heap, a place most shamefully neglected. But the connoisseur knows at once the priceless treasures this garden contains, relics of Byzantian fountains, caves, cornerstones, for which Western museums would give a fortune. There are two entrances to this Turkish house. One leads into the selamlik, and the other leading into the harem is at the side. In the selamlik or men's quarters, there are reception rooms, a dining-room and bed-rooms for the unmarried male relations living here. A door in the selamlik leads into a big saloon, and a door also from the harem leads into this same big saloon. It is here that European guests are received, having entered by the door of the selamlik, and this is all they see of a Turkish house ; it is here they must find all the material for their romances of Turkish life. Occasionally through the open door they catch a glimpse of some of the ladies of the house, who pass by the door, and who strictly keep their hair veiled. They see, perhaps, the slaves in their picturesque costumes, and immediately the thought of "polygamy" enters their minds ; all these ladies must be the wives of the Pasha.

'Polygamy does not exist nowadays in Turkey, or at least it is very exceptional. Even the members of the Imperial family content themselves with one wife. The Turkish woman is exceedingly proud, and insists that her honour be respected, and personally I know few would put up with the "polygamy" which women of the Latin races are obliged to accept. The Turk, as a rule, is a good h u s b a n d and father ; perhaps it is that he sees in his wife a charm the European does not possess.........All these reforms,' she

concludes, 'are going on in what Europe considers an almost bankrupt State. Education, new roads, industries, a new navy, everything is needed; but Turkey will pull herself together if only she has confidence in herself.'

26th Septembter 1914

'THE CHOICE OF THE TURKS'

'War is deceit,' says the Arabic proverb, and the English saying, 'Everything is fair in love and war, not only supports it, but extends it by pointing out the analogy between the opposite passions of love and hatred. The justification for deceit in love may or may not be quite clear, but the necessity for it in war is obvious. The object of war is to destrory the power of the enemy by causing him the maximum amount of harm at the minimum cost to ourselves. In primitive times reliance may have been placd entirey on force for the destruction or subjugation of the enemy; but it must soon have dawned even upon primitive man that cunning sometimes succeeds quite as well as courage, and that skill is no less effective in a struggle than strength. Leadership makes all the difference between two armies of equal strength, and often a well led but smaller army scores a success against badly-led hordes that lack nothing in the way of dash and determination. And it is not without its significance that strategy or military leadership and stratagem, or wile, have one and the same derivation.

The point is in fact too obvious to be laboured; but what we desire to explain is that stratagems have their use not only on the field of battle when war has begun, but also in the Chancellories before and during a war. It is not sufficient for a nation to make no strategic mistakes in the course of a campaign. It must not also commence a campaign with political mistakes of any importance nor commit them in the course of that campaign. Mr. W. S. Blunt tells us in his 'Secret History of the British Occupation of Egypt,' that the late Sir Auckland Colvin, who had unceasingly worked for the forcible intervention of Great Britain in the internal difficulties of Egypt and had denied himself all rest and many comforts during some weeks preceding the bombardment of Alexandria, went to sleep immediately after boarding the British man-o'war and the commencement of the bombardment, and slept the sleep of peace in spite of the cannonading. Now the Chancellories of nations at war with each other cannot afford to enjoy the sleep of the just in similar circumstances. When diplomatists bent upon war have worked up the passions of the people to the pitch necessary for their purpose, and the first acts of war have in consequence already occurred, leaving not even a 'sporting' chance for an early re-establishment of peace, they do not go to bed with an easy conscience and the satisfaction

of having done their duty. They work all the more in order to reap for their country or their party the full harvest of benefits which they anticipate from the war. A Foreign Minister has seldom a shorter day than one of eight hours even in the piping times of peace. But when the drums of Mars drown the music of the pipes of Pan, the Foreign Minister is extremely lucky, if not extemely lazy, who can get eight hours in the day and night that he can call his own. It is not only the army that has a Great General Staff. Diplomacy too has its General Staff, and its Napoleon or Moltke. It is not only the battle-field but the bureau of foreign affairs also that has its strategy and its tactics. The object of war, as we have stated, being to destroy the power of the enemy by causing him the maximnm of harm at the minimum cost to ourselves, what could be a better strategy for effecting this purpose than to induce one of our neighbours to fight our battles, or, at least, to share our risk and travail? The object of the invitation is not exactly identical, but nevertheless many a message is sent by the Spider to the Fly, begging in the sweetest possible manner that the Fly should forsake the freedom of its neutrality and enter the Spider's snug, little parlour of belligerency. In this the greatest struggle since the dawn of the world at which it is our privilege or misfortune to 'assist,' it could not be that neutral nations could escape the blandishments of the belligerents. Every State that is still fancy-free must have her maiden meditations constantly disturbed by the attentions of militant suitors. Appeals to worldly interest must be succeeding those to mere sentiment, and flattery must be following in the footsteps of reminders of long devotion.

The two Powers most persistently sought after to-day are Italy and Turkey, and it is an object lesson in persuasiveness to watch the efforts of Alliance and *Entente* to secure this consent. The struggle for the hand of Great Britain did not last very long. That was an easy elopement. The Teuton's engagementring cast off by Italy was soon after placed by the Slav and the Celt on the finger of Britain, and within a day or two exchanged for one still more binding in its significance. But Germany and Austria did not for a long time lose all hope of bringing Italy to the fulfilment of her plighted troth, while the *Entente* Group of Powers has even to-day lively expectations of inducing the jilt to say to the 'Wilt thou of the priezt a half reluctant but effectively binding 'I will.' Turkey, hated and oppressed all her life by one of the *Entente* trio, neglected and in practice deprived of her rights by the other two since the eighties of the last century spoliated by two of the Alliance Powers and only flirted and played with by the third, all of a sudden discovers herself to be a person whose affections are of some consequence and are neither to be slighted nor altogether taken for granted. She has to be won, and therefore to be wooed, or, at least, to be persuaded to believe that hated rivals at any rate are no proper match for her. The whirligig of time brings many changes, but a change of sentiment from hatred or utter estrangement to love cannot be so easily effected. It needs much

persuasion and a world of tact. We have been told—and we have ourselves seen enough to be convinced of it—that German diplomacy is 'stupid.' Of Sir Edward Grey's diplomacy we desire to say nothing at present, and, in fact, can say nothing at any time except this that, like the man who had caught a Tartar, his tact has captivated the Tartar of Muscovy. There has so far been no other opportunity for the display of his diplomacy if we may consider the debtor and creditor sides of his account as cancelling each other when, after having proudly preserved the 'Peace of Europe' for eight long years, he finds his country plunged in a war of unparalleled proportions. To-day we are concerned entirely with the tactful *Times* and its retailing of tact—in two qualities.

To take the case of Italy. Macaulay in his 'Essay onMachiavelli' says that while ruder nations usually attained their ends by hard blows, among the polished Italians eyerything was done by superiority of intelligence. Their very wars, more pacific than the peace of their neighbours, required rather civil than military qualifications. Hence, while courage was the point of honour in other countries, ingenuity became the point of honour in Italy. Lest we should be held responsible for traducing this gifted artistic nation, and come under the lash of the custodians of law, let us repeat that the author of these observations was Macaulay, once Law Member of the Government of India, and—what is perhaps more significant—the author of a still more tremendous judgment on the Province of the Lower Ganges. Well, the *Times* evidently needed all its tact in the effort to persuade Italy to tie herself to a new suitor so soon after disentangling herself from a prior attachment. We do not blame the *Times* for the effort, for it is the most natural thing for that journal to do after its sweeping success in converting the Liberal Party and some members of the Labour Party also in England to the foreign policy of the Tories. Never was success more complete and never did a journal organise a political campaign with more skill and efficiency. Whatever our own opinion about the genesis of the war and its 'responsibilities,' we must frankly recognise that the policy of the present war is to-day the national policy of Great Britain, and so long as she is one of the belligerents it is the duty of every loyal subject of His Majesty at least to refrain from all acts which may in any manner and to any degree embarrass His Majesty's Government in conducting this war to a successful issue. But because we are convinced that in no way our own words uttered in an obscure corner of the world influence the Government and people of Italy, we venture to point out the contrast between the *Times*, manner in dealing with the two neutral States, Italy and Turkey.

The terms of the Triple Alliance have never been published. Hence it may be that in declaring her neutrality in this war, and not throwing in her lot with her old Allies, Italy has *not* looked upon the treaty with Austria and Germany as a mere 'scrap of paper' as the German Chancellor regards the treaty concerning Belgian neutrality, as a bit of faded writing

scrawled a generation ago, as at least one English journal characterised the treaty of Alliance renewed only a couple of years ago, but that, on the contrary, she has adhered to it to the letter. So much about honour. As regards her interests, the moment she created for herself commiments in the Tripolitan littoral along the southern coast of the Mediterranean we were convinced that the Triple Alliance was dead that thenceforward only the Dual Alliance of Austria and Germany remained. Her navy, which was her chief attraction for her Allies, could not assist them in the Mediterranean the Adriatic against England and France without placing her occupation of the Tripolitan littoral in jeopardy. Now that she is not assisting them, she may just as well make a bid for *Italia Irredenta* and redeem it by force of arms. A better opportunity is certainly not likely to recur. This may not have the appearance of altruism, but after the acquisition of Tripoli she should not find that to be an insurmountable obstacle even if her diplomats cannot devise a neat formula to garnish her greed. Possibly she is only waiting to see on which side the Cat of Fortune jumps, and though, for all the apologia of the *Times*, 'her own time' may not suit the *Entente* Powers equally well as now and to-day, it seems certain that Italy would under no circumstances fight on the side of the Hapsburgs. The *Times* has, therefore, adopted a well-considered and appropriate method of first defending Italy with much apparent warmth against criticisms upon her inaction in the present war, which, according to that journal, 'do not make allowances for the difficulties of the position in which the sudden outbreak of hostilities has placed her,' and then asking her to reflect 'what would be the consequences to her prestige and to her power were these (the British and the French) Fleets to liberate the Slavs over against her coast, and even the Italians of Dalmatia and of Istria while she stood idly by.' We have not the least doubt that, as the *Times* says, her old Allies have made her alluring offers, but she has obviously refused to be allured. She hastened to declare her neutrality. 'What more could she have done,' asks the *Times*. 'In what other way could she have met with propriety the immediate needs of the situation? Was it reasonable to expect that she would have forthwith assailed her Allies before any of her own interests were directly menaced? What judgment would her self-respect have pronounced upon such action?' Now, while we offer to the *Times* our humble tribute of admiration for such a subtle preamble to the final appeal to Italy's sense of her 'deep and vital interest' which should 'bring her, of her own free will and as mistress of her own destinies, into line with them (English and France) in the present struggle,' we cannot help remarking that though the argument and the manner are characteristic of the *Times*, they do not accord well with the utterances of Ministers of the Crown such as Mr. Asquith and the writings of such leaders of thought as Mr. H. G. Wells, whose sincerity is obvious to everybody no matter what he thinks himself about the genesis of the war.

However, we did not set out to judge, but only to compare and contrast.

Let us now turn to the tact displayed by the *Times* in trying to help the Turk to make his choice. Although we have already expressed it as our emphatic opinion that from the Turk's own point of view—after all the only point of view that the Turk could appreciate—it is better that he should maintain the strictest neutrality in the present struggle, it is with a pang of regret that we peruse the *Times* article on "The Choice of the Turk' and fail to find the least trace of the possible existence of a third altenative besides the two, neutrality and support of Germany—the alternative of supporting the Ally of the Crimean War and of the Berlin Conference. To the extent that the Turk has wantonly destroyed the capital of good-will that stood to his credit in England in the the days of Palmerston, of the 'Great Elchi' and of Disraeli, he stands guilty and condemned. But how many Mussalmans are convinced that not an iota of responsibility lies at the door of England of fanatical Gladstone, of cynical Salisbury, of sleepy Lowther, and of a whole host of présent-day Ministers, both the silent and the blabbing varieties, for the deplorable estrangement of to-day? But let that pass. This is not the time to apportion praise or blame. We have launched our brack on this perilous sea for another and a more practical purpose. Whosoever may have been responsible for the present state of Anglo-Turkish relations, we desire that instead of there being no trace of a possibility of Turkey throwing in her lot with the English there should at least be no trace of the possibility of her throwing in her lot with the enemies of England. But for that, is the tact of the *Times*—the other quality the most effective method ?

While every allowance has been made for 'the difficulties of the position in which the sudden outbreak of hostilities has placed Italy,' is there none that the Turk deserves for the difficulties of *his* position ? From every source available to us we have ascertained that, as every sane person would do, the Turk desires nothing better than peace for at least a decade. If ever war was sudden, it was the Balkan War. If ever was found a nation wholly unprepared it was the Turks in Octobe 1910. If ever war was absolutely unrighteous it was the one waged by the Balkan Allies. If ever the sword was thrust into a people's hands it was thrust into the hands of the Osmanlis on that occasion. If ever war was waged brutally it was waged by the robber hands of the Balkans whether they were the Komitadjis or formed part of the regular troops of the Allies. If ever a treatly was treated as a mere 'scrap of of paper' it was the Treaty of Berlin. And if ever a judge was guilty of gross partiality it was the Powers to whom Turkey appealed repeatedly in her need and appealed invariably in vain. Practically the whole of Belgium has been overrun by the Germans and is now in German occupation. But Germany has not yet annexed Belgium as Italy had 'annexed' Tripoli before she had even occupied it. Germany in her last war against France had occupied Paris and captured Belfort. But the Treaty of Luxembourg did not leave a German garrison at Belfort much less cede Paris to Germany as the Treaty of London would left a Bulgarian

garrison Adrianople even before it taken, in fact ceded Salonika to Greece although it was occupied through some reachery without a shot having been fired, and would have also ceded Constantinople if the Tchataldja lines had not provided extensive graveyard for Bulgarian assailants of Europe and had not the disinterestedness and generosity of Russia and Greece and, in fact, of the whole of Europe totally failed them when faced by the idea of a Bulgarian occupation of ancient Byzantium which they considered as their own destined prey. Providence in its inscrutable ways caused discord between the Allies and the bandits quarrelled over the booty. The *Grandes Puissances* that had only fifteen years ago turned back Turk from the gate of Athens became the *Grandes Impuissances* and could not make Roumania a bate an iota of its shamelessly unjust demands on Bulgaria, nor save a shred of their great creation, the Treaty of London, from being torn up at Bukharest. Because Austria threatened the 'Peace of Europe," Servia—"little Servia' of the great victory of Shabataz—was cleared out of Durazzo and the formula of protecting small nations was improvised. Albania—considerably curtailed to suit Greek sensibilities— was handed over to the Albanians and the Albanians, among whom Mussalmans, were far more numerous than people of any other denomination, were handed over to a Prince of German extraction, when it is an open secret that an Indian Mussalman of approved loyalty was available for the throne of the M'Pret. Bt Greece, foiled in her greed in Albania, must needs have some compensation. Who could be despoiled more safely and securely than Turkey? So she demanded, among others, the Islands of Chios and Mitylene. These were two loaded pistols one for each temple of the Asiatic Turk's Asiatic Empire just as much as Antwerp or Flushing in German hands must be in the case of England, and as Heligoland is to a smaller extent proving now to be. Heedless of all protests the Turks struck to Adrianople and Adrianople has struck to them. Had *Georgio Averoff* been purchased by the Turks when it was offered to them before it became Greek, and on account of its speed and the range of its guns gave to Greece the supremacy of the Aegean Sea and to the Allies most of the successes that they achieved, Chios and Mitylene would have also struck to the Turks as the Turks are still sticking to them. But *Averoff* belongs the Greeks and Powers have not yet decided the fate of Chios and Mitylene. For nearly two years a Ministry of murderes, according to the *Times*, but of patriots according to British conseience has been at the helm and has hitherto safely steered the ship of State. They realised that a stronger navy was a *sine qua non* for a nation that would sit astride and control the sea horses of Marmora with one foot in the stirrup of Europe and another in the stirrup of Asia. Impoverished by war, crushed by defeat, bled by the usurious bourses of Europe, harassed by civil strife, instigated and encouraged by some of the foreign Powers, they yet succeeded, by starving their State employees, snatching away their trinkets from their women and sharing with the very *Hammals* their

daily earnings, in scraping together enough cash to purchase two Dreadnoughts and two destroyers. These meant the fate of Chios and Mitylene and ultimately of Constantinople and Asia Minor. A few days before these ships were expected to be in Turkish waters and no more than 48 hours before Rauf Bey, the intrepid captain of the 'Hamidiyeh,' could hoist on their masts the red ensign of the Crescent, a war broke out in Europe which promised to be universal. As anyone would have easily guessed, who was not so entirely lost in the contemplation of a near future in which two of the most powerful Dreadnoughts in the world would ride at anchor in the blue waters of the Bosphorus, Great Britian, as desirous of hacking her way through on the high seas as the Germans are on land, exercised her right of requisitioning the two Dreadnoughts and the two destroyers of Turkey still in her dockyards. This is what any Power so circumstanced as Great Britain would have done, and no blame attaches to her for thinking of her own needs before those of the Turks. But it was the case of the Caliph's palace and the old woman's hut all over. For the Caliph it was all a matter of symmetry and surroundings. For the old woman it was all the difference between a home and homelessness. English journalists, ridiculing weakness as if it were falsenees, had sneered at the petty Ottoman officials satisfying their own and their children's hunger with looking at the picture of the *Reshadiyeh* and the *Brinji Osman*. These were not merely ships to them but also their food and their clothing, the heavy-footed porter's extra burden carried from day to day and the woman's primeval desire of adornment suppressed and unsatisfied. If in reply to their passionate protest an ancient precedent was quoted or a reference given to a certain chapter and page of Professor Westlake's standard work on International Law, what meaning could it have for these simple sacrificing people? Again, when the doors of all the banks and bourses were closed to them, Greece, which ought not yet to command more confidence than Turkey if only commercial consideraction entered into these transactions, could easily obtain the necessary cash to purchase from the United States two of their battleships, the *Idaho* and the *Mississipi*, and obtain the sanction of President Wilson to their delivery 'for the preservation of peace.' There was no ship in the Turkish Navy to match even *Averoff* with its speed of23 or 24 knots an hour. Even the *Hamidiyeh's* speed is only 22 knots an hour. Imagine then the Turkish consternation at the news that the *Idaho* an the *Mississipi* with a displacement of 13,000 tons and an armament including four 12-in. guns would soon be in the Aegean. But Providence knows as well as human beings the law of substitution. A year ago a Power higher than they had given back Adrianople to the Creeks when the Powers had given it to the Bulgarians. Once again the prophetic verse of Shibli came true:

عجب کیا ہے یہ بیڑا غرق ہو کر پھر اُچھل آئے
کہ ہم نے انقلاب چرخ گردوں یوں بھی دیکھے ہیں

(What w o n d e r if this fleet once sunk comes to the surface again; for thus too have we seen the

vicissitudes of the revolving firma ment.)

So far as the Turks were concerned the *Reshidiyeh* and the *Brinji Osman* had both gone to the bottom of the sea. Now the sea has given back one of these at least in the shape of the *Goeben* (or *Yavouz Sultan Selim*) and another but a smaller vessel in the shape of the *Breslau* (or *Midilli*) wherewith to recapture Khans, or Chios, and Midilli or Mitylene. Both have a speed of about 27 knots an hour, and the former has a displacement of 22,635 tons and ten 11-in guns, to which the *Averoff* can only oppose a speed of 23 or 24 knots and four 9.2-inch guns. The moment these ships entered the Dardanelles and Reuter wired that they would be dismantled, we felt so sure about it that we could that minute have taken our oath on it that nothing of the sort would be done and that Turkey would give a permanent asylum to and adopt as her own the two German waifs and strays.

The Turkish papers published the news of the sale gleefully within a few hours of the transaction. Reuter did not wire it to us until several days later. But when England heard of the sale, what did she do? She construed this as a violation of neutrality and in company with two neutrals, that had no *locus standi* in the matter, Italy and Greece, began to protest and to threaten. And why? It is true that the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* did not go to the bottom of the sea. But they were lost to the Germans just the same. Did they endanger the safety of the British coast? Not a bit. What danger then did England apprehend from them ? 'They are hankering after Salonika,' remarks the *Times*. But what is Salonika to England or England to Salonika that she should care a burnt match for it? Nothing, at any rate, that the Mussalmans can appreciate whether in Beirout or Bengal. And why should they not hanker after Salonika?

STRASSBURG AND SALONIKA

Yes, why not? Are not the Turks men? Do they not have feelings and sensibilities as other men? Look at France. Had she forgotten the claims of *Revanche* nearly half a century after the loss of Alsace and Lorraine? M. Ernest Lavisse, the eminent French historian, recalling in the *Temps* columns of the experiences and memories of forty-four years ago, writes:

'Since the terrible year (1871) I have never for a moment despaired. The hope and the confidence which were in me I have preached tirelessly. To millions of children I have explained repeatedly their permanent duty towards the lost provinces; for the Cathedral spire of Strassburg has never faded from my horizon. I have always seen it mounting up towards heaven in its solitude: "I am Strassburg, I am Alsace, I have a signal, I wait."

But what of Salonika? It could not have been necessary to explain repeatedly to millions of Turkish children 'their permanent duty' towards the lost vilayets of Turkey. That was not lost four years ago. Not half as many months have passed since the surrender of Salonika by Kiamil and Nazim who, if they had been Englishmen and had acted as they did, would have been torn limb from limb by the nation that they had betrayed. And yet we know

better than the whole brood of bars at the Printing House Square that Enver, that fine flower of Moslem chivalry whom the *Times* has never failed to traduce, shrank for a long time from attempting the *coup*, not from want of courage—for even if needed proof the 23rd of Jaunary, 1911, itself proved it amply enough—but from motives of patriotism and humanity. Does not Salonika call the Turks as Strassburg has been calling the French? Has not the dome of its Aya Sofia, or the ancient pile of its Eski Juma or Old Mosque, the same meaning for the Osmanli warrior or statesman that the Cathedral spire of Strassburg has for the French historian? Does it not flash across the dividing land and sea the never changing message: 'I am Islam—the Unity of your Allah, the Truth of His Messenger. I am a signal. I wait'? Can its neat white houses enclosed by their white walls, scattered on the edge of its bay and the summit of its hill, and mingling with the domes and minarets of its mosques that rise through groves of elm and cypress and mulberry, ever fade from the Turk's horizon? Cyrenica, with Tripoli, was the hush-money that they had paid to the blackmailer of Rome. They had reluctantly paid that price in order to be free to go to war in the Balkans and had reluctantly bidden adieu to their Arab brethren because their own hearths and homes had to be defended. But when they lost Salonika they also lost the memorial of an early Moslem victory, for Salonika had been first stormed by their spiritual ancestors from Cyrenica a thousand years ago. Between the tenth century and the fifteenth the Turks themselves thrice held it before Murad II captured it finally for the House of Osman and for Islam twenty-three years before his son earned the title of the 'Conqueror' by capturing the city of Constantine. For the patriots that have on two occasions redeemed Turkey and now rule her she has more recent memories no less sacred. It was from Salonika that this heroic band of their country, suspected, imprisoned and exiled, worked the overthrow of a soul-killing despotism. Salonika is to them the cradle of Turkey regenerated and reborn.

WHAT DOES SALONIKA SAY ?

Let us ask what Salonika says itself about the return of the Turk. Half of her population of a hundred thirty thousand souls consists of Sephardhic Jews. They are the descendants of those who had fled thither in the 16th century to escape religious persecution in Spain, since Spain was no longer ruled by the Moors, but was under the Christian sway of Ferdinand and his successors who persceuted and exiled Moslem and Jew alike with perfect impartiality. Heine writes that when he saw the *Merchant of Venice* at Drury Lane there stood behind him in the box a pale, fair Briton, who, at the end of the Fourth Act, fell aweeping passionately, several times exclaiming: The poor man is wronged.' He adds: When I think of those tears I have to rank the *Merchant of Venice* with the Tragedies. . . .Wandering, dream-hunted that I am, I looked round everywhere on the Rialto to see if I could not find Shylock. . . .But I found him nowhere on the Rialto, and I determined to seek my old acquaintance in the synagogue. . . .

Although I looked all round the synagogue, I nowhere discovered the face of Shylock. I saw him not. But towards evening, when, according to Jewish belief, the gates of Heaven are shut and no prayer can then obtain admittance, I heard a voice, with a ripple of tears that were never wept by eyes. It was a sob that could come only from a breast that held in it all the martyrdom which, for eighteen centuries, had been borne by a whole tortured people. It was the death rattle of a soul sinking down dead-tired at heaven's gates. And I seemed to know the voice, and I felt that I had heard it long ago, when in utter despair, it moaned out, then as now, "Jessica, my child!"

Salonika has for four centuries been the harbour refuge of many a Hebrew derelict, many a poor man wronged who has sobbed out his sorrow with some plaintive wail such as 'Jessica, my child.' The Mussalmans are naturally biased in favour of the Turks as the Christians are biased against them. But the Hebrew is the best arbiter, for he has had experience both of Christian and Moslem toleration. Let us ask him what he thinks of the claims of the Turks to a return to Salonika. The least sophisticated and naturally the most impartial must be the children. Well, when the Turks had been exiled from Salonika, as the Jews had been exiled four hundred years ago from Spain, and the Greeks occupied the place, one of the Greek officers went to the Jewish school and asked such boys to stand up as liked the Greeks to rule over Salonika. With great difficulty one after another three boys stood up and looked rather uncomfortable. Then the Greek officer asked them to sit down and wished such boys to get up as wanted the Turks to return. The whole of the form got up with evident alacrity—including the three who had first got up as supporters of the 'man in possession.' Take another example. Pierre Loti was one of the few Frenchmen that stood up for Turkey when she had fallen on evil days and evil tongues. In the course of his advocacy of the cause of the Turks and of truth he received among many others the following letter. It came from a Spanish Jewess like so many that live in Salonika. She wrote :

'What you have just done for the unhappy Turkey reminds me of the man who comes to sit by the deathbed of a forsaken human being and takes his hand and keeps it in his own so that the other shall not die alone.

'Please write again ! May your heart help you to find, not only the words that tell, but those that persuade, those that the men who will have to give the verdict will remember in spite of themselves. Proclaim them loudly, all these reasons which prove the necessity for the existence of the poor dear nation, so little known, in truth a humble existence, but their own nevertheless. You who have lived in my adopted country testify to the comfort which your soul received there in its longing for faith, kindheartedness, honesty, wisdom and peace. But I beg of you, do not yet speak of them with tears. Those who love Turkey have not yet the right to weep over her as over a dead body. She may not die, speak

not of the tomb. If the dreadful event took place, then only would I cry, besause I know that they will become as we are, even us poor Jews scattered here and there, without a corner that we can call our own. It is said that they are going to lose Asia also. Unhappy people!

'If you only knew this feeling of the exiled which is buried in us from our childhood, and which follows us wherever we pass! I hate to think that the Turks, whom I love, should ever know it. It is years since I left Constantinople and I thought I had forgotten. I did not know that, when one has lived among the Turks, one loves them throughout one's life. I beg of you to write again, to act. Time presses! And I thank you.'

'What could I add,' says Loti, 'after this spontaneous testimony? What could I add to it that could but weaken it?' This is the testimony of Salonika itself about the Turks and even if Salonika fades from the horizon of the Turk, would the Turk also fade from the horizon of Salonik ?

The province of Salonika is nearly three times the size of Riechland which the French desire to win back and has a population considerably more than half of France's lost provinces. Even after the loss of part of Alsace and Lorraine, France has an area hardly less than that of the conqueror who imposed on her the Treaty of Frankfurt. But what is the position of Turkey since the last war? We have before us at this moment a map of Europe in 1812, which may, for the purposes of Turkey, be regarded as the map of Europe in 1865, before Maldavia and Wallachia had become the indepen-dent State of Roumania under Prince Charles (1866); before the Ottoman garrisons had been withdrawn from Servia through the persuasive charms of Princess Julia, who went on a mission to Gladstone and Bright (1867); before Bosnia and Herzegovina came to be administered by Austria (1878) and were finally annexed by the Dual Kingdom (1908); before Bulgaria became a Principality under Prince Alexander, and Eastern Roumelia became autonomous (1879), and both became a united and independent Kingdom under Tsar Ferdinand (1908); and before Thessaly was ceded to Greece (1881). The boundaries of Turkey even then ran parallel to the boundaries of ary-Hung and Russia. The whole expanse of the country as seen on this map resembles nothing so much as a big river in the Indian plains in a flood. Those who have seen the river only at such a season can hardly recognise it as a shrunken stream in the summer. That shrunken stream was Turkey in Europe on the eve of the Balkan War. But even then the European Provinces of the Sultan had an area of more than sixty-five thousand square miles and a popula-tion exceeding six millions. A year later even the shrunken stream in the summer appears by comparison a mighty river in flood, for in less than a year European Turkey is reduced to a sixth of its dimension and its population to less than a third. If France can remember the loss of five thousand square miles and a million and a half of her popu-lation for forty-four years and can-not forget that her 'permanent duty towards the lost provinces' is

summed up in the one word 'Revenge,' a schoolboy's sum in arithmetic ought to tell us how long Turkey should keep the memory green of fifty thousand square miles and four and a quarter million people. The poet thought only of a single life when he wrote:

عرفی اگر بگریه میسر شدی وصال
صد سال میتوان به تمنا گریستن

(Urfi, if union could be secured through tears, it would be possible to weep through a hundred years.)

But what is the life of an individual, specially in the East, to the life of a nation. For nearly six hundred years the Turks have ruled over Europe and the House of Osman may well shed tears over its recent losses for a thousand years if it can shed nothing more manly. But its tradition, even as its traducers must admit, has always been to shed blood instead of tears, whether it be its enemies' or its own, and without the efforts of eminent historians to explain to them their 'permanent duty' to their lost country, hundreds of thousands of little children in schools remember twice a day, with all the fervour of patriotic song, the Balkan hills where the sun is still bleaching from day to day graveless bones of their fathers and brothers, their mothers and sisters. How could they dry their tears before the blood of their martyrs is dry on the Balkan soil? Chauvinists! Why the Turks would be something more than angels, if not something less than brutish beasts, if they could forget their loss, or the divine truth: 'In Revenge there is life.' Being men, they have not forgotten it, and within a week of mobilisation enough of them had flocked under the flag to satisfy the first requirements of the army.

We know the impulse that moves the Truks to-day, and we also know that opportunity gives it a greater momentum. On the last occasion when they were forced to unsheath the scimitar they were not ready. They were lulled by some of the Powers and betrayed by their own rulers. They found themselves surrounded by four enemies, to their north, to their west and to their south. The unexpected combination of Bulgaria and Greece gave them a configuration of frontiers wholly disadvantageous, and the stupid credulity of the Albanians, who had only a little while ago been instigated by their enemies to revolt on the promise of autonomy—God save the mark!—deprived them of the full support of some of their most dashing troops. What is more, their 'Ottomanism' was rewarded by the surrender of their Christian fellow-subjects in companies and whole battalions—a thing that the Moslem troops of England have never done on our frontier when fighting against Moslems and will never do in Egypt or Germany. Well, the Turks have cut their losses in men as well as area, and the Albanians have learnt the value of the Ottoman flag which they have at last hoisted on Durazzo. The Prince of Wied first sent away his wife and children and has now himself returned to fight for the Fatherland. If Servia had been able to take it she would not have allowed the Albanians to occupy the port on which she had set her heart and for the loss of which the Servians wreaked their vengeance at Serajevo. There is no Conference of Ambassadors

now, at any rate, to turn her back from the gateway to the Adriatic, and neither Franz Ferdinand nor Franz Joseph can thwart her wishes. She is evidently too busy on the Drina to think of Durazzo. Montenergros' northward march on Serajevo may be trusted to keep her away from Scutari in the south. At any rate, Essad Pasha is still in the land of the living and his experience of the M'pret will not incline him to be any kinder to Montenegrins to-day than he was a year ago. Roumania is not in direct contact with Turkey at any point and is not very likely to risk the fruits of her easy victory of last year by attacking Turkey through Bulgaria. And human nature in general, and Bulgarian nature in particular, must have changed remarkably within a year if Bulgaria is sufficiently reconciled to the Treaty of Bukharest not only to stand idly by when Greece or Roumania as well as Servia are otherwise engaged, but also to allow Roumania or Greece to attack Turkey through her territory. As for Greece, the one thing that had restrained the Turks from wreaking their revenge on the country they had been compelled to spare in the course of their triumphal procession in 1897—miscalled war—was Europe, and now that Europe is not, so to speak, 'in being,' but only 'hopes to be,' the path is clear for an attack by land, if Bulgaria wishes to try conclusions with Constantine the Bulgar-killer, or by sea, if Bulgaria remains neutral. The last war was the war of *Georgio Averoff* only, but even then the 'Hamidiyeh' had put the fear of God into Greece. Now that Turkey combines with a commander such as Rauf Bey a cruiser such as *Yavouz Sultan Selim*, the Turkish Navy will have another role than that of escorting the transports across the Marmora and shelling the Bulgarians from Derkos and Buyuk Chekmeji. If Turkey chooses to strike Greece when her patron saint, Russia, cannot come to her rescue, who can blame her?

The attitude of the *Times* is perfectly comprehensible, for between Northcliffe and the city on the Neva, whether it still calls itself St. Petersburg or, like Harmsworth 'ennobled,' changes its name, there has been for years a direct and an open connection. Instead of the Russian censor inking the whole columns of the *Times*, or the Tsar turning the *Times* correspondent out of All the Russias, the latter wires to it the appreciation by the Tsar of its appreciation of the Russian avalanche, and the *Times* now issues 'Russian Supplements' more than once a year. If the *Times* would not favour Russia and her protege, angels will not come from Heaven nor devils from Hell to do it. But what interests have England and France in the spoliation of Turkey by Greece? The Treaty of Bukharest is not the Treaty of London that Sir Edward should hold it as sacrosanct. It is and will always remain a mere 'scrap of paper,' if it remains even that, when Turkey and Bulgaria or both are in a position to readjust now the relations thereby recognised as then existing. Indian Mussalmans hate the idea of a British and Ottoman collusion, whether military or diplomatic. But Greece is not Great Britain, and the authorities are greatly mistaken if they are led to believe that Turkish neutrality means anything more than

Turkish neutrality in the struggle between Austria and Germany on the one side and England, France and Russia on the other. The *Times* is wiser and offers no reason against the Turks taking a bit of their own back from Greece. But the smaller reptile, the *Near East*, has no such reticence. It writes a leader in its issue of the 4th September under the heading of 'A Word of Warning' and commences it with the following:

'Little more than two years ago we received a letter from the Imperial Ottoman Embassy in London acknowledging that 'the *Near East* has strenuously and impartially defended the interests of the (Ottoman) Empire" and referring to the "loyal and friendly attitude of the *Near East* toward Turkey" which, it was hoped, "would facilitate the re-establishment of more friendly relations between England and Turkey, a result which is in conformity with the interests of the two countries." We quote these sentences as showing that *for* years past the *Near East* has laboured unceasingly to promote the traditional friendship which has so long existed between Great Britain and the Porte.'

We have taken the liberty to italicise one small preposition in the last sentence, for it must be the creation of the Printer's Devil. What the *Near East* must have meant is that it was not *for*, but *in* years past, that it had tried to promote the traditional friendship between the largest Moslem State and the State that has the largest Moslem population. When the *Near East* was first issued in 1907 in a somewhat different form it certainly aimed at promoting those relations. But more recently its Constantinople and Cairo correspondents have been the vilest calumniators of the best elements in Turkey and Egypt and its editorial observations have been weak echoes of Downing Street diplomacy. We do not wonder that 'little more than two years ago' the *Near East* got a *chit* that it is exhibiting so boldly. But is that the latest 'reference'? Besides, its own character has not changed so radically in recent times as the character of the people whose 'reference' it is using. 'Little more than two years ago' Kiamil and his gang were ruling Turkey, while Talaat and Javid were in prison and Enver was redeeming the honour of Turkey in Tripoli! Now this very ingenious journal thinks that 'from its proved friendship to the Ottoman Empire in the past' it is 'entitled to utter a word of warning to an old friend.' The warning is: 'keep the peace.' Evidently the *Near East* has forgotten the well-known adage of the Middle East:

هر چه برخود نپسندی بر دیگران هم مپسند

(Whatever thou likest not for thyself do not choose for others.)

But let that pass. The question is not of Turkey's declaring war against an old friend which according to the *Near East*, in 1908 'forbore to "regularise" her position in Cyprus and Egypt, preferring to consider herself bound by her agreements,' even though the agreements that *should* have bound the old friend were those which said in unequivocal terms that the friend was to have no position *in* Egypt - not even an 'irregular' one. We fully agree that 'events in western Europe are of no immediate interest to them and that they have no call whatever to feel any obligation to participate in the *present war*.' (The italics are

ours.) But the question is of a war between Greece and Turkey and the *Near East* 'forbids the banns' with the naive remark: 'Nor, if they are wise, will they embark upon a private war of their own. *As matter stand there is no room in Europe for two separate and distinct wars.*' Pray why so? The *Near East* is once more innocent of the reticence of the *Times*. It supplies an answer in these words: 'If the Sultan once more takes the field, he is bound to find himself in opposition to one or other of the groups of warring powers or their proteges.' Ay, there's the rub. So far as the High Contending Parties are themselves concerned, the poor Turk may avoid a brush with them. But the order of the day is 'Love me, love my dog,' and the Turk has an aversion to the breed. What has England to do with proteges? Neither honour nor interest requires her intervention in any conflict between Greece and Turkey. Great Britain was no signatory to the Treaty of Bukharest as she was to the treaty guaranteeing the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, though we need not refer to it since it has been associated with the name of a capital that is now associated with a brutal frankness in the description of sacred screeds.

Hitherto we have discussed the question of a conflict between the Turks and the Greeks. Let us now trun to the question of a conflict between the Turks and one or more of the Allies. Against Russia the Turks have innumerable grievances, for after the Hungarians and the Poles had stemmed the tide of Turkish advance the Russians found them an easy prey and have ever since been assailing them in their retreat from the walls ot Vienna. Every revolt against Turkey in Europe and Asia Minor has been instigated by Russia, and the object has not been the protection of small nationalities as in the case of Belgium to-day, but to detach them from Turkey as her own destined prey. The Slav nations and the followers of the Orthodox Church are supposed to be her proteges, but she does not love her proteges as herself. The 'Big Bulgaria' of the treaty of San Stefano was a hope rather than a threat, but even when the 'Big Bulgaria' of that treaty, wrung from impotence by treachery, did not materialise, Prince Alexander of Bulgaria ceased to be a *persona grata* to the Tsar the moment he set himself up as the symbol of Bulgaria's national identity. Prince Ferdinand's experience has been no better, and since he assumed the title of Tsar and proclaimed his independence he has been a thorn in the Russian side. Russia assisted him in the formation of the Balkan League, but when Bulgaria came out of the war with Turkey so well, the jealousy of Bulgaria and its Tsar got the better of the protection of 'the small nationalities.' It is now the turn of Greece to incur her wrath because there is a talk of Greece being given the heritage of Constantine which Russia has coveted for two hundred years. Who can blame the Turks if they have learnt to define their Fatherland like the French worshippers *Revanche*. '*Patrie?*' seid a Norman peasant who was a recruit in the conscript army of France, '*Ca veut dire tuer des Prussiens*' (Fatherland ? That means killing Prussians). Well may the Turks say:

'*Vatan*? That means killing the Russians.'

France, besides bartering away Turkey's suzerainty in Egypt for a 'free hand' in Morocco and herself usurping Tunis, has been pegging fresh claims every day in Syria, and even when she was robbing the Church of Christ in France stood forth in the country round the Sepulchre of Christ as the protector of Latin Christianity. During the Balkan War her present President's attitude as Premier was entirely hostile to Turkey, and in spite of all efforts of Pierre Loti few in France stood up for the wronged Turk. Is the Turk likely to stand up for France to-day or spare the French when he can regain the suzerainty over Tunis? The French occupation of Tunisia and the declaration of French Protectorate over it have followed the most approved European models of 'peaceful penetration.' Its crime was its close proximity to Algeria which the French had overrun after a struggle lasting a generation. They regarded it as a 'natural adjunct' to Algeria. It was allowed to become a debtor to Europe. In 1869 it went bankrupt, a contingency which was by no means unforeseen or undesired. The triple control of Great Britain, Italy and France wes established. In 1878, at the Congress of Berlin, Lord Salisbury agreed to allow France a 'free hand' in Tunis in return for French acquiescence to the British lease of Cyprus. In 1880, France became alarmed at Italian commercial enterprise in Tunis and acted on the secret understanding with Great Britain. In 1881 a French force crossed the frontier under pretext of chastising the Khmir independent tribe in the north-east of the Regency, and, quickly dropping the mask, advanced on the capital and compelled the Bey of Tunis to accept the French Protectorate.' 'The actual conquest of the country,' adds the historian from whom we have quoted, 'was not effected without a serious struggle with Moslem fanaticism, specially at Stax,' and after that came the customary recognition of the *fait accompli* by the Power that watch over 'small nationalities." The Protectorate was not recognised by Turkey, the Suzerain, which claimed the Regency as part of the Ottoman dominions. But who heeds the protests of weak suzerains? France has always ignored them and punished Turkey by occupying several points across the Tunis-Tripoli frontier, including Janet which was occupied in 1906. It was reoccupied by the Turks in 1910, but pending the delimitation of the frontier Turkey withdrew her troops in deference to French protests, at the same time maintaining the claim that the Tunisians were Ottoman subjects. It would be interesting to see if Italy would now press her claims to suzerainty as Turkey's successor in Tripoli by the sacred right of 'annexation.'

As regards England, her attitude towards Turkey in the Crimean War, and subsequently at the Berlin Congress at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War, when Cyprus was leased to England, are only too well known. Equally well known are the facts about Egypt and the British Occupation, its original purpose and the after-thoughts that grew out of England's duty as the bailiff of Europe. Even the 'man in the street' in India knows all about the neutrality of

Egypt during the Tripoli war and the refusal of the British Agency even to premit the troops of the Suzerain to pass through the vassal country into Libya, much less assist her with the 18,000 troops for which Mohammad Ali had stipulated. We have now the converse situation when the vassal is at war with a Power on the friendliest terms with the Suzerain. We have never disguised our views about the British occupation of Egypt and have no desire to recant to-day. But no purpose would be served by going over old ground once again, and it might be thought that we desire to excite the Turks and Egyptians or the Mussalmans of India with a view to embarrassing the authorities in India and in England. So we refrain. But we do not like to play hide-and-seek with the authorities or with our readers. If we are asked whether the Turks or the Egyptians would have a moral justification in urging on the British the evacuation of Egypt our reply must unequivocally be that in view of the following clear and emphatic pledges of British statesmen we cannot consider such a request unjustifiable. Now that Europe seems to have regained her respect for old pledges and guarantees, the following should be read with interest:

'I, admiral commanding the British Fleet, think it opportune to confirm without delay once more to Your Highness that the Government of Great Britain has no intention of making the conquest of Egypt, nor injuring in any way the religion and liberties of the Egyptians. It has for its sole object to protect Your Highness and the Egyptian people against rebels." (Sir Beauchamp to Khedive Tewfik, Alexandria, Iuly 26, 1882, published in official journal of June 28).

'I can go so far as to answer the honourable gentleman when he asks me whether we contemplate an indefinite occupation of Egypt. Undoubtedly, of all things in the world, that is a thing which we are not going to do. It would be absolutely at variance with all the principles and viewes of His Majesty's Government and the pledges they have given to Europe, and with the views, I may say, of Europe itself' (The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone in the House of Commons, August 10, 1882).

'You should intimate to the Egyptian Government that it is the desire of His Majesty's Government to withdraw the troops from Egypt as soon as circumstances permit, that such withdrawal will probably be effected from time to time as the security of the country will allow it, and that His Majesty's Government hope that the time will be very short during which the full number of the present force will be maintained' [Lord Granville, December 29, 1882; Egypt, No. 2 (1883) p. 33].

'The territory of the Khedive has been recognised as lying outside the sphere of European warfare and international jealousies' [Lord Dufferin's despatch, February 6, 1883 ; Egypt, No. 6 (1883), p. 41].

'Had I been commissloned to place affairs in Egypt on the footing of an Indian subject State the outlook would have been different. The masterful hand of a Resident would have quickly bent everything to his will, and in the space of five years we should have greatly added to the material wealth and well-being of the

country by the extension of its cultivated area and the consequent expansion of its revenue; by the partial if not the total abolition of the *carvee* and slavery; the establishment of justice and other beneficent reforms. But the Egyptians would have justly considered these advantages as dearly purchased at the expense of their domestic independence. Moreover, H. M.'s Government have pronounced against such an alternative (Ib. p. 83).

'The uncertainty that may be in some portion of the public mind has reference to those desires which tend towards the permanent occupation of Egypt and its incorporation in this Empire. That is a consummation to which we are resolutely opposed, and which we will have nothing to do with bringing about. We are against this doctrine of annexation; we are against everything that resembles or approaches it; and we are against all language that tends to bring about its expectation. We are against it on the ground of the interests' of England; we are against it on the ground of our duty to Egypt; we are against it on the ground of the specific and solemn pledges given to the world in the most solemn manner and under the most critical circumstances, pledges which have earned for us the confidence of Europe at large during the course of difficult and delicate operations, and which, if one pledge can be more solemn and sacred than another, special sacredness in this case binds us to observe. We are also sensible that occupation prolonged beyond a certain point may tend to annexation, and consequently it is our object to take the greatest care that the occupation does not gradually take a permanent charater . . . We cannot name a day, and do not undertake to name a day, for our final withdrawal, but no effort shall be wanting on our part to bring about that withdrawal as early as possible. The conditions which will enable us to withdraw are those described by Lord Granville—restored order in the state of the country and the organisation of the proper means for the maintenance of the Khedive's authority . . . The Rt. Hon. gentleman (R. S. Northcote) has treated us as if we intended to stay in Egypt until we had brought about institutions which would do credit to Utopia. We have no such views . . . In popular language we mean to give Egypt a fair start and if we secure it order, supply a civil and military force adequate to the maintenance of order and with a man on the throne in whose benevolence and justice we have confidence, with institutions for the administration of justice under enlightened supervision and in fairly competent hands . . . if we have made a reasonable beginning towards legislative institutions into which is incarporated some seed of freedom our duty may be supposed to be complete" (Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons' August 9th, 1883).

'H. M.'s Government . . . are willing that the withdrawal of the troops shall take place at the beginning of the year 1888, provided that the Powers are then of opinion that such withdrawal can take place without risk to peace and order' [Lord Granville's despatch, June 16, 1884; Egypt. No. 23 (1884), p. 83].

'From the first we have steadily kept in view the fact that our occupation was temporary and provisional

only .... We do not propose to occupy Egypt permanently ... on that point we are pledged to this country and pledged to Europe ; and if a contrary policy is adopted it will not be by us' (Lord Derby in the House of Lords, February 21st, 1885).

'It was not open to us to assume the protectorate of Egypt, because His Majesty's Government have again and again pledged themselves that they would not do so .... My noble friend has dwelt upon that pledge, and he does us no more than justice when he expresses his opinion that it is a pledge which has been constantly present to our minds .... It was undoubtedly the fact that our presence in Egypt, unrecognised by any convention .... gave the sujects of the Sultan cause for suspicion which we did not deserve' (Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords, June 10, 1887).

'When my noble frind .... asks us to convert ourselves from guardians into proprietors ....and to declare our stay in Egypt permanent . . .I must say I think my noble friend pays an insufficient regard to the sanctity of obligations which the Government of the Queen have undertaken and by which they are to abide. In such a matter we have not to consider what is the most convenient or what is the more profitable course; we have to consider the course to which we are bound by our own obligations and by European Law' (Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords, August 12, 1889).

'I cannot do otherwise than express my general concurrence . . . that the occupation of Egypt is in the nature of a burden and a difficulty; and that the permanent occupation of that country would not be agreeable to our traditional policy, and that it would not be consistent with our good faith towards the Suzerain Power, while it would be contrary to the laws of Europe . . . . I certainly shall not set up the doctrine that we have discovered a duty which enables us to set aside the pledges into which we have so freely entered . . . . The thing we cannot do with perfect honour is either to deny that we are under engagements which preclude the idea of an indefinite occupation, or so to construe that indefinite occupation as to hamper the engagements that we are under by collateral considerations' (Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, May 1, 1893).

'Great Britain has engaged herself by official agreement with Turkey and the European powers to respect suzerainty of the Sultan of Egypt. She will keep her engagement' (Sir Eldon Gorst's interview with Dr. Nimr, Editor of the *Mokattam*, October 24, 1908. This interview was acknowledged as official by Sir E. Grey in the House of Commons).

Germany's greatest offence, or at least the one that has impelled England to intervene against her, is that she has broken into an unoffending poor neighbour's house in order to jump into her enemy's house that adjoins her unoffending poor neighbour's. Belgium had every moral and legal justification to resist this trespass with force, and, whatever view one may hold of the bloodguiltiness of this Power or that, no one can find anything to blame in Belgium's heroic resistance, while there is so much to respect and admire. Now, suppose Germany

had entered Belgian territory not to invade France but to protect the King of the Belgians from his mutinous troops, and while storming Liege and defeating the Belgian army at Louvain, General Von Emmich had declared that Germany had no intention of making a conquest of Belgium, but that her sole object was to protect His Majesty and the Belgian people against rebels, and suppose Kaiser Wilhelm, Chancellor, Dr. Bethman Hollweg and Foreign Secretary, Von Jagow, had all repeatedly assured the Belgian that the occupation of Belgium was to be temporary and provisional and was on no pretext to be continued beyond the time necessary for restoring order and establishing a secure administration to assist King Albert in governing Belgium, and had even named a day—say, about six years after the bombardment of Liege—would King Albert's successor have been justified more than thirty years after the German occupation in asking Germany to evacuate the country and remove Field Marshal Von der Goltz from a position where he overshadowed the Belgian King, Ministry and Parliament? We may assume—even if it is a very rash assumption in Germany's case—that her rule was just and equitable and popular, and that she had brought the culture of Schubert and Schumann, of Hegel and Kant, of Goethe and Schiller, and not the wicked philosophy of Neitzsche nor the wile of Bismark and his blood and iron diplomacy and the masterful militarism of the 'mailed fist' and the 'shining armour' of the War Lord —even then, could Germany consider the request of the Belgian King and people unreasonable and unjust? We leave the matter to the judgment of the soberest and the most loyal in this country and the most conscientious respectors of old pledges in England.

So much about moral and legal justification. But the matter does not end there. Every act that is not illegal or immoral is not on that account obligatory. The expediency of an act has also to be taken into consideration. When morality and expediency are opposed to each other no one who values principles can say that morality must be sacrificed to expediency. But when morality is not opposed to expediency, he who does what is both expedient and morally permissible does better than he who does what is inexpedient though morally permissible. For the Turks or Egyptians to demand by force the evacantion of Egypt is to our mind morally permissible but wholly inexpedient at this juncture. Before England intervened in the Egyptian troubles she asked the Suzerain to join her in the enterprise. Abdul Hamid Khan did not join England, and France also held back. That does not by any means deprive Turkey of her rights as a Suzerain of Egypt, and it certainly did not deprive France of the power to intervene later—a power that she exchanged for a 'free hand' in Morocco. But when British intervention was not forcibly opposed by Turkey nor by the Khedive himself, it is more expedient to ask for the fulfilment of British pledges in a friendly manner rather than a hostile manner. Had Mr. Redmond asked for the Home Rule Bill, the whole Bill and nothing but the Bill

at this juncture as the price of peace in Ireland, England would have been compelled to purchase peace on his own terms. But England's difficulty was, in a sense other than that generally understood, Ireland's opportunity, and in acting as he has done Mr. Redmond has made the best of Ireland's opportunity. Mr. Balfour's churlish attitude on a recent occasion will bring in its train its own Nemesis and we feel certain that Mr. Redmond's bread cast upon the waters will return to him not after so very many days. We say the same to Egypt and Turkey. Howsoever just their demands, howsoever great their need, howsoever long they may have waited for the fulfilment of British pledges, howsoever weak the present-day statesmen's sense of the solemnity of promises made in the sight and hearing of the entire world, if they give England one more opportunity to redeem her pledges and fulfil her promises they would do that for which none will blame their generosity of heart, even though some may blame their judgment. England has gone to war with the noblest sentiments on the lips of her statesmen. No one can predict the end of such a struggle. But if England emerges out of this supreme trial of her manhood, resources and organisation, a stronger and a still more beneficent Power, then the Turks and the Eyptians just as much as the Irish and the Indians will pin her down to her promises even if she showed the least disposition to wriggle out of them. No one can say that even such a struggle would be final. The settlement may only prove—as so many settlements have proved—the seed of another and still more terrible war and unfulfilled promises have an inconvenient habit of coming home to roost. Nations do not generally trust twice without good grounds and unredeemed pledges provide their own punishment. In asking the Turks to defer the pressing of their demands by force we wish to remind them that something is even to-day due to the Allies of the Crimean War and the supporters of the Berlin Congress. Palmerston and Disraelis' assets of military and diplomatic support ought to be able to balance the liabilities of the foolish word recklessly uttered and the wise word heedlessly left unsaid by some of their successors.

We are not unappreciative of the temptations and trials of the Turks; but even here a word of caution must be uttered. They must not be lured by the blandishments of those opposed to England and her Allies. They must remember that 'War is deceit.' We desire from the bottom of our heart that this may be the last of the wars, and that human intelligence and human sence of justice may never know such constantly recurring eclipses. But we are bound to admit that as things are to-day there are some things worse than war. We shall not, therefore, pretend to believe that the Turks must have peace at any price. They must beware of entering into a quarrel, but once in it they must not come out of it till the claims both of honour and self-interest are satisfied. God knows they will have enough occasions to fight, for they have to contend against numerous army corps of prejudice and passion. That is all the more reason

that they should fight only their own battles and not those of another. At present the fear is that they may be led into the firing line in a quarrel only outwardly their own. The Turks are not wanting in gratitude. In fact, few nations could equal the Turk in those characteristics which extorted for him even from his enemies the title of 'The Only Gentleman in Eastern Europe.' To quote the old Arab saying mentioned by Gibbon, their women know not how to grant favours and their men know not how to refuse. Every Indian whom we know who has had any relations with them is loud in praises of their courtesy, which is as natural to the peasant as to the prince. But if courtesy is one of their great qualities, they also possess the defects of that great guality. In matters of business, they are imposed upon, and often imposed upon knowing that they are being imposed upon. Now nothing is more serious business than war in which a nation can destroy in a month in the way of life, energies and resources what it had taken a .generation to build. The Turk knows not what fear is, but life can be valueless only to those in the lowest scale of humanity. It is a rich treasure and a divine gift which we are not permitted by our Maker to squander. We must learn in war even more than in peace the importance and value of economy in human life. As regards material resources the Turks have never had even so much as could balance their peace requirements. All these considerations point the way in the direction of peace. This is not all. Almost every other great nation of Europe has had peace for a generation or more. Even Russia with her immense resources did not find herself equal to a second war three years after her first in which she had to fight only a small island kingdom. She has launched this new enterprise no less than a decade after her last war. France, Austria and Germany have each enjoyed nearly half a century of peace. England has not fought in a continental war for a century, and her little war against two little peasant States of South Africa, which was enough to prostrate her for many pears after, was fought no less than fifteen years ago. Servia and Montenegro alone are fighting soon after their last war. But only a child could believe that they are paying their own way. Turkey must therefore proclaim a moratorium against her warlike instincts and her clamant revenge. But if she cannot do so, and must enter this terrible business, let her make sure that the quarrel is her own, that her good nature and courtesy are not being imposed upon, and that she is not hatching a cuckoo's egg believing all the time that it is her own. We cannot withhold our admiration from the German nation that is facing the odds against itself with such courage and determination and we sometimes find it hard to repress the expression of disgust against the campaign of vilification that is being carried on with greater vigour and persistence than is deserved by German actions, harsh and ruthless though they undoubtedly are. We have not even once heard the phrase 'military exigencies" applied in their case, although the war is now nearly two months old, whereas Italy was tried in the very first month of her war on

much graver charges of brutality, discharged and declared to leave the court of Europe's humanity without a stain on her character. A thousand advocates had rushed to plead her cause unasked and had put forward the solitary plea of 'military exigencies.' The foremost among them was once our own Commander-in-Chief, Lord Roberts, whose testimonial an eminent Mussalman published in his quarrel with his community. The Germans do not seem to have spared the living and have rendered thousands of them homeless. But they have yet some way to go down the ladder of inhumanity before they could descend to the plane on which the dead are robbed of their last resting place. Lest anyone should suspect us of being isolated in having these views and expressing them in order to excite others, let us assure him in advance that he is woefully misled if he believes that a vast majority of Indians think otherwise. Had the country not been demoralised by the constant condemnation of unpalatable truths and the repeated rewarding of cheap lies, everyond in India would be confessing such admiration and sympathy openly. But admiration and sympathy are one thing, making the cause of Germany our own is another. If any cause can be ours it is the British, and if Germany counts on us she is grievously mistaken. It would be bad business for Turkey also to lavish on Germany the lives and energies and resources that she needs for her own quarrels and that Germany never spared for her when she was beset by still greater perils. We do not wish to be cynical, and selfishness has not yet come to be regarded by us as a virtue. But self-preservation is the first law of nature, and nature is inexorble and ruthless in punishing disobedience to her decalogue. Germany has done nothing yet for the Turks to deserve the sacrifice of a single Anatol, much less a street single town or village of India by the Moslem sympathisers of Turkey with a view to embarrasing their own Government. This is what we had felt impelled to tell that level-headed Turkish statesman, Talaat Bey, in private, and through him that astute diplomat, His Highness Prince Said Halim, and that soul-inspiring soldier, Damad Enver Pasha. This is what we said to the Turkish nation publicly in brief on a recent occasion. This is what say to-day in greater detail and without the least effort at disguise. We ask forgiveness for inflicting what are after all truisms and platitudes on a nation no less gifted than most of those that have been lecturing her in season and out. We do not in the least mean to insult the intelligence of Turkey, and to convince her of it we frankly confess that whether her choice is peace or war, the consequences will be hers and not ours. Hence she must exercise her own judgement and surrender it to none. If she chooses badly the suffering will be entirely hers, though the sorrow will be ours also. It was not because we believe that she is incapable of weighing these elementary considerations that we have said all that we have said. It was merely to satisfy the promptings of our own heart, for it beats in unison with the Turks'. If after balancing all considerations they decide for peace, we pray that it may, as it should, prove profitable to

them. If, however, they decide for war, we shall mingle our prayers with theirs and ask for divine protection. But if, by some evil chance, they engage in hostilities against our own Government, we shall ask them to pray for us also, for they can hardly imagine the mental anguish and the heart-pangs that will be ours. We shall be torn between two passions, or rather the same passion will be warring with itself within us. When in a household the parents fall out, whichever of them may be at fault, the children are bound to suffer. That will be our plight, and we shall deserve all the sympathy that we may secure.

What shall be our attitude towards our Government is a simple question and presents to us no difficulty. He who goes by principles and not by consequences should have not the slightest hesitation in answering it. We have of our free-will and as masters of our destinies chosen to remain in this country as the subjects of our King and Emperor and the fellow-citizens of our neighbours. We have done this because the benefits of his rule and their co-operation exceed whatever discomforts we may have felt at any time or we may be likely in future to feel. To be more particular, we had taken no pledges from England that she shall not shed the blood of our brothers even in an unrighteous war. That was not in the bond. In fact, we have not hesitated ere this in shedding the blood of our brothers on the border at the bidding of England. We have therefore given a pledge of obedience to English behests as binding as that which guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium and more binding than that which assured Egypt of its complete and early evacuation. This much must be presumed of all reasonable and intelligent beings. When we entered the field we must have known all the rules of the game. And whatever the fortunes of the game, we must abide by the rules and take both defeat and victory in the manner of sportsmen. Sir Syed Ahmad's clean-cut logic must come to the rescue of everyone who finds his situation distressing. He said in his own inimitable way: 'Our attitude towards the Government established in this country must be governed only by one consideration—the attitude of that Government towards ourselves.' Every other consideration is foreign to the subject, and whether we fight the Turks or the Russians, our services we must place at the disposal of our Government and our souls we must commend to God.

This may be a bald and unattractive sort of loyalty to those who have grown used to epics even on commonplace occasions. If so, we regret we cannot adjust our talents to their tastes. May we say, however, that our principles are our only professions, and that they are not meant so much for export as for home consumption. We have always worn our heart on our coat sleeve and we have cared not if daws peck at it. We shall not pack it in cotton wool to-day and lock it up in a Bank of England safe out of the range of official eyes. As for the writers of epics, they will never be averse to the bringing out of revised editions amended and brought up-to-date if Germany or Russia would to-morrow be mistress of India. The change

of name would hardly affect the metre.

We regret that the most mischievous and provoking article of a journal that has only too often done its best to create perils for a none too well-poised empire has compelled us to revert to a subject which we thought we had done with a month and a half ago. But the latest excursion of the *Times* into the politics of the Turks and Indian Mussalmans was so well calculated to precipitate the evil that it had set out, or pretended to have set out, to avert that we could not remain silent. This omniscient journal thinks it knows every detail of the Moslem world from the characters of Enver Pasha, its *bete noire*, and Aziz Bey, its protege—who, by the way, seems to be no better than Caesar's wife in the matter of fidelity to his patron and his patron's patron, if we trust Egyptian reports—down to the value and worth both in India and Turkey of the messages of 'Bengal Moslems.' One thing is, however, certain. It neither knows the Turks nor Indian Mussalmans. If it believes that its references to the accessibility of the Hejaz Railway, to the sowing of discard between Turk and Arab in Yemen, which it says has already begun, and to the vulnerability of Arabia, would add an iota to the fear or affections of a single Mussalman that counts at such times, it is woefully mistaken. We know that it often adopts the manner and the accent of authority when it has no more influence with those in power than it has, say, with the Kaiser. But after its sweeping success in capturing the Liberals it is apprehended that the uninitiated may take it for an official oracle. The London correspondent of the Anglo-Indian daily of Lucknow goes even so far as to say that 'the *Times* in such matters represents the views of the Foreign Office.' The danger to which we have alluded is, therefore, very real and should soon be met by official action appropriate to the occasion. England must at least officially repudiate the threats recklessly flung by the *Times* at the Turks, and in fact at the entire Moslem world. For this very reason the *Hamdard* has avoided all reference to this pernicious article of the *Times* for some of its readers may have otherwise been led to think that the *Times* cancelled at one stroke the pledges given by H.E. the Viceroy only last March. Arabia has been a Moslem land and must and shall remain Moslem to the end of the world. Even those who do not regard the Caliphate as a religious institution, or substitute for it the institution of Imamate, cannot disregard the clear mandate that after the year during which it was revealed to the Prophet of Arabia, the sacred soil was to be kept free even from the shadow of *shirk*, and He who gave that mandate did not forget to provide for such a contingency as may occur to-day. For to the mandate is attached the massage of hope which says :

و ان خفتم فسوف يغنيكم الله من فضله ان شاء
ان الله عليم حكيم

(If you fear weakness, God will soon in His kindness make you secure if He wishes it. Verily God knows all and judges rightly.)

We have praised the clean-cut logic of Syed Ahmad Khan but what

could be clearer than the logic of God Himself, and we would advise everyone who wishes to know what a Mussalman may do or must do, and what he may not and must not, to read the 9th Chapter of the Qur'an on 'Repentance.' The limits of all contracts, legal and social, are clearly laid down and no territory is more justly or unmistakably demarcated than that of right and wrong in the dealings of Moslems with non-Moslems.

But the truest test of conscience and of courage for England is not so much to declare war on Germany for a breach of Belgium's treaty rights as to evacuate Egypt of her own free will even before a diplomatic demand is formulated by Trukey or Egypt. Nothing would shame Germany so well as this act of clear justice. The embarkation of the last English soldier from Alexandria will put the fear of God into the heart of the Kaiser more assuredly than the disembarkation of the last English soldier available in the Empire at Boulogne or Havre. The Uzbegs had troubled the Moghals a great deal on the borders of India when Shah Jahan sent Aurangzeb to punish them. The battle was at its hottest when the hour of evening prayer arrived. With characteristic coolness Aurangzeb spread his prayer mat on the ground in the thickest part of the battle and bent his head in silent submission before the Lord God of War. The chief of the Uzbegs was an unobserved witness of this simple scene and when Aurangzeb had finished his prayer, he came and laid down his arms before him. 'To fight against such a man,' said the Chief of the Uzbegs, 'is madness; I'll have none of it.' If this is really a war of Right against Might, of Conscience against soul-crushing Militarism, of the Sacredness of Treaties and the Dignity of Law against their treatment as mere 'Scraps of Paper' and Moral Impediments in the advance of Brute Eorce, and Clean Hands are sincerely adjudged better than Countless Hordes, then England must go to the Land of the Sphinx and solve the new riddle of this war in the only way it can be solved. It must leave Egypt. Need we say this will win over to her side the Mussalmans of the world better than all the threats of the tactful *Times* and the promises of destroying Turkey's contracts with Germany *after* Germany has herself been destroyed. This is the claim of self-interest. This way lies the path of duty. Whatever may have kept England in Egypt thirty or twenty years ago, to-day England is there because she prefers the route of Lesseps to India to that of Vasco da Gama. Germany needed only a temporary right of way through Belgium. England should in all conscience be satisfied with a permanent right of way through Egypt. But to come as friends of the owner of the land and to protect him from unruly tenants, and then not to be satisfied even with the right of way through his fields but to claim a practical ownership is neither friendly nor honourable. Let England have the *iter*, but the *dominum* must remain with Turkey and the usufruct with the Khedive. Will not England be satisfied with the easement?

We have already filled many pages but, before we conclude, let us repeat that whatever England may do to

Turkey or Egypt, our anchor holds. All truly loyal people have closed the chapter of civic controversy with the officials and into that book they are likely to look no more. Whatever our grievances, whatever reforms we desire, everything must wait for a more seasonable occasion. Even if the Government were to concede to us all that we ever desired or dreamt, if, for instance, the Moslem University were offered to us on our own terms, or the Press Act repeal were to be announced, or even if Self-Government were to be conceded to us, we would humbly tell Government this is no time for it, and we must for the present decline such concessions with thanks. Concessions are asked for and accepted in peace. We are not Russian Poles. We need no bribes!



جو تمھارے لب جاں بخش کا شیدا ھوگا
اٹھ بھی جائے گا جھاں سے تو مسیحا ھوگا
قیس کا ذکر مری شان جنوں کے آگے
اگلے وقتوں کا کوئی بادیہ پیما ھوگا

1st July 1911

THE HON'RARY MAGISTRATE

The Hon'rary Magistrate is a triumph of blatant but unconvincing-loyalty, a justification of weekly salams to the bara sahib and an illustration of the supreme efficacy of dalis. He is the apotheosis of intellectual inanity, and an official recognition of native imbecility. He is the most practical of the jokes the Lieutenant-Governor-ever indulged in at the expense of a stolid and unappreciative public.

The Hon'rary Magistrate is a man of fifty, but he carries the accumulated experience and corpulence of his years rather lightly. He has a long beard which he wears with an indifference worthy of a Bishop or a Moulvi of the Deoband school. In religion he is a Mohammadan, but adds to the beliefs of an orthodox Moslem a worship, pathetic in its devotion, of all the sahibs of the station, from the Collector down to that amusing make-believe of a sahib, the Ticket Collector. The latter is a particular friend of his, and has often taken advantage of his hospitality to remorselessly mutilate Urdu under his very nose in order to destroy the last remnant of his host's scepticism as to his European origin.

The Hon'rary Magistrate professes to be on terms of the closest intimacy with the bara sahib, and will tell you how the latter often descends from his pyramidal eminence of position and authority to talk to him whith unrestrained familiarity on such confidential topics as the state of the weather and the condition of the crops. The Hon'rary Magistrate calls on him and the Captain Sahib once a week. He has nothing particular to say to either, but amuses both with his inexhaustible store of refreshing inanities. He takes a mental note of each word that comes from the hallowed lips of the sahibs, but is altruistic enough to grudge nobody the benefit of hearing his edifying talk with them. Like a true socialist he distributes it among his neighbours and friends with an impartiality which is truly admirable.

His loyalty is an over-mastering passion. It it not the monopoly of any particular officer or class of officers. The Collector naturally gets the cream of it, but even the constable and the chowkidar cannot complain of utter exclusion from its benefits. The thanedar may with his notorious perversity deny it, but he has perhaps forgotten that it was nothing but loyalty to him that induced

the Hon'rary Magistrate to convict the son in a certain case because the father was ignominiously absconding to defeat the ends of justice. His loyalty is not only a personal acquisition. He has inherited it from his father who rendered service to the British Government at considerable personal risk during the Mutiny. He commenced his own career of public usefulness by act of remarkable courage which he considers even more meritorious than his father's. He protected the chota sahib's defenceless ayah against the insolence of a green-grocer by getting him thrashed within an inch of his life. Such a brilliant record of personal and hereditary services should excuse any extravagance of ambition in the Hon'rary Magistrate.

His collection of testimonials wrested out of Dipties, Tehsildars and sahibs is his dearest possession. They are the trophies won in his ceaseless struggle with official inflexibility and Europen stiff-neckedness. They are a bribe to intolerable but unconscious boredom, and official concession to trespass upon official time and courtesy.

Each certificate has an Urdu translation attached to it more out of charity to the non-English-knowing world than as a challenge to the uncompromising champions of Bhasha. The certificates allow him a few imbecile virtues, but do not make the faintest allusion to his wealth of manly and robust defects. Invitations to public parties are no less religiously treasured up to be now and then ruthlessly laid bare to the dazzled eyes of uninvited humanity.

The Hon'rary Magistrate believes in elaborate dalis to sahibs, and ungrudging tips administered to the chupilprasis and khansamahs. The dali is a modern discovery and had justified itself by the miracles it has wrought. It has won benignant smiles from many who were erroneously supposed to be devoid of the faculty of smiling and has completely paralysed Eurasian indifference to native advances. Has it not conquered the stationmaster and subdued the railway guard ?

Tips to chupprasis and orderlies are no waste of money as they are supposed by laymen to be. To be obsequiously salamed by the chupprasi to the secret envy of other visitors undergoing with him the cruel and trying ordeal of waiting in the Peepal's shade in the compound of a Joint Magistrate's bungalow, is one of those rared delights which no tips can exceed in value. It is something to have one's existence recognised by that red-turbaned functionary when one is growing sceptical about it oneself. It is the resuscitation of the half-defunct, the conversion of blank despair into vivid hope.

Khan Bahadurship, the dream of his youth and the ambition of his manhood, is now the last hope of his declining years. His services entitled him to something more than that. The one dilapidated village-school owes its repairs to his supervision. The village cattle-pond is indebted for its ever-increasing inmates to his vigilance. It is entirely due to him that the vaccinator now enjoys an immunity from the village boys' attentions which the most sanguine of the Sanitary Commissioners could never dream of before. But by far the most important of his services is his contribution towards the population of the District Jail. In view of

these and like services, he is much nearer to the realisation of his ambition than the Orator of Bengal to his election as the first President of the Indian Republic.

The Hon'rary Magistrate does not know English. But he knows Urdu, and if Dame Rumour is to be believed, has succumbed more than one to the fascinations of versification on such irresistibly tempting occasion as the birth of a son to chota sahib. He has a smattering of Persian, and sometimes paralyses the Court-Moharrir conducting cases in his Court with a sudden outburst of eloquence in that language. This is perhaps the only way in which he avenges himself upon that functionary for his impertinent disregard of Court etiquette.

He has no law books and does not require any. But he has a Commentary on the Criminal Code which is called the Serishtedar—a person possessing a mysterious knowledge of the law, the Hon'rary Magistrate holds somewhat heterodox views. He does not believe in that stupid principle of law which presumes the accused to be innocent until his guilt is conclusively established. The principle, disregarding as it does the modern discovery of the infallibility of the Thanedar, the unimpeachablility of the character of the chowkidar, the predominance of the S. P., and the infantile weakness of the Dipty Sahib, is no longer entitled to the respect of the criminal courts in India.

The only blot on his otherwise taintless record of fifteen years', Hon'rary Magistracy is his acquittal of an accused person whom the complainant stubbornly refused to implicate. The thoughtless and rash acquittal turned the whole of the District Police against him, not even leaving him the doubtful consolation of the servile attentions of the chowkidar. But if he sinned once he repented a hundred times, and was rehabilitated in the good graces of that functionary within a month from his fall.

He writes beautiful judgments in illegible but carefully punctuated Urdu. He knows that a stupid adherence to grammar has deprived many an author of immortality which would have otherwise fallen to his lot. The common-placeness of proved facts has already any attraction for him, but presumptions and surmises are the delight of his heart.

Such is the Hon'rary Magistrate. Of judge-made laws he is the author of a goodly proportion, and it was this perhaps which almost induced Government to call him a 'territorial magnate' and make him the only legislator in the non-official world. He is presumed to have the biggest stake in the land. But some people have been heard to wish that he was buried deeper into the land than his stake. Such is political jealousy. —*Bambooque*

8th July 1911

ENGLISH ETIQUETTE FOR RAJAH AND RAISES.
CHAPTER I.
On Whom to Call

This chapter concerns Raises only for they can pick and choose. For the Rajahs there is no choice. The etiquette of the Political Depart-

ment is more stringent. Besides you must often have heard of liberty of the subject; but who ever heard of liberty of the Sovereigns of States ?

If you are a Rais—which means the great-grandson of the grand-niece of the Head Cook of the Great Moghal, without a cash reserve, except such as your banker has (and refuses to lend); or a man with a substantial fortune made out of more than cent per cent interest (and a cash discount of 75 per cent) taken from the lineal descendant of the Commandant of the Quilted-Coat Regiment, which distinguished itself by having no casualties (except a few hurt by falling from their horses in the headlong flights of this fleet-flooted force)—if you be one of these, and have social ambitions, be careful in selecting the men on whom you must call. The list of callers must be prepared according to precedence, and it is this which means ruin to all but the wary and the wise. In England, if it was a quesion of calling on ladies, you could satisfy a dowager whom you had relegated to the fag end of your list, by saying that the warrant of precedence was according to seniority in years. This would be a polite and pleasant suggestion that rouge and poudre had deceived you into the belief that the dowager was really younger than her niece. But in India, even among ladies, seniority accomplishes that which even the military of Worth and Paquin connot do. Does not Kipling describe the woes of sweet seventeen because all the hill captains are the property of the lady of forty-nine? As for the men, in Anglo-India seniority is a great matter. It almost runs a dead heat with a wife in the gread Promotion Handicap. There is not one Assistant who does not wish to anticipate a tanned skin, an enlarged capacity for holding pegs, a larger vacabulary of vernacular names for animals and their descendants.

Roughly speaking, Anglo-India is divided into two classes, Civil and Military, thouth sticklers for a more scientific nomenclature may call them Uncivil and More Uncivil. If a Khan Bahadurship is the aim of your existance, the Milltary is the banking aspet. No Bassanio could be more reckless in contracting a loan, no Antonio could more readily sign a bond for a pound of flesh than a young subaltern who dresses smartly, loves a rubber or two at the Gymkhana and loiters on the frontier of Everyman's Land, the Realm of Divorce. But, then, the Military are not as safe as the Bank of Bengal or Government Paper, and even if they be the Lords of the Kamsariat, wars are not as plentiful as you and they would wish. Besides, their boots are thicker than is consistent with izzat.

The Civil for your money, then. If there be no Commissioner or Opium Agent, the Hakim-i-Zila must head the list. But the District Officer may be Apparent or only Presumptive. They all have a good deal of presumption, but the Presumptive has more, for he is Presumptive by marriage with the daughter or niece of the Little Lord who dwells on the hills of the Province. Remember the good old English proverb which assigns to the hand that rocks the cradle the rule of the world. If you want immediate results, the Collector Apparent must first be called upon. But if you can nurse your ambition, first call on the

son or nephew-in-law to the Little Lord.

The Superintendent of the Police comes next in order of merit. The Engineer is scarcely worth a call, but the P. W. D. can place you, if you are an enterprising man, under obligations *ex contractu*!

The District Judge does not belong to the Government. He is, so to speak, a Non-Official Member of the Administration. But a call on Bara Din may cast a ray of sunshine on his dreary existence. However, if you happen to be a Vakil, do not mind all that has gone above, but call, now and at once, and call for ever. The man who calls may win the case.

Put the Civil Surgeon somewhere in the middle. He is generally speaking, an unknown quantity. You want X-rays to discover what's in him and what's not in him. One never knows what he may be up to. In cases of marpeet he is hardly inferior to the Police Kuptan. Therefore, use your discretion, and remember that the Faujdari Adalat Begam is a lady of mady moods.

The Padri Sahib has rewards in galore to offer you. But you have to wait an unconscionable time for Doomsday, and the rate of discount is rather high.

The railwai people do not appreciate calls. They may mistake them far sociability. So avoid a misunderstanding. Ask your servant to buy onions and guavas from the bazar and send dallies 'from my garden!'

15th July 1911

THE COUNCILLOR ABROAD

By The Hon. Mr. Gup

'As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please.'

—*As You Like It*

A great humourist has written of tramps at home and tramps abroad. But although the fine frenzy of many a Councillor has been described at home, there's no record of the gay doings of any of that gallant band abroad. Not that Councillors do not tramp abroad. Hon. members occasionally slip away unobserved, and the P. and O. Company has fed many a devout Moslem on the 'passive resister' whose neck had been unceremoniously wrung. A fowl is not foul'd for a' that! Similarly, many a pious Hindu has crossed the black waters, in spite of the anathemas of the Brahmins, without having Kashi earth laid a foot and a half deep on the decks and in the state saloons and cabins and without a drop of Ganges water—even to dilute Brandee Pawnee.

There have been visits of pleasure and frankly ackowledged as such. But to Bhupen Babu duty and pleasure are synonyms. When others would to see the Coronation procession as a pleasing sight, Bhupen Babu would go to pay his homage to his

King and Emperor. When another go to 'Appy' Ampstead ,Eath on a Bank Holiday to enjoy the fun of hearing all kinds of whistles and every variety of rattles, or for the joy of being tickled by ha'penny ticklers, or for the luxury of being smothered by three-fourths-dust-and-one-fourth-confetti, Bhupen Babu would proceed thither with the solemn and imperial intention of cultivating the acquaintance of the British workman!

Let us pass over the railway journey to Bombay, and the intervening fortnight between the departure from the Ballard Pier and arrival at the landing facing the Chalk Cliffs of Dover. It may be that he fed on the fish which the P. and O. Company supplied for his meals, or it may be that a controversy arose, the two agreed to differ, and' on the contrary, he fed the fish in the sea. There's not much interest in such unpolitical and impolitic details. Rather let us picture him apostrophisng the sacred land of Liberty in the strain of Curran, the land which for a time gave asylum to Krishnavarma, and now has under its fostering care the great B.P. — Beping Pal and not the British Public. Perhaps that land is willing to shelter under its p r o t e c t i n g wings many another such patriot — did not cremation deprive it of the privilege! To pass on, let as imagine Bhupen Babu alighting at Victoria, and falling precipitately into the arms of brother Nobin Sen (miscalled Nevinson), Kuar Hardie or Ramji Macdonald. Let us picture to ourselves the patriarchal blessings of the universally revered Badribaran Baba or the enfolding embrace of unbleached Indian Cotton.

The scene is changed, and we find the hon. tramp loafing about the Crystal Palace on a Bank Holiday. Kuar Hardie, the Sirdar of all the holiday-makers, is his guide, as he has always been his philosopher and friend. He is introduced to 'Arry Smith and has his hand jerked out from his shoulders, for it is evident that Smith has been drinking the health of the King in several pints of — gingerbeer. But bless my soul, he was not afraid of British working men! There comes 'Arriet, Duchess of Billingsgate, shedding jokes and babies at every step. Oh, what a sight! Bhupen Babu regrets his Bill has not yet passed. He could have taken back a hefty cargo of such elegant creatures as the first instalment of Social Reform. As for the humour of the holiday-makers, it is uttered in the voice of a dove or nightingale. Their diction is superior to that of an ordained curate, their tone more squeamish than that of Mrs. Grundy or the President of an Exeter Hall meeting. Their sturdy common sense makes him speculate what an excellent leaven they would be to ferment the dull lump of the Anglo-Indian Administration. The Bakery badly needed it, and some of these 500 prospective Peers of the Coalition would be far superior to the Dukes and Earls and other Slackers in the Service.

The scene is once more changed and Bhupen Babu, shy as a debutante at her first Drawing Room, explains to the Liberals of the Forest of Dean how embarrassed he was at the invitation to speak. (*Magna est veritas* !) and how he laboured under

some degree of hesitaticn in rising for his virgin effort to speak on an English platform, inasmnch as the language was bideshi and the accent feringhee ! He relates his experiences of the British working men and women and his appreciation of them, and who could ever accuse Bhupen Babu of flattery? He next discourses on the virtues of Liberalism and the horrors of an illiberal administration. He deftly hints that while they ploughed the sands of Opposition only when the Tories were in power, India fared worse, for even the Liberals were only 'half a dozen of the other.' But the next moment he is back to the praise of Liberals. They had come into power just in time. But perhaps he tried their patience with such Liberal praise ? 'No, go on,' said several voices. So 'with this passport' he approached the Lord Advocate of Scotland, the veracious Ure. Could he not spare out of his superfluity a single thought to India? A giant in his party, a great man in his country, would he remain a dwarf in the Empire? Providence had given him great gifts. Would he use them only on the eve of General Elections in connection with Old Age Pensions? He prayed he might utilise them so that the whole Empire, including India, might benefit. Britons are a stick-at-home people. They would often lie only in Great Britain then forgetting that there was such a thing as Greater Britain. It conclusion, he thanks them for having swallowed the bitter pill of India sugar-coated with the paise of Liberal and Laborious England. Any courtesy to him was kindness to India, for *V Ind c'est moi.* If they took interest in India, the British would be taken dattak by Mother India, and the story of bombs and Browning pistols, of Khulna dacoits and Tuticorin riots would become but the memory of an evil dream which would vanish into the mist of oblivion with the rays of the—Rising Sun. Banzai !

The scene once more shifts, and instead of the rustic surroundings of the Forest of Dean, Bhupen Babu is 'discovered' seated in the ante-chamber of the great Vizier. He is busy in a *tete a tete* with the Captain of the whole Anglo-Indian Crewe. The talk is no more of British working men and women and their Bank Holidays. A grander theme needs a different key, and Bhupen Babu is now a loyal subject picturing in anticipation the central figure of the Emperor in a Durbar setting. In the Supreme Council he was the Peri debarred from Paradise, with Honest John Morley keeping the Eastern Gate. He had heard Honest John's sad answer,

'Tis written in the Book of Fate

Thou cans't not pass the Eastern Gate.

But he would try the more aristocratic Crewe. He would not bluntly mention aught about the Settled Fact. He beats about the bush by talking of the chastisement of innocent Indians. That gave him an excellent opening. Indians were used to being struck in order to arouse their enthusiasm and loyalty. Why not signalise the new post-Durbar era by striking their imagination also? A voice at the key-hole said, 'Hear, Hear.' It was not the beknighted K.G.G. But it startled

the Secretary of State. He cut short the interview!

Business done—Application filed with the remark that applicant should be informed it would receive attention in due course.

Drop Scene!

23rd September 1911

OBITER DICTA

Veracity is the dastardliest concession to a vulgar demand for facts, and honesty is perhaps the only consolation of the moral bankrupt, The former is the last recourse of those who have no imagination to invent, and the latter is the last refuge of those who have neither cleverness enough to cheat nor courage enough to rob.

The Indian melon is the great-great-great-grandson of the apple, which brought about the disgrace of Adam and destroyed his celestial prospects. The Indian politicians should make it a point never to touch it if they want to avoid deportation.

It is a mistaken notion that bores are the product of modern civilisation and that they never existed before. We have the authority of the Greek historian, Herodotus, to justify the announcement that they were by no means rare in his time, only they lectured on philosophy and wrote history then. The historian further tells us that Alexander had no less than 1,000 bores when he started on his invasion of India.

The ass has a mute but just grievance against man. When it so generously lent its name to human vocabulary it had not the slightest notion that the privilege would be so outrageously abused. To call every fool an as is both an insult to the great benefactor of the human race and an act of ingratitude which can never be atoned for.

At a recent meeting of the Anti-Partitionists in Monsoon Square, it was unanimously resolved that the sense of humour, being fatal to the success of all agitation, constitutional or otherwise, should be altogether discarded. Babu Gunesh Rao moved an amendment to the effect that the proposed boycott should be temporary, for they might require the tabooed object again some day. It was most vehemently opposed by a host of speakers who asserted that they had always done without it and would rather die than accept the amendment which they, with due deference to the mover, characterised as 'stupid and perhaps preposterous.' It was further resolved that the apparently inexhaustible store of long words and phrases, with which they had started on their campaign, being, thanks to the prodigality and reckless extravagance of some young members of the Society, on the verge of exhaustion, the members shall devote their leisure to the improvement of their vocabulary and replenishment of the improverished fund. 'It would be the saddest day for the country if the agitation which they had so

nobly begun and so manfully maintained, failed for want of effective words and expressions'—said one of the speakers.

Those who advocate the restoration of Oudh, anticipate the following benefits to accrue to the province from the proposed change :

(1) Summer will not be half so hot as it is under the British rule.

(2) Rains will be more seasonable and famines less frequent.

(3) Dogs will live longer and horses die happier deaths.

(4) The ekka-wallas will be less impertinent and drive their ekkas less rashly, though, it is to be feared, the whip would be oftener used.

(5) The taluqdars may or may not be more loyal, but the liveries of their servants would be gaudier and their sons less conceited.

(6) The Colvin School, whith all its shallowness and conceit, will be levelled to the ground and a maktab raised on its ruins.

—Bambooque.

30th September 1119

THE RESTORATION OF THE CAMEL—A LECTURE

Gentlemen these are the days of proposals. You can do any amount of violence to your imagination and still get pardoned if you can only make some suggestion. Nobody insists on suggestions being practicable. That most impossible and prosaic of all things—sanity—is not expected of you. The hospitality of the columns of every Angio-Indian and Indian paper can be availed of by anybody who has got something to say. Gentlemen, I confess the occasion is irresistibly tempting to me and I would be unworthy of the wealth of weaknesses and frailties with which Nature has so lavishly endowed us if I refused to yield to the temptation and let the opportunity pass without a contribution to the stock of suggestions. Then again, my silence may imperil that reputation for original opinions which I have so deservedly enjoyed for long time past. It would be a sad day for India when her great men and politician become bankrupt in opinions. Considering the extremely reckless, extravagant and spendthrift use of opinions, personal and hereditary, acquired and inherited, which we daily make, I can hazard the confident prophecy that that unfortunate day can't long be postponed.

I urge that the Government, if it is really desirous of winning the eternal gratitude of the Indians and removing the discontent which is prevailing all over the country, should restore the long-suffering Camel to his original position. Gentlemen, the Camel—that sole survival of the old-world civilisation —has long been, metaphorically speaking, clamouring for your attention, but has evoked no response either from you or the cynically indifferent Government. He is in

the slough of despond. Can't he be taken out of it and restored to his pristine prestige, influence and utility ?

You have relegated him to the shikram and he has accepted his fate without an audible protest. Don't you think he is smarting under it or acutely feeling his disgrace and degradation ? Don't you realise that the encroachments of railways and motors, with no ancestry at all, the elevation of the horse and the exaltation of the mule of the mule origin are silently but bitterly resented by him ? It is a pity that he is not well versed in the ways of modern agitators. He can neither weep nor cry, nor shriek nor whine, nor protest nor swear like the modern possessor of the Partition-grievance. Nor can he cringe and fawn like some in high places. And the result of all this is that, with all his hoary antiquity, his long record of unsurpassedly useful work and laudable servises to Humanity in all stages of its progress, he is dethroned from his pinnacle of glory and is now dragging on a neglected, listless and prospectless existence, unillumined by a single ray of hope, in places still immune from the encroachment of his enemies.

The proud position which he once occupied is now usurped by upstarts with no history and no pride of origin. The bullock—that once most despised of quadrupeds—has displaced him from the plough and the field, and is now, with an unabashed audicity, harbouring designs on his last refuge—the shikram. The Bhensa is getting more arrongantly ambitious, and if his pretensions are not checked, may one day suddenly emerge out of his overloaded cart to claim a better position.

Gentlemen, even a sholly uninspiring theme like the restoration of Oudh has secured advocates who are sacrificing everything from reason down to sense to it, but the cause of the Camel still goes pitilessly unchampioned. is the restoration of the Camel not even worth a letter to the *Pioneer* or an article in the over-hospitable *Hindustan Review* ?

Would the *I. D. T.* have refused out of its superfluity a space to a letter expatiating on the thousand and one qualities of the head and heart, hump and stomach, legs and neck of the meekest and usefullest of all animals ?

Do you think the hypersensitive *Leader*, that never-failing champion of all cows—shot or unshot, whether killed at Basti or at Timbuctoo,—would have denied the favour of an excisive leading article—rich with quotations—to an animal immeasurably taller and bigger, with grievances older than those of the oldest Swarajist and more just than those of the most uncompromising Anti-Partitionist, of prouder ancestry than an Honorary Magistrate's, if somebody had even faintly suggested that the Mohammadans were responsible for his degradation.

—*BAMBOOQUE*

7th October 1191

THE COUNCIL

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whome I please."

—*As You like it*

September 11th.

Monopoly of good things is the ardent desire of humanity, and who can say that the sun-dried—and hill-moistened-bureaucrat is inhuman? But what Society belle was ever gratified by the mere possession of the latest effort of her milliner unless she could show the creation to her best friend of the female sex who did not possess it and rouse in her the passion of envy? Bureaucrats and belles are not so far apart after all. What could make the possession of Elysium in Simla more valuable to the little tin gods of the Government Pantheon than an invitation to the non-officials to come to the hills just for a dream-while and envy their lot? Incidentally, the short spell of the Simla Session would also accentuate the miseries of the plains.

Summer Session, scorned of tin
gods, this is truth the hill-birds trill,
Beauties of the plain are plainer
when you've walked on Summer Hill.

So, on a brightm orning one saw a stream of hurrying rickshaws of the non-officials running along the Mall and struggling up the steep ascent of Olympus whence Jupiter sends down his thunderbolts to the plains stretching below his feet in submissive subjection. But the number of the representatives of the people was exceedingly small.

They that had fought so well,
Roared there and thundered,
Made the Councill Hall a Hell,
Bellowed and blundered.
Came from the dusty plains,
Parched and destitute of rains,
Came through the jaws of Death,
Claimed the hills quite out of breath.
Though they's never numbered,
St. Stephen's o' er six hundred,
Still their strength was ten times three ;
But of these gallant men and free
There came now but a paltry eight —
For tiny trains a fitting freight—
Lighter heads a Light Brigade,
But great the desperate charge they ma le
The apes of Jakko wondered,
While hotel-keepers plundered.
When can its glory fade ?
The Honourables' Light Brigade,
All that was left of them,
Of thirty — not six hundred.

The hill pony carried the bantam weight of the Sword of Ali sheathed in a tight-fitting frock-coat, while six sturdy hill-men, tired and panting, performed the Sisyphian task of dragging upwards that sport of the Laws of Gravity, the sacrosanct and weightly person of Burly Raja. But head and shoulders above the rest rose the person of Longfellow, shaming the pines and dwarfing the deodars in its loftines . Even he heights of Jakko held their head down in utter mortification at the sight of this Mound Everest (29,002 feet) among mole hills.

In anticipation of the thinned ranks of the opposition the trusty official henchmen did not come from the Provincial hills to swoop down on the non-officials in the airy aeroplanes of Sandow Second at a moment's notice. For ordinary purpose of occasional skirmishing the Government of India contingent was necessary to overawe, and, if need be, to annihilate the thinned ranks of the non-officials. And then there was the Government of the Punjab on Chhota Olympus which had its representative on the spot to throw in his lot with the *dii majores*. The *genius loci* of Ebassam was also deriving considerable pleasure, much guidance and possibly some wisdom from his stay on the Hills, so that the Measurer was also present. All trooped forth into the cool penetralia of the Vic Lodge towed in by A.D.C.'s into the Banqueting Hall which had hitherto resounded only with the oratory of popping corks from gold-wrapped bottles, of merry laughter and whispered nothings. Instead of the sardine tin of Calcutta, here was grand and spacious hall where the Council would have been lost were it not for the saving grace of sheathed and plumed beauties, the Junos and the Venuses of Olympus who outnumbered the mere man. Greetings were exchanged, hands were shaken, heads nodded graciously, flitting smiles hovered round official lips, and in the midst of all this the double bass of Bootlair Sahib greeted the Burly Raja as 'Hullo, rapacious landlord of Calcutta.'

Not-Owen Meredith of the Punjab, and Gordon Not-of-Khartoum of the Public Waste Department were sworn in to vote conscientiously (or otherwise) with the Government. Then Sandow II, laid on the table two statements showing how costly the experiment of sedition had proved and how desirable itwas to give it up on account of its prohibitive cost. Thereafter, Madge the Melancholy, the solitary swallow of Summer Hill-struck a note of interrogation.

When these preliminaries were over, Bottlair Sahib discoursed sadly, if briefly, on the technique of holy matrimony. Seemed to be in terrible hurry and intimated to the Council that he would demand the passage of the Bill when the Council met a week later. Truly, a case of 'Chat meri mangni aur pat mera biah.'

MacLagan of the Sag-Sabzi Department brought in the Forest Bill. Wanted Local Governments to carry out certain functions without having to obtain the previous sanction of the Government of India and startled the whole Council by announcing that this was in general accord with the ascertained wishes of Local Government. What utter self-denial—on the part of Local Governments.

The Strong Man of Bombay rushed through the introduction of two little Bills before he came to the most pressing need of the day, the Airships Bill. Wanted to control 'the manufacture, possession, sale, use and import and export of airships' as if airships were being maunfactured at a break-neck speed possessed abundance by the Man in the Street, sold in avery market-place, used in numbers suggestive of a cloud of locusts, imported like whiskey bottles and exported like wheat and pensions. Gaily optimistic about Indian progress, drew a vivid picture of Councillors, wending their way to Simla in aeroplanes instead of coming up in a corkscrew railway. Rather hard on a corkscrew, this. Should think the Strong Man when in need of stronger drinks would have willingly bartered an aeroplane for a corkscrew. Simla air often spoken of as vaporised Champagne and what could be more appropriate preliminary than a corkscrew railway leading to it? Anyway, the picture of a few stalwarts like the Kuar Sahib and Raja Pertap Bahadur Singh lightly winning upwards from the plains and alighting Ariel-wise on the flagstaff tower of the Viceregal Lodge was certainly fascinating and full of possibilities. But for all practical purposes the Airships Bill a mere airy nothing. Castles in the air had often been built, but Sandow II, desirous of rivalling Spanish architects, had now built airships in the air. However, a humble suggestion may be offered. Either some airships should be imported into India, or the new Bill exported to a country that needs it.

The Moslem Dowager introduced the Calcutta Improvement Act Validation Bill. High Court of Calcutta must be extremely grateful to the Executive that instead of deliberately taking acton, knowing that the Provincial Legislature had not jurisdiction to take such action, it was left to the Imerial Legislature to clothe the High Court with power to hear a p p e a l s of 'Pampered Vampires.' Generous Exective! Dignified Judiciary! Punctillious Legislature!

September 18th.

A duller day, but better attendance. As if Bombay's strength had not been sufficiently indicated by Sandow II, it sent another Hon. Mr. Headstrong to represent it. When he had been duly sworn in, Bootlair Sahib served on the table another course of his answer to the sugar-coated Pandit's interrogatories. Then the Hon. Headstrong, without letting any grass grow under his nimble feet, rose to ask a question about the Gold Standard Reserve and while Sir Guy was busy wading through cash balances and Council bills, Hon. Members snored peacefully or wished there was more gold about the people and less reserve about the Government. Many more dull questions and duller answers until Dig-er-Patty inquired and learnt about the satisfactory progress of Sarah's bridge. Nobody in the Council knew why Sarah wanted such a cumbersome thing as a bridge, and if she was to have one why Rachel and Ruth should not have even a causeway or a culvert. After one or two more railway questions came the question of questions about a High Court at Dacca. Dig-re-Patty's

chest heaved tremendously and a sigh of relief escaped from him as wind rushes out of the bellows when Sandow II informed him that the Goverment of India had received no proposal to establish a High Court at Dacca. Happy Dig-er-Patty! Litigation, if nothing else, provided an excellent excuse for absentee rule over his East Bengal tenantry and constant presence at Calcutta.

The Hon. Cross-Bencher's innocent question about third-class carriages, which could have been answered by Sandow II in two unilluminating sentences of half a dozen words each, led the Railway Sleeper into the risky paths of authorship. Stood up and recited the three quarto volumes of his reply in the tone and manner of Polonius. 'There are very strong reasons for believing that third-class passengers like wagons for travelling.' A frank admission this of the convenience and comforts of third-class carriages.

After the questions the Council passed four bills and like all pious people congratulated itself for having done an excellent day's work. Then the Moslem Dowager introduced the Readymoney-Cash-Down-Baronetcy Bill and paid a well-deserved compliment to the Merchant Princes of Bombay. It was not a fitting sequel to the introduction of the Bombay Baronetcy Bill that the Strong Man of Bombay should introduce a Luncacy Bill immediately afterwards. It offered to the economical reporters the irresistible temptation of wiring in an all too brief compass about the introduction of 'the Baronetcy and the Lunacy Bill,' as if the one was a necessary corollary of the other. When the Lunacy Bill was chaperoned into the Council by Sandow II, he looked knowingly at Sir Guy, who in his turn passed on that knowing look, with a still more omniscient gesture with the thumb to the non-officials. This was the last of the Bills to be drafted by Mac in his career of 34 years, an appropriate *coup de grace* deservedly commended by Sandow II. Could picture Mac tenderly nursing the last of his legislative babies, the pet child of his old age, a piece of perfect creation to the production of which submissive service under eight Viceroys of various temperatures and nine Law Members of sundry complexions must have contributed largely. And after years of secret toil and loving patience, what a pleasure was his to hear those words of eulogy from a connoisseur of lunacy and to feel that so long as a lunatic breathed the air of this glorious Empire, the name of Mac would be remembered with gratitude and his memory kept green in all lunatic asylums.

The Administrative Orphan introduced a Bill further to be permitted to tinker the Post Office Act. Such was his avidity for 'indecent literature' that he wanted a general permit to open newspapers, samples and book packets containing such 'literature.' Decent people, however, are thankful that letters of the most erotic character still left to them as an inviolable private luxury, Council curious to know why 'decency' could never be associated with 'literaure,' while it was enough for matter to be 'indecent' to become 'literature.' Perhaps some questioning Councillor would elicit a reply from the literary critics of Government. Will not Diger-Patty try?

2nd August 1913

THE RAILWAY BORE

Of all the bores infesting this country—and their name is legion—perhaps the mightiest and indefatigablest is the Railway bore. I say this without fear of contradiction. The bore has received the scantiest of attention from the literary artists of this country. It is small wonder then that the most elusive of all bores—the Railway bor—eshould be so little known, and his feats of incredible loquacity performed in every train throughout India should excite so little admiration. Truly, a country which rewards its bores, not with the immortality which they deserve, but with a cold and frigid neglect which kills nascent and disheartens confirmed and inveterate boredom has no right to exist.

The Railway thief has, after the splendid promises of an incipient career, distinguished by artistic thefts nobly conceived and courageously executed, degenerated into a coward who, in order to avoid arrest, resorts to all sorts of mean shifts and prefers to perform his exploits in the dead of night. But the Railway bore still stalks freely abroad with the proud assurance and cool imperturbability of former days, defying law and legislators, the S.P. and S.P.-ridden Deputies, the omniscient *Pioneer* and the omnipotent *Englishman*. He does not seem to recognise that there are garrulous Sir John Reeses to put interpellations in the House of Commons as there are virtuous Pandits to move resolutions in the Viceregal Council and invent languages outside it. The promiscuous shower of printed missiles from the journalistic machine-guns of Bengal leaves him unscathed and unhurt. The constant drizzle of dubious wit and indifferent wisdom from the *Leader* of Allahabad leaves him as dry as ever.

The Eurasian Station Master and the Railway Guard, in spite of their reputations won by vigorous kicks administered to that most tempting of all kick-worthies—the coolie—and pushes lavishly bestowed on some loyalist passengers in the second class, fail to arrest the operations, bloodless but painful, of his ceaseless tongue. Their proximity, instead of frightening him into the timid and nervous silence of the 'native,' stimulates and inspires him to an even greater degree of boisterousness and to a more spendthrift use of his vocabulary. The way in which he opens his campaign is worthy of him and his great mission in life. The fellow-passenger is gradually drawn into the meshes skilfully laid out for him without his suspecting it. The usual bait invariably used to hook an elusive passenger is an inquiry as to time, his destination or an observation on the condition of the weather. His answer determines his fate. As soon as it is given, the way for further questions is cleared. Particulars as to his birth and origin, religion, position, residence and means, present and prospective, are wrung out of the victim without a suspicion crossing his mind as to the *bona fides* of the questioner.

When the bore begins to talk of his own pedigree—not to satisfy any curiosity betrayed by the unfortunate listener, but as a concession to the pitiably poor stock of human knowledge—doubts begin to assail the mind of the unfortunate listener. When he waxes eloquent over what his father of the blessed memory did to better the lot of humanity, which is ungrateful enough not even to accord a patient hearing to the son of its benefactor, the doomed listener feels that he is about to be swept away by an irresistible cataclysm of irrepressible volubility.

Sometimes he rushes into politics without the usual observations on the weather, the unstability of the mundane life or the perfections of his late-lamented father, and begins a vigorous bombardment of the whole compartment with all sorts of opinions, original and borrowed, without one word of warning to the inmates as to his contemplated action. And the result is a cold-blooded destruction of everybody's patience, a universal panic and consternation. The six-penny novel, instead of averting the ouslaughts, tempts a renewal of them with greater vigour and keener zest. Pretended sleep does not disarm or outwit aggressive loquacity or make it suspend its operations.

The bath-room fails to ensure safety to its refugees, the shelling of it from outside being so violent and persistent. The victims gaze at each other with an impotent and helpless look, and pin their last hopes on the advent of a saviour in the shape of a Tommy who does not turn up.

The precent writer had the occasion to go with a party of boisterous irresponsibles the other day. At one of the intervening stations our compartment was invaded by a gentleman who seemed anxious to relieve himself of a terrible load of accumulated opinions. The gentleman wore English dress and seemed particularly proud of his Bideshi hat and Swadeshi pair of legs, which he could not apparently decide where and how to disport so as to exhibit them to their best advantage. He was a middle-statured man, had no faith in the spiritual virtues of a beard, but possibly an exaggerated one in the aesthetic perfections of his well-trained moustaches. He owned a big head and a fluent tongue—the former not much encumbered with that nebulous something which we call brains, and the latter absolutely unrestrained in its performances by any vulgar regard for sense and meaning. As ill-luck would have it, we were discussing the strength and merits of Mohammadan representation on a certain committee and wondering how the choice of the Moslem members could be reconciled to the reputed liberalism of the head of the Provinces—a liberalism as curious and inexplicable as the psychology of an Oudh Taluqdar or the logic of a Punjab vernacular daily. Somebody happened to remark that one of the members was reactionary and loyalist enough to be opposed to compulsory Primary Education, and he could not therefore represent the Moslem view. The latter proposition was controverted by the gentlemen sitting beside him, who fascetiously remarked that, though a determined opponent of Primary, the member criticised was a strong supporter of Elementary

Education. This gave the intruder the opportunity of his life. He unsheathed his tongue which commenced its deadly operations with its usual relentlessness. He announced that the gentleman whose views were the subject of discussion was an intimate friend of his, and that he owed his rise to the sage counsel and priceless assistance which, though the speaker rigorously withheld it from an unappreciative Government and an ungrateful world, he freely bestowed on him (the gentleman discussed). After the announcement, which we did not question the veracity of, we could very well imagine how his grandmotherly conscience was shocked by the irresponsible manner in which we talked of the legatee of his inexhaustible wisdom and the heir of his accumulated sagacity. He next deprecated the line of the discussion and expressed his surprise that there could be any scepticism as to the perfections of one who had the rare privilege of being advised and guided by him. He was scandalized at the gratuitous assumption that of the two things—Primary and Elementary Education—Primary education was more useful to India. He could tolerate anything ——even anybody else talking——but not a sterile discussion.

He proceeded to tell us –what we had sadly overlooked — that there were good points in Primary Education as there were good points in Elementary Education. A discussion ensued which it would be very cruel on my part to withhold from the readers. I reproduce it in the very words of the gentleman for the edification and guidance of our hapless community.

Passenger——Is your friend in favour of Elementary Education? If so, he can't but be an opponent of Primary education, and as such his presence on the Committee is bound to prove detrimental to the best interests of the community.

Intruder——He is not in favour of either. He combines both things. He picks out certain points in Primary Education and certain points in Elementary Education. And this I advised him to do. He never does anything without my advice. I look after his affairs. He has got best horses in the district. He is going to purchase a motor. I am sending his sons to England. I shall go with them till Bombay. Primary and Elementary Education are good things, but I have advised him to write to the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police frequently. The Deputy Commissioner is a nice man. I talk to him very freely and clandestinely. Everybody knows that.

Passenger——I fail to see how his possession of the best horses or an ideal adviser like you or even his intention to buy a motor or send his sons to England can affect the quetion whether, holding the views he does on Elementary Education, he can effectively represent the Moslem point of view.

Intruder——You don't understand me and never will. I am not like people who edit newspapers and talk rot. I am a practical man. I have been in my profession not many years, but I charge more fee than the oldest man. There people accept low fees which is disgraceful. It is not very materialistic what views you hold. You should be sensible. You

assume Primary Education as a good thing. A Hindu politician --I don't remember his mame (somebody suggested Professor Rama Murti)—yes, Rama Murti said in some society or council that Primary Education is a good thing and you all begin to howl that you don't know the Hindus. They want to entrap you. I say Elementary Education is good; without it we can't get high posts-Deputy Collectors and Munsiffs.

Passenger—I am surprised that a learned man like you should hold that view. The English Government has introduced Primary Education at Timbuctoo and the results are simply amazing. Do you dare deny that?

Intruder—Don't you talk of Europe. Things and conditions are different here. There even the washerwomen read the daily paper. Primary Education is very well for Lords and Dukes, but India is too poor. We cannot afford that We want posts in the Technical Department and Agricultural Dapartment. Will anybody take us without Elementary Education? What of you. I would say the same thing to a Deputy Commissioner: I am not afraid of the Sahibs. Look at the row I had with Joint Magistrate. The Joint Magistrate said, 'You are talking rot'—I said 'beg your pardon' ane became red. Everybody knows that you can ask . . . .

His harangue had not concluded when the train stopped, and to our unexpressible relief we found that we had reached our destination. We jumped out of it to escape further torture, and did not say even good-bye to that untiring mentor of unregenerate humanity for fear lest he should be induced to get down and give us a little more of his company. When the train moved, we perceived that he was still lecturing, nobly undiscouraged by the silence of the empty berths.

—Bambooque.

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4th October 1913

THE TITLE-HUNTING ASSOCIATION OF NOISY JEEHUZOORS

Khan Bahadur Abdul Wafa Mirza Johukum Beg reviewed the history and services of the title-hunting association of boisterous Jeehuzoors in a speech of remarkable force and eloquence which he addressed to the members of his society the other day. It would he cruel to withhold it from your leaders who, I am confident, will derive no end of edification from an intelligent perusal it.

THE SPEECH

Gentlemen and fellow loyalists; Khan Bahadurs, actual and potential; Khan Sahibs, present and prospective—we have assembled here to celebrate the third anniversary of the great institution of modern India—I mean the title-

hunting association of blatant jee-huzoors. The association is barely three years old, but during this short period, it has won a reputation of which we can legitimately be proud and exhibited an amount of vitality staggering and bewildering to our critics. Our resolutions couched in the forciblest of language, have compelled the reluctant attention of progressive India which once pretended to ignore us and even treat us with contempt. Some of them have been hailed by eminent Anglo-Indian dailies as the thoughtful pronouncements of incredibly sensible Indians on current questions. The *Pioneer* of Allahabad has embraced us with a most touching grandmotherly effusiveness. We take this opportunity to solemnly assure the *Pioneer* that we shall give it no reason to regret that seemingly rash and unremunerative investment of paternal interest and affection which it has taken in us. We may also point out with pardonable pride that it could hardly have made a better choice for the lavishment of its confidence.

Gentlemen, when I first suggested that our resolution affirming the proposition that nothing could be sacred which a District Magistrate had acquired and condemning all agitators for the cancellation of his orders as an affront to his infallibility should be extensively wired and printed, you had the folly (I can't use a milder expression because you don't deserve one) to object to it on the ground of the expense it would involve and the widespread indignation it would excite. After the note of a great Anglo-Indian oracle which hailed our resolutions as the soundest piece of wisdom which had ever emanated from the ever-erring non-official services, are you not prepared to sincerely confess—not as a concession to the wishes of your President whom you rightly respect, but as a recognition of an unblinkable truth—that you are fools.

The varacity of an announcement may be open to question, but the wisdom of it is not. Before this year is over, some more of you will be Khan Sahibs, the proud recipients of invitations to 'At Homes' and parties in which the Collector would be the central figure—the cynosure of gaping loyalist eyes.

To your list of friends will be added the names of immortal Khansamahs and head cooks of imperishable fame. Your record of loyalty—brimming over with Dalis benignantly received and salaams smilingly acknowledged—will dazzle uninitiated India with its extra ordinary brilliance. You will go down to posperity, laden with the parwanahs and testimonials of Burra Sahibs; the printed encomiums of the *Pioneer* and the blessings of well-tipped chaprassis. Our critics say——I can't speak of them with any degree of self-restraint and patience, you will forgive me if I call them fools (Hear ! Hear ! Do please, and call them asses too)—that we are doing nothing and wasting our time and great talents. Our record is here to belie and negative this foulest of accusations. To recount our splendid services, we have resuscitated the half-defunct loyalism of the last decade —— a loyalism which left India and its affairs to the pleasure of the Bureaucracy and the mercy of the *Pioneer*, which shrank from

all legitimate criticism of the Government and its measures as an abomination, and nobly consecrated its attention and energies to perpetually eulogising the officials. We have restored Divinity to the Collector, infallibility to the bureaucrat, tip to the red-turbaned chaprassi and omniscience to the Anglo-Indian daily.

Gentlemen, we have encouraged incipient ambition, supported struggling impudence, developed embryonic jeehuzurism and assisted youthful but promising sycophancy. We have transformed the nervous, hysterical and perturbed Khan Bahadur of yesterday with the cool, collected and self-possessed being of to-day, conscious of his great mission in life and confident of his powers. He sat trembling on his masnad of official patronage. We have quieted his fears, dissipated his gloom and removed his misgivings. He is once more able to look on the crowd without superfluous trepidations and embrace the tehsil staff with his old cordiality. His parwanahs have emerged from the privacy of dust and companionship of worms to which they had temporarily retired from the incessancy of press ridicule to claim their old prominence of position.

The Khan Sahib was sulky and glum and looked as if he was about to confess away the loyalty of a lifetime and services of his whole tribe. We have come between the world and the greatest of tragedies it has ever witnessed. We have restored him to his old humour, we have reassured him. We have given him back his railway guard to entertain, his vaccinator to patronise and his pound-keeper to bully.

I can't let this opportunity pass without expressing my sincere admiration for those gaudy survivals of a half-forgotten past, those living anachronisms who have made Oudh, the one refereshing oasis, in a frightfully arid desert of India. They have solved one of the greatest problems of the age. They have penetrated a Divine secret hitherto withheld from inquisitive humanity. They have discovered that God gave them tongue in no mood of indiscriminate and reckless generosity. He had a definite object in so doing. The terrestrial Collectors and Commissioners would have gone unpraised and the Lat Sahib would have come to Lucknow and departed from it, without the usual laudatory addresses being read out to him.—What a noble achievement! (Hear! Hear! Loud Applause.)

—*Bambooque*.

25th July 1914

THE BORE

General—I

'Genius is good, but boredom is magnificent.' This observation is immemorially old—as old as the Pyramids——and is marked by a profundity of thought and intensity of expression which characterised all

Greek philosophical reflections. It is not the antiquity of the observation, but its downright truth that is its downright truth that is its supreme merit.

The unforgiveablest and the most persistent of all human mistakes is to think that the bore is not immortal like genius.

Real, solid, substantial boredom is imperishable defiant of death and oblivion; but superficial, shallow, ineffective boredom is ephemeral. The real bore is born like genius. Nature does not send him ill-equipped to fight the battle of life. It bestows on him inexhaustible funds of loquacity—funds which survive a most reckless and improvident use and last a lifetime of unprofitable investments, extravagant effects and hazarduous experiments. It is a pity that the bore often makes a wasteful use of his gift. With greater economy and less improvidence he could leave his unprovided-for children a rich heritage of vocal energy. The real bore is, as I have said above immortal. To guard myself against a possible misapprehension on the part of the readers, I may say that the bore shares with the rest of humanity a regrettable proneness to physical death; but I don't find it in my heart to condemn him for a weakness which, though deplorable in the extreme, is none of his cultivation, but a legacy from his ancestors.

But to the immortality of name and reputation he has just as easy an access as genius. Herodotus, the father of bores, is as alive to-day as Plato, and the present writer can hazard a confident prophecy that he would outlive the latter. His mixture of bad facts and worse fiction will continue to bore humanity long after the fossilised wisdom of Plato has ceased to guide and inspire it. Johnson is moribund, and will soon be dead beyond resurrection; but his biographer——Boswell——-will ever successfully defy death and oblivion. Johnson's 'sugarless' wisdom and unpalatable cynicisms will perish, but Boswell's Johnsonian talk and stories will ever challenge time and its ravages. Coming nearer home, Abul Fazal, with all his unsurpassed intellectual and literary powers and statemanship, is going to grave, mourned only by senile garrulity, infirmity of intellect and archaicness of taste; but Birbal, with his stupid jokes and silly anecdotes, is still clinging to popular memory with great tenacity. I must confess that Indian boredom cannot claim comparison with European boredom without making itself supremely ridiculous. Its achievements are comparatively few, its record not half so brilliant as that of European boredom. But it is racial prejudice alone which would deny that Indian boredom is progressive and that its performances are very often superb and grand. The reason for this inferiority of indigenous boredom is not far to seek. We have no Parliament; no House of Commons or of Lords. Is it a matter for surprise then that we have no Sir John Reeses? Believe me, there is no better place for the training and development of boredom than a Parliament.

Boredom, my critics may remind me, is congenial, but training is as essential to it as to genius. Without training boredom very often becomes inane, sterile and ineffective. Without

it its promises not unoften go unrealisied, the hopes it has aroused are blighted and its grand mission remains unfulfilled.

The European bore receives a public encouragement which his less fortunate Indian brother does not. He has usually a large audience to admire his feats of marvellous loquacity and to vociferously cheer them. He has also critics and detractors, but his friends and supporters are generally more numerous and noisier. India can nevertheless truly and without inordinate immodesty boast of millions of bores with varying degrees of perfections and excellences.

Indigenous boredom suffers, as I have said above, from a lack of popular appreciation and encouragement and even more from want of opportunities for a public exhibition of its accomplishments. It is true that we have congresses and leagues, conferences and last, but not least, our reformed councils. It is also true that they provide the ambitious Indian bore with opportunities for the accomplishment of miracles of loud and senseless talk. But he wants more and frequenter opportunities and a much greater degree of popular encouragement that is usual for him to receive.

Though so seriously handicapped, the Indian bore is a man of whom we have every reason to be proud. He is ubiquitous. He graces every assembly, private, commonal or national.

He does not necessarily belong to the city. He often comes from a village and brings with him a sturdy and unsophisticated boredom—— untiring and ceaseless in its operations, unrelieved by the culture and refinemnt of the city bore.

The bore does not necessarily belong to any particular religion. He is as often a Hindu as a Mohammadan or a Christian. He finds the tenets of no faith opposed to the pursuit of innocent boredom; no ethics, secular or religious, forbid loud and ceaseless talk, One does not see any reason why a good Hindu or a pious Mussalman should be a bad or indifferent bore.

The bore is wedded to no particular political beliefs and convictions. Advocacy of most progressive reforms and the demand of Swaraj are as compatible with honest boredom as the loyalism of the most aggressive type——the loyalism of the Oudh Taluqdar or the Punjab Khan Bahadur.

You can't know a bore at first sight, if you have on mental discernment. Physical eyes, however pig, even fortified by a pair of spectacles, won't enable you to recognise a bore before he has commenced to experiment on your patience in his usual calm, collected and confident manner. His torrential volubility once provoked would sweep you off your feet before you realised the egregious folly of accosting him. Never accost a bore in hurry and repent of it at leisure. Do anything, but don't rouse slumbering boredom. Do not grudge it the rest it so sorely needs after its ceaseless toils.

Let it be remembered by all that the bore wears no particular uniform, though we all heartily wish he did that. I for one would hail a movement, though it emptied my purse of its last cowri, which sought to deck Indian boredom in some

uniform and distinguishing outer vesture.

The founders of sabhas and revivers of dead languages would more usefully spend their time in devising means to satisfy this pressing need of the modern times.

The bore has no predilection for any particular kind of dress. I have as often found his Swadeshi legs encased in the most immaculate trousers of the approved European cut as in the dirtiest of dhotis. The dhoti does not lessen his self-assurance, nor do the trousers add to his intrepidity. His head—an organ which he has shamelessly discarded in favour of his mere seductive tongue—is no more partial to the Bideshi top-hat than to the Turkish Fez or to what is popularly known as the felt-cap. The former does not add to his dignity, nor do the latter detract from his sublimity.

The bore in achkan is as familiar a figure and as common a sight as one in a lounge suit. The bore has no aversion to nakedness—a trouserless nakedness relieved only by a dhoti. From what has been said above, the reader may be led to infer that only talk is boredom. Talk, loud and persistent, without interruption or intermission is oftener the form which boredom assumes. But there is inarticulate boredom too—a boredom which accomplishes its grand mission not through talk and noise, but by icy, frigid, sepulchral silence as destructive of human patience as the noisiest and interminablest talk. The silent bore is cynical and relentless. He stares at you for hours, unwilling to talk and be talked to, contemplating you as if you were the only unhappy creature who married the perfections of a universe of his creation. You were rich in human forbearance and patience when he came to you. He leaves you a bankrupt, an eternal pauper.

—Bambooque

18th April 1914

THE COUNCIL

"As long a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."

As You Like It.

When, on the 6th of January last, the Hon. MR. GUP, still under the stimulus of the New Year's resolutions, resumed his seat among the gods that leisurely contemplate the dullde bate and hesitating, half-hearted conflicts of mere men below, and refreshed a worn-out and tired world with his banter three weeks later, little did he think that he would once more provoke mirth by recounting the affairs of the 9th of January on the 18th of—April. But the claims of loyalty as proclaimed in the viceregal Lodge at Delhi, and of disloyalty as proclaimed equally loudly in another Lodge last week, had to be satisfied and the appreciation of greatness in debate, whether it be of SUREN or of FREE-LANCE, had

to take a back seat. The balance-sheet of servility and sedition having been prepared and duly audited, the Hon. MR. GUP returns gladly to the suavity of these columns which is equidistant from sedition and servility.

BOOTLAIR SAHIB was in the Chair and commenced the proceedings of the day with a message of mourning. Reuter had brought the sad news of the sudden demise of Sir John Molesworth MacPherson who was busy in England in consolidating the statutes of India. Council knew him well in the familiar title of 'MAC,' and had bid him good-bye at Simla on the last day of the autumn session on September 22nd, 1911. H. E. had expressed his regret at the retirement of MAC and pronounced a eulogy couched in the warmest of terms. Thereafter non-officials had entertained him at a farewell luncheon at which had reigned all the sweet-sadness of farewell. How sad to recall now the Hon. Mr. Gup's remarks about the last piece of work done by MAC. 'When the Lunacy Bill,' wrote he on the occasion, 'was chaperoned into the Council by Sandow II,' he looked knowingly at SIR GUY, who in his turn passed on that knowing look with 'a still more omniscient gesture with the thumb to the non-officials. 'This was the last of the Bills to be drafted by MAC in his career of" 34 years an appropriate *coup de graee* deservedly commended by SANDOW II. Could picture MAC tenderly nursing the last of his legislative babies, the child of his old age, a piece of perfect creation to the production of which submissive service under eight Viceroys of various temperatures and nine Law Members of sundry complexions must have contributed largely. And after years of secret toil and loving patience, what a pleasure was his to hear those words of eulogy from a connoisseur of lunacy, and to feel that so long as a lunatic breathed the air of this glorious Empire, the name of MAC would be remembered with gratitude and his memory kept green in all lunatic asylums.'

Alas poor MAC is no more; he is now beyond the jurisdiction of jokes and Lunacy Bills, debates in Councial and divisions, having died in harness a sudden death which all who knew him must deeply mourn. BOOTLAIR SAHIB'S tribute to his memory was eloquent of the esteem and affection in which MAC was held by all the Councillors. CHEEBY CHITNIS, doyen of non-official councillors, also associated himself on their behalf with the sentiments to which Bootlair Sahib had given expression. KHUSH-HAL asked ten out of a total of a dozen of questions chiefly arising out of his recent study of the views of ancient Commissions the reports of which had long since been buried under the dust that accumulates in official pigeonholes. As usual, while the other official members vouchsafed half a dozen words, more or less in reply the RAILWAY SLEEPER brought wagon-loads of information in reply to KHUSH-HAL'S questions. The successor of dear MADGE, equally valiant, reminded No-More-KAY of MADGE's Own Regiment of Black and White, but could secure no definite information. The Lion of BAGANAPALLE offered a suggestion about the non-

official representation of Cantonment stations in Legislative Councils and was met with a non possumus in reply. Where the Army rules there can be no Parliament!

The NEW SAGE moved for the reference of the Destructive Insects and Pests Bill to a Select Committee. Wonder why Government did not nominate as an expert the the well-known MR. KEATING, whose advice would have been invaluable in the Select Committee. Hope the Select Committee at least would sprinkle a good deal of MR. KEATING's powder on their persons and their report before they returned to the Council with the latter. As it is there are too many parasites in the Council. SANDOW III moved for the reference of the Motor Cars Bill to a Select Committee in which the place of honour was given to the Hon. SHIKARI, also known amongst his friends as Ticca-garri. At last the *Leader* has found a use for this sporting member. After WORTHY MEYER had asked for and obtained leave to introduce the Local Authorities Loans Bill, leglislative business was over and the real business of the day commenced.

SUREN, might with the pen and mightier with the tongue, moved that the pledges given about the Press Act in 1910 by his worthy fellow-countryman, the predecessor of the MOSLEM DOWAGER, should be redeemed, and that bete noir of the Calcutta Police, the High Court of Fort William in Bengal, be given an effective jurisdiction in cases of forfeiture under the various sections of the Act. SUREN disavowed all desire to revive ancient memories of four years ago, but felt it necessary to remind the Council and a terrible lot more in the country. Reference to the proceedings of the debate showed how the non-officials had found against odds on the question of giving to the Press Bill a place among the permanent statutes of the land ; but the opinion of the people had not commended itself to the official majority. The Act had now been in operation for four years and SUREN evidently inclined to spell 'operation' as 'oppression'. How it had worked, what were its defects and how they can be remedied, seemed to SUREN pertinent questions, although they may appear to SANDOW III impertinent questioning of Home Department authority. SUREN therefore moved the resolution which he described as the 'irreducible minimum.' This description even more than literally true, for you can't reduce the length and breadth of a point, and SUREN's resolution had even lesser dimensions than a point in Geometry—for it was wholly pointless. The pledges of 1910 led no where, and even the extension of the jusisdiction of the Calcutta High Court could have blown nobody any good so long as the section defining the offences under the Act remained as unreduced maximum.

Listening to SUREN addressing an English audience, who could think that butter could melt in his mouth ? He commenced his attack with compliments so sweet that it was a wonder how the Government could avoid a complete surrender. He regarded the acceptance of his irreducible minimum as the first definite step towards the final annulment of the Act. That the Act was

bound to be repealed sooner or later—sooner, hoped SUREN, than later—was as clear as the noon-day sun. But SUREN did not say wether he referred to the noon-day sun of Bengal, which dries up a bureaucrat, if it doesn't give him brain-fever, or to the dim and pale fugitive that seldom shows its face through the veil of clouds and the solid London pea-souper in SANDOW III's native land. The Act, argued SUREN, was inconsistent with the great traditions of British Rule and those (ahem !) noble principles of government which are incarnated in British adminstration. Having said this, SUREN looked round towards the avatars of noble principles sitting around him. There was the god of Learning, the male version of Sarasvati, enthroned in H. E.'s chair. There was No-More-Kay that could equally pass for Vishnu, the Protector, and Shiva, the Destroyer. There was the MOSLEM DOWAGER, British by adoption if not by birth, representing the deity that devises laws. There was the NEW SAGE, officiating as the god of fecundity of the soil in ancient mythology and the reaper of bumper harvests even in times of famine which is peculiar to modern conditions. Again, there were the ADMINSTRATIVE ORPHAN, and SANDOW III, god WORTHY MEYER, god of the Golden Treasury, and SANDOW III, god almightyof every thing. SUREN scanned their faces but found no consolation. Still hopeful of the fruits of flattery he went on to to say that no concession to popular freedom had been made by the British Government in India which had ever been withdrawn. He cited the example of the Jury Notification which was cancelled, and the Vernacular Press Act which was repealed, and hoped so it would be with this Act in the fullness of time. The Government of India, standing at the head of the nation (not, we hope, with a five-chambered revolver) becoming every day more and more Nationalistic (beware of bombs !) in its views by the breadth and liberality of its policy, ought, in the opinion of SUREN, to show us the way.

Tired of all this climbing, SUREN came down to the customary level and pitched into the police. The Act had given very large powers to the police. The Magistrate is the police, and the police, is of the variety known not as the Sipahi but as Siyahi, or more correctly as the C.I.D. SUREN then flourished a document that he held in his hand as the proof of the Government's guilt. It was a statement giving the names of newspapers which were called upon to find security and consequently ceased publication. He informed the Council that of hese 17, only 3 Hindu papers, and the remaining 14 were all Moslem, another instance of the gross partiality of Government towards the 'favourite wife,' and a recognition not only of the numerical strength of the Mussalmans but also of their political importance and the services they had rendered to the Empire as the 'gate keeper' of India. Indirectly, of course, it may also have been a recognition of the 'dynamic force' of the community as exhibited by means of an explosive Press !

SUREN particularly referred to the case of the Ahi-Hadis of Amriti-

tsar which had replied to certain strictures which had appeared in a missionary organ reflecting upon the Mohamedan faith. The newspaper was asked to furnish a security, but no notice had till then been taken of the book in which the strictures upon Mohammadan faith had been published. Little did SUREN know that the book which tempted the Ahl-i-Hadis to tempt the Magistrate to call for security had similarly tempted the *Badr* of Qadian. to tempt another District Magistrate to believe that Christians in India would bebrought into hatred and contempt because the *Badr* had reproduced an article, twice published before in other journals since the Act came into being, stating that the Virgin Mary was a hermaphrodite, and that the Immaculate Conception was the result of natural causes. Verily the Press Act is a capital instrument in the hands of the bureaucracy, for when the laws in England against blasphemy were being severely attacked by Christians themselves, it was necessary in a heathen land, where every prospect rleases and only man is vile, to demand securities and confiscate them together with the presses if newspapers did not express full faith—in miracles. One may be sure after this that the famous verdict of a philosopher that miracles do not happen nowadays would be proved to be false, and more miracles would happen in India in the 20th century through the instrumentality of the Press Act than all those which are reputed to have happened before. Indeed the Press Act itself is the most marvellous miracle, and its administration the perfection of 'holding the balance even.'

SUREN cited the instance of another newspaper, the *Zamindar* of Lahore, which was guilty of high treason for protesting against the removal of a Mosque and speaking of a Lieutenant-Governor in terms only applicable to men. For this offence the security of Rs. 2,000 had been forfeited and another of Rs. 10,000 demanded. And while SUREN was referring to this case, another Lieutenant-Governor was contemplating the forfeiture of the second security also together with the entire press for high treason against—Piccadilly! Curious this Press Act, and curious resultsflow therefrom. As it happens, discourteous and disrespectful remarks about a Lieutenant-Governor cost an Indian editor Rs. 2,000, but discourteous and disrespectful remarks about the fair and fragile things that flit about Piccadilly after dark cost him just ten times as much.

The next reference of SUREN related to the *Cawnpore Herald*, which had published some two years ago 'A Dramatic Scene.' The D.S.P. called upon the proprietress of the paper and wanted to know the writer's name. On declining to do so she was taken to task for the impropriety or permiting her newspaper to be the means of criticism directed against the police and the municipality, two corporations which in Cawnpore at least are not only above criticism but may well be regarded as also above law. The denouement of 'A Dramatic Scene' was the demand of security from the good lady who was guilty of high treason against Chowkidars and Chungi.

After quoting figures furnished by his hon. friend, the Home Secretary (who said SUREN was hostile

to British Rule) SUREN came to an authoritative expression of opinion. He refrained from referring to the popular verdict, for that might not have commended itself to 'gentlemen on the other side of the House' but the leader of His Majesty's Opposition cited the authority of the Chief Justice of the High Court of Bengal when delivering judgment in the *Comrade* case. This, SUREN felt sure, was 'an authority of unquesstioned weight whose pronouncement would comand the implicit acquiecence of all members, be they official or non-officials.' And while SUREN rolled out this sentence in his sonorous voice, the testimony of the ears of the audience was considerably affected by the testimony of their eyes which detected an unusual protuberance on the left side of his face, not altogether unlike the frequent phenomenon which one notices in a schoolboy speaking with his tongue in his cheek. And here he read out a passage from the famous judgment showing the all-comprehensive character of section 4 of the Act within whose wide spread net, as the Chief Justice had prophesied with unerring prescience, would come an attack on that degraded section of the public which lives on the misery and shame of others. India may now easily explain her intellectual poverty, for, said the Chief Justice, much that is regarded as standard literature for India, and the publishers of the thousand and one 'Hundred Best Books' may console themselves by joinging the 'Indian Press Defence League' of the Editor who paid twenty thousand in damages for casting doubts on the chastity of Piccadilly.

After this came more qnotations from the judgment, more arguments in its support and more insistence on the unredeemed pledges of the former Law Member, followed by a worthy peroration. SUREN argued that a sensible improvement in the situation had already taken place and a change for the better had been generally admitted in the tone and temper of the press. In making the appeal for a substantial modification of the Act, if not its repeal, SUREN said, he did not speak only as a member of the Council, but as 'one with whom journalism had been the cherished vocation of his life.' Over the heads of his audience he flashed the 'Sword of Damocles,' then talked of "the great organ for the ventilation of popular grievances," and, of course, of the 'safety-valve of the State.' Nor was a reference to the time-honoured distinction (who said 'without a difference'?) between liberty and licence omitted. And last of all, SUREN promised the Government that if it was good it would proclaim to the world 'the unalterable determination of the Government to redeem its pledged word and to make justice to the aggrieved party the key-note of its policy."

Hardly had he resumed his seat after this little bonne bouche of complimentary oratory, when up rose the gallant FREE-LANCE, foremost in the files of Punjab loyalty. FREE-LANCE does not beat about the bush. He does not conceal his hostility to anything under the cloak of meaningless compliments. He throws no chall to the bird, but puts out his hand straight to catch it without the aid of net or snare. The gallant FREE-LANCE has no faith in flank-

ing movements but charges direct, going straight for the enemy and directing his weapon towards the breast of his foe with unerring aim. So, just as he let not a moment slip between the speech of SUREN and his own, he did not let a word pass his lips that did not declare his aim and purpose. Sir, I am the greatest enemy of the seditious Press!,' was a declaration as direct and sudden as the question of Mr. BROADBENT to NORA, in John Bull's *Other Island*, within two minutes of her: "Will you be my wife?" But FREE-LANCE did not content himself merely with this declaration of war. He added: 'Had I had the the power I would have never 'allowed this resolution to be moved discussed here to-day.' After this the Council wondered why FREE-LANCE stopped at that, and did not say: 'Had I had the power I would have brought SUREN's head on a charger. Had I had the power I would have shot down every non-official member of the Council except the representatives of the (ahem!) people from the Punjab, a few landlords and my unfailing co-voter from Burma, and given all their votes to official members. Had I had the power I would have poisoned every member of the Royal Commission on the Public Service except such as had taken an oath to vote an increas of salaries to members of the Civil Service and to close its doors my fellow-country-men. Had I had the power I would have abolished the High Court of Calcutta, in fact all Law Courts except the Chief Court of Lahore, which is, strictly speaking as you all know, not a Law Court at all. Had I had the power I would have abolished education and doubled the expenditure on the Army. Had I had the power I would have destroyed Cawnpore and given to Mr. Tyler all the powers the King in Parliament and even of Sir Edward Carson. Had I had the power I would have annexed Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and every other Moslem country and compelled their rulers to pass votes of thanks to Sir Edward Grey as their greetest benefactor. Had I had the power I would have suppressed every newspaper except the *Pioneer*, and that I would have published at the Government Gazette. Finally, had I had the power, I would have killed the Hon. Mr. GUP and drunk a full hogshead of his seditious blood,' The Council lost the opportunity of hearing this characteristic speach and had to content itself merely with the pious hope that had the FREE-LANCE had the power—he would have asked to move a counter-resolution for making the Press Act still more stringent.

Three days ago, on SUREN's motion relating to education, FREE-LANCE, disdaining such restraints as relevancy imposes, had already attacked those who wanted to persuade the Government to modify the Press Act. So proud was he of this feat that he reminded the Council of it and even boasted that last year too, 'when there were no signs of this resolution being discussed here,' he had emphasised in the course of his Budget speech the necessity of making the Press Laws more effective. FREE-LANCE had been born on horseback and hoped to die also on horseback, though no one need discuss the question 'When?'

The horse's bare back was to him even more secure a seat than the one which he occupied in the Council through the kindness of the Government. He did not even need a bridle wherewith to control the most mettlesome charger of the Shahpore breed. But even the horsemanship of the valiant Captain of the Tiwana Lancers was unequal to the demands made by an 'unbridled Press' which the FREE-LANCE declared on oath, with the utmost modesty and self-effacement, to be 'the greatest curse of India.' Never, said the gallant Captain, was a more appropriate and more useful Act passed in the Coucil; and before the Council could recall similar praise of other Acts, FREE-LANCE himself came out with the exceptions that proved the rule, the Seditious Meetings Act and the Conspiracy Act.

But it is Seditious Press which, according to FREE-LANCE, 'lies a the root of the other two. It is papers or other seditious pamphlets which poison unsteady persons.' Now if that be true, what consummation is more devoutly to be wished than the poisoning of unsteady persons? No one with any decency would like to poison so steady a person as FREE-LANCE, specially when he is coming from the Tiwana-regimental Mess in the small hours of the morning.

FREE-LANCE reminded the Councilthat there was not a single discussion on the subject in which he did not take part, because he felt that 'if such propaganda are not crushed with a strong hand serious danger would result in the future.' And what hand could be stronger than his. There are only two hands that really matter; the hand that holds the Tiwana lance kills the press, and then the hand that rocks the cradle can peacefully rule the world. He wanted the Council that 'if anything happens then on a very big scale the peace-loving subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor would be the real sufferers and the irresponsible small set of sedition-mongers would gain money by setting the house of the poor on fire and withnessing the balze from afar.' A new way of gaining money this, by setting the house of the poor on fire and withnessing the blaze from afar. One would have thought the incendiary would set the house of the wealthy Tiwana, the 'Proctector of the Poor,' on fire, and instead of witnessing the blaze from afar would help himself at close quarters with the salvage. (Please don't arrest me for arson in the offices of a newspaper on the strength of this !)

FREE-LANCE cited the confession of a political prisoner in Montgomery Jail that 'his mind was upset by reading articles in newspapers and pamphlets,' and believed the story, because the confession was made 'when he was in prison and as the whole thing was over he had no motive for saying anything but truth." What a wonderful reformatory our jails must be, and how all those who suspect Khan Bahadurs and Honorary Captains of frequent departures from the truth must long for the power to send them to Mongomery Jail so that they may have 'no motive for saying anything but truth.' With absolute mathematical p r e ci s ion, FREE-LANCE said we could safely hold the Press responsible for 97 per cent

of crime of this nature. But if this is true, who can safely be held responsible for the remaining 3 per cent? Agin, if Montgomery Jail had among its denizens the editor of a seditious paper, and he were asked to cofess, when 'he had no motive for saying anything but truth,' would he not say that 'his mind was upset' by the vagaries of the Punjab bureaucrats, Khan Bahadurs and Honorary Captains? Could we not then safely hold this holy alliance responsible for 97 per cent of writings of this nature?

Free-Lance and his confreres of the martial classes of the Punjab 'cannot tolerate any weakness in the Press, the as if the Press required' strong hand of a Tiwana to crush it could be called weak. But let us not bother with the sound, when we get sense enough and to spare in the speech of FREE-LANCE. Well, intolerant of weakness or strength, he would not allow 'fire to be flt 'near a tank of petroleum which may be in the house we reside in. 'But what a house to live in for the head of the Tiwana! One may have suspected a fair-sized distillery in a Tiwana bedroom, but—a petroleum tank?

Free-Lance recalled the fact that the Punjab Local Government had specially reamked about the mischief caued by presses of a certain class. Now nobody can call this a sweeping condemnation, for only 'presses of a certain class' were attacked. The tailors and outfitters have something to be thankful for, because it is possible that trouser presses were not contemplated at the time when this condemnation was pronounced. Although the Punjab Government had determined to put a stop to such presses, very little was done 'in view of the leniency of the Press Act as it is 'in the present form. 'Really it was tremendous hard lines on the permitted the confiscation of the Press and tthe security deposited L. G,'s, for the Press Act only and did not permit 'our worthy Lieutenant-Governor, to bury the editor alive, throw the publisher into boiling pitch and crush the printer in a sugarcane mill. Beside, 'it hardly stands to reason that the Local Gevernment should have to decide upon specific offending words or articles, etc., as laid down in the resolution, which are seditious.' What stands to reason is that Local Government should at least be granted the powers of God Almighty who can read the unuttered thoughts of mankind. What a pity the gallant Tiwana was not born in the spacious days of the Inquisition. The Scarlet Woman had evidently absconded with the clothes of FREE-LANCE while he was bathing, and anticipated him by some four or five centuries.

Nevertheless the gallant Tiwana had not done so badly without his clothes. People could rob him of his vesture, but not rob him of his voice, and, as he said, he had been advocating the cause 'ever since I had voice.' We have it on the authority of an affidavit of the nurse of FREE-LANCE that the infant Tiwana's first howl after his birth was a protest against the leniency of Press Laws, and the second sounded something like 'Rule Britania.' He has since spoken in various Councils 'as strongly as words could permit me.' Oh for the tyranny of words!

Did not Hamlet exclaim, 'Words! words! words!'? Did not FREE-LANCE himself just now declaim against the restriction of 'specific offending words' imposed upon Lieutenant-Governors? What is a word except an articulate sound or combination of sounds by custom expressing an idea or ideas? Why should sounds be articulate and why should they be bound to express an idea or ideas? How easy would it have been for FREE-LANCE to have uttered sounds without bothering about the custom of expressing an idea or ideas, or, failing that, to have spoken strongly without the use of words. After all, as the Latin proverb says, 'a word to the wise.' Now, I ask you, what had Tiwana done to be saddled with words? Nevertheless, would feel certain that, words permiting, he would speak with the utmost strength on this question, for he is a real friend of India and cannot expose 'the poor peace-loving population, the lambs of India to the attacks of the wolves of the Press' (who said, 'White wolf' ?).

Before resuming his seat FREE-LANCE recalled the fierce fight that had raged a year ago round the Conspiracy Bill when 'the whole Council, official and non-official, were on one side, while the Hon. mover of to-day, with one faithful follower, (and here MADRAS-CHUTNEY-PICKLE-ACHAR blushed modestly)' adhered like heroes to fight to the last when the position was really untenable.' How unlike was that scene to the one in which the gallant Tiwana so valiantly figures, like god, always on the side of the bigger battalions! But the last act of FREE-LANCE was really the *coup de grace*, for he abolished the judiciary altogether with the most logical conclusion, that shamed even Aristotle, that 'the High Court is no doubt a big court, but at the same time the Lieutenant-Governor of a province is not an ordinary authority, and as he knows about the executive as well as the other side, I think he ought to be the highest authority in the province.' The 'other side' was delicious. Long live the Tiwana FREE-LANCE!

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ہمدرد
روزانہ

سہ شنبہ ۲۱ اکتوبر سنہ ۱۹۱۳

برقیات

—o*o—

انجمن ضیاء الاسلام کو سلطانی عطیہ

—:*:—

بمبئی ۱۹ اکتوبر ہفتہ کی شام کو ایک گارڈن پارٹی میں انجمن جس میں ضیاء الاسلام کی طرف سے ٹرکی کی قونصل جنرل خلیل خالد بی اے (کینٹب) کی خدمت میں ایک اڈریس پیش کیا گیا جس کی جواب میں صاحب موصوف نی فرمایا کہ مسلمانان ہندوستان نی جو برمحل اور ضروری مدد ٹرکی اور اسکی سپاہیوں کی کی ہی وہ تمام دنیا کی مسلمانون کی مدد سی زیادہ ہی، جسکی وجہ سی حضور سلطان المعظم مسلمانان ہندوستان کی از حد مشکور ہیں - انہوں نی یہہ بہی فرمایا کہ انگلستان ترکی کا دوست ہونیکی وجہ سی ہمکو ہرطرح مدد دیگا ۔ بغداد ریلوے کی کہانی کی متعلق انہون نی فرمایا کہ یہہ ریل مسلمانان ترکی اور ہندوستان کی آپس میں اپر دین سی تجارت کو بہت فائدہ پہنچائیگی جو کہ دونون کیلئی بہبودی کا باعث ہوگا ٭

کلکتہ کی مسلمانون کا جلسہ

—:*:—

کلکتہ ۱۸ اکتوبر - کلکتہ کی شرفا کا ایک جلسہ کل سہ پہر کو ٹاؤن ہال میں کانپور کی ماخوذین کی رہائی اور مسجد کانپور کی فیصلہ پر وائسرائے کی شکریہ کیلئی منعقد ہونی والا ہی شہزادہ غلام محمد صاحب صدر نشین ہونگی اور مقررون میں آنریبل فضل حق - آنریبل محمد طاہر اور آنریبل نواب علی چودھری صاحبان ہونگی - یہہ جلسہ کانپور کی فیصلہ کی بعد کلکتہ کی مسلمانونکا پہلا قائم مقام جلسہ ہوگا - اسمین جو ریزولیوشن پاس ہونگی وہ کلکتہ کی مسلمانوں کی صحیح خیالات کی مترجم ہون گی - گذشتہ کل کی جلسہ میں کوئی مسلمان لیڈر جو انکی رزولیوشن سی پورا اتفاق نہین رکھتا تھا نہیں گیا ٭

—:*:—

بنگالی قوم پرستون کا جلسہ

—:*:—

تصفیہ کانپور کی تائید میں

—:*:—





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Part II



A Bunch of Letters



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

کھولی ھے زبان خوش بیانی کے لیے
اٹھا ھے قلم گہر فشانی کے لیے
آیا ھوں میں کوچۂ سخن میں اکبر
نظارۂ شاھد معانی کے لیے

1

The Recent Changes and the Mussalmans

(*by His Highness the Aga Khan, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.*)

The recent changes came so suddenly that it is not strange that the Mussalman public should have hesitated in deciding how it should receive them. That they will have considerable effect on Islam's future destiny in India is an evident truism. Yet I doubt if there be a single individual, outside the small circle of the authors of these changes, who has not passed through different emotions since he heard the royal announcement.

I, for one, however, after a careful consideration of every aspect of the question have come to the conclusion that the Mussalmans do not lose anything of consequence, while India as a whole and the Empire will gain considerably. The gain of India must be the gain of the Mussalmans of India, provided no direct Moslem interest is attacked. We must take the changes seriatim, look at their probable results, and determine how India, and then the Mussalmans of India, will be benefited, or otherwise, by each. The change of capital in itself will have the great advantage for Mussalmans of bringing the Government of India nearer to the centres of Moslem intellectual activity and to the most virile portions of the Moslem community in India. It will, in the next place, bring the Viceroy nearer to the Moslem University, an institution in the welfare of which as the Chancellor of the University he is directly interested. For India as a whole it will be a great gain that the seat of Government should be, so to speak, in a neutral and central position, and removed from any great section of people or province that may have interests of its own not identical with or always friendly to those of other equally great and important sections of people or provinces. For Calcutta, with its great commerce, and tapping as it does the richest, "Hinterland" of Southern Asia, it cannot be anything more than the loss of the social attractions of Government House.

Then comes the undoing of the Partition. No doubt the Mussalmans were in a distinct majority in the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and this unique position is now lost. But looking at the position of Islam in India as a whole, I doubt if it will be found that it was a good thing to be in a clear majority in one

province and a minoirity in almost every other. The disadvantages of such a situation are obvious. Islam in India is one and indivisible. It is the duty of a Moslem to look not only to the immediate interests of his own locality but to those of his co-religionists as a whole. But if we look upon it from a still wider point of view as Indians, we shall find that the old Partition had deeply wounded, and not unnaturally, the sentiments of the great Bengali-speaking millions of India. Anything that permanently alienates and offends the sentiments or interests of millions of Indians, be they Moslem or Hindu, is undoubtedly in itself an undesirable thing and should not only be avoided by the Government but also opposed by all communities of India. Viewed in this light, the undoing of the Partition which has satisfied the great Bengali-speaking people ought to be in itself a cause of congratulation for all Indians, whether Hindus or Mussalmans, and I think we should all be deeply grateful to His Excellency Lord Hardinge for this great act of statesmanship which has removed a grievance from one important section of His Majesty's Indian subjects. From the point of view of the greater good of India and the Empire, the removal of the capital and the undoing of the Partition, or, rather, the creation of two new Provinces, have been master-strokes of statesmanship.

But there still remains the question of the real needs of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal and Assam. These needs can all be summed up in one word, — "Education." However, since Lord Hardinge's Government has promised a University for Dacca—a University that we most sincerely hope will be a teaching and residential one—I doubt if there is left unredressed any real grievance of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal, provided, of course, that the new Government of Bengal sees to it that the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882 are carried out both in the spirit and the letter. For with facilities for education provided in that province, the Mussalmans can raise themselves to a position in which it will be impossible for anyone to deprive them of what is rightly their due. Some have no doubt asserted that the new University will perhaps compete with the great Moslem University at Aligarh. Nothing could be more absurd. For the great Moslem University is to be a central residential institution for the elite of the community, while the other is to help forward all those who might be left behind in the race of life by the supersession of Dacca by Calcutta. Competition between two such different institutions would be as absurd as a race between a bird and a fish. Calcutta and India as a whole will also gain educationally, for no university can be really efficient that has to cater for a population of over 100 millions and rush through more than 8,000 examinations. It must necessarily become mechanical.

So resuming the facts, we can put the gains as a neutral and central capital, the satisfaction of the sentimental grievance of the great Bengali nation, and the protection of the only real interest of the Moslems of Eastern Bengal. The loss comes to be limited to the loss of the social importance of Calcutta, but neither the loss of

its trade nor of its prosperity.

Under these circumstances, I feel it my undoubted duty to advise my co-religionists to welcome the changes and be grateful to the Government that has initiated them. The need for this is all the greater since the Mussalmans will thus show their real and sincere sympathy with their Hindu brethren of Bengal and their readiness to respect Hindu and Bengali sentiment. Are not the feelings animating the promoters of the Hindu and Moslem University schemes those of fraternal and healthy rivalry? And above all, by working for the success of these great changes loyally, wholeheartedly and without any *arriere pensees*, Moslems will best prove their loyal devotion to their gracious and beloved Sovereign, the King Emperor, and their loyal appreciation of the sympathetic Government of Lord Hardinge that has removed the great sentimental grievance of the Bengalis and has yet protected, by promising a University at Dacca, all the real interests of the Moslems of Eastern Bengal.

2

His Highness Sir Aga Khan

(by S. Sadik Ali, President Sind Mohammadan Association, Khairpur Mirs)

I have read the criticism re. H.H. Sir Aga Khan's 'pretentions' as it has been headed in the *Sind Gazette* of the 17th January. The editors of newspapers are privileged to criticise the proceedings and actions of people for the benefit of the public and had the criticism been of that kind I should not have taken the trouble of writing this letter. Every criticism has its proper limitations, but the Editor of the *Sind Gazette* appears to have descended to personalities and used unmerited invectives against H.H. Sir Aga Khan and the Sind Mohammadan Association which presented the address. He remarked: 'The insidious undercurrent of thought discernible behind this expression of a pious sentiment gives colour to the impression which has been steadily growing among the more statesmanlike of the Mohammadan leaders that the Aga Khan is not entirely a true representative of Islamic opinion. The text of the adualtory address of the Sind Mohammadan Association suggests that local Mohammadans have no suspicion as to the state of the Moslem mind elsewhere in this regard . . . . But from Cairo to Bukhara every Mohammadan city can point to religious leaders who in Moslem estimation are greater and more

distinguished, and we may add more revered than he. The Aga Khan in fact seems to be presuming without sufficient authority to proclaim a lead in religious politics such as few Mohammadans of the dominant classes exhibit any readiness to follow.' The expressions 'insidious undercurrent of thought . . . the text of the adulatory address of the Sind Mohammadan Association' are most unseemly and objectionable and show that the Editor has not used these words for the benefit of those who read his paper.

I may unhesitatingly say that H.H. Sir Aga Khan never presumed to proclaim a lead in religious politics as the undercurrent of the Editor's thought would suggest; it is impossible that the religious leaders of different communities knowing the religious principles of the Panjebhai Khoja community, that is to say, the Ismailia Khojas who are the followers of H.H. Sir Aga Khan, would allow their followers to recognise Sir Aga Khan as their religious leader, nor any Mussalman whose principles differ from those of the Ismailia sect can accept the preachings, principles and precepts followed by the Ismailia Khoja community. He says, 'from Cairo to Bukhara every Mohammadan city can point out to religious leaders who in Moslem estimation are greater and more distinguished and, we may add, more revered than he.' That there may be many such leaders and may be known in the wide region of the world he mentions, I do not pretend to deny. But it would have been much better and more graceful if he had shown any leaders who would come up to the standard of eminence which H.H. Sir Aga Khan has achieved in the world, of which we have any knowledge. We are immediately concerned with our own needs and difficulties and in these needs and difficulties we find no other Mohammadan leader to come forward and help us as Sir Aga Khan has been doing without any distinction of the different sects and creeds in India. I do not understand what his object is in saying that 'until His Highnes makes a clearer avowal of his aim and advances stronger proof that those aims are in no way detrimental to the strength and integrity of Islamic hopes he cannot properly be said without qualification to be either the leader or the exponent of any Mohammadan thought except that of the Khojas.' The educational backwardness of Mussalmans generally in India and specially in Sind is too well known to protect them from the reproach which His Highness bestowed upon them. Every Mussalman will tell him that such reproach or rather advice as H.H. conveyed in his speech to the Mussalmans was most welcome, as his intention was for our benefit. According to our religious principles, we are bound to accept and respect any good advice which may be conveyed to any Mussalman by any leader of any community, whether Hindu or Christian, as the Commandment is 'Appreciate whatever good advice is conveyed to you and do not mind who the leader or person is who conveys it. Appreciate and follow it even if it be written upon a wall.' After all Sir Aga Khan is a Mussalman and belongs to a noble family of Syeds whom we are bound to revere and respect whatever may be their individual beliefs and actions.

The Editor observes, 'Why he should urge under colour of promoting inter-racial amity, a fusion of nationalities such as every unrestful non-Mohammadan politician is for ever preaching into Mohammadan ears.' I can see that he insinuates that H.H.'s object in impressing upon the minds of Sind Mohammadans the necessity of forming the Moslem League and giving the people that political education which will ultimately be a source of uniting Hindus and Mohammadans into a single nation was that Mussalmans should make a common cause with Hindus in order to harass and weaken the authority of the British Government as some Hindu anarchists have been doing. Such an insinuation is unworthy of the thought of a journalist of his reputation. He appears evidently to be ignorant of the true scope and object of the Moslem League. The idea of forming the Moslem League originated with Nawab Khwaja Sir Salimullah of Dacca and the League was formed for the first time at Dacca in December 1906 at the time the Educational Conference was held there. It was a counter-measure[1] against the Congress and its sole object was to weaken its force and warn Mussalmans not to join and take part at any of its meetings. This was done when it became clear that the extremist party in the Congress preached anarchism and sedition. I do not believe and may say positively that Sir Aga Khan's object in recommending the formation of a Moslem League in Sind was even to the smallest degree or in any way sinister as he seems to imagine and no one who knows Sir Aga Khan would draw such a conclusion from his speech. The League already exists in Sind. It was formed by a meeting of the Bombay Moslem League held at Poona in the end of March last year and the Hon. Mir Allahbukhsh Khan and the Hon. Mr. G. M. Bhurgri were nominated Vice-Presidents with instructions to appoint committees and nominate members. I may safely say that his object clearly was that the Mussalmans should unite with Hindus in order to save themselves from the troubles and inconveniences to which they are subjected, the Hindus being more powerful and invested with all the authority to wield over them. The advice certainly did not mean at all that Mussalmans should also join with seditious Congresswallahs and extremists. There is nothing wrong if Mussalmans unite with law-abiding and peace-loving Hindus and fill up and close the breach which has been widening between the two communities. The recent visit of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor to Delhi and Calcutta has clearly demonstrated and proclaimed that the wild and grossly exaggerated accounts of rapid growth of sedition and anarchism in India are purely a myth and we should not be alarmed by such false accounts.

As regards the text of the 'adulatory' address, I am proud to say that the praise bestowed by the Sind Mohammadans upon His Highness was not adulatory. It contained expressions of praise and eulogy, which according to our Oriental style were quite allowable and free of unmerited and undeserved adulation. Sir Aga Khan deserves even our adulation, as he is a most worthy son of our soil and we recognise in him the greatest and most distinguished Moslem leader

of the day; and whether the Editor of the *Sind Gazette* appreciates our praise of him or not, it makes not the least difference in our mind and estimation.

[1]The writer's statement about the genesis and purpose of the League is not accurate. There is no reason why it should be hostile to the Congress or *vice versa*. In fact, there is every reason why there should be a friendly understanding between the two bodies.—ED. *Comrade.*

3

The Education of Moslems

(*by Aftab Ahmad*)

Allow me to invite your attention to the following lines which I have ventured to address to some Mohammadan gentlemen of education and culture in the hope that they will be pleased to respond to the appeal which has been made to their patriotism and high ideals, and will take part in the practical solution of the problem which needs the concentrated attention of all those who realise its importance and understand the necessity of united action without any delay. I should feel highly grateful if, after persual and due consideration, you will be pleased to favour me with opinion and suggestions.

(1) It must be perfectly clear to every thoughtful member of our community, who has paid any atention to our present situation in the country and its causes, that our condition, as a community, is not only bad and deplorable at present, but that there are forces at work which, if not properly faced, will accelerate our speed towards further ruin and degeneration and may ultimately render our case absolutely hopeless and irretrievable.

(2) It is true that the causes which lead to the rise and fall of nations are so numerous and complex that no one can be expected to determine or describe them adequately in a few words, but it is now generally recognised and understood that the essence of our national complaint consists in the loss of those moral and intellectual powers which constitute the real basis of all success and greatness in this life. Moral and intellectual poverty is our chief complaint, and its cure should be our main object.

(3) The treatment of a complaint affecting the moral and intellectual health of seventy millions of human beings can never be an easy matter, and its difficulty and delicacy are greatly enhanced by the peculiar circumstances under which we have been placed in this country. A sick and backward people, if they be free and self-governing, may be treated and

cured without much difficulty, and even subject people under such an enlightened rule as the British can have a fair chance of recovery and regaining health if there be no conflict with other rival subject races ; but a people who are not only the most backward and weak but are also confronted with that communal struggle which we have to face on all sides in this country, their case naturally becomes most serious and needs special treatment and handling. After a long and careful study of the whole case the best minds in the community have prescribed education as not only the best but the most effective remedy for the disease.

(4) The problem of education, therefore, is pre-eminently the most important and urgent in our communal affairs and deserves the first and the best attention of all those who are in a position, by knowledge, wealth or influence, to help in its practical solution. Our educational programme may be divided into three parts :

(*i*) The establishment and maintenance of a Central National Insititution for the education and training of the most gifted and promising youth of the whole comminity under influences and arrangements calculated to implant in their minds love of learning, sense of unity and high ideals and ambition for the regeneration of the community.

(*ii*) To wake up the community to a sense of their situation and implant in their minds the importance and necessity of education on modern lines.

(*iii*) To take practical steps for the purpose of spreading education—primary, secondary and collegiate—among the various sections of the community in all parts of India.

The Aligarh College was founded, and it is being raised to the status of a Moslem University, to attain the first object.

The All-India Mohammadan Educational Confrence was started twenty-seven years ago to secure the other two objects. It has already succeeded to a large extent in achieving the second. It is now high time that united efforts should be made to attain the third. It is to solicit your help and co-operation in this work that I have taken the liberty of addressing this letter to you and other gentlemen of our community.

(5) For a community which is scattered over such a vast continent as India and which has, in each province and part of the country, different conditions and circumstances to face, the need of such an organisation as the All-India Mohammadan Educational Conference is obvious and needs no advocacy. Whether for representing our need to the Government or for appealing to the community wishes and requirements of our people. This can only be done by some all-India institution such as the Conference, which has already been serving the cause of Moslem education and in which educated members of our community take active part in making it a success. It is for this purpose that I have ventured to make this humble appeal to you and others who can effectively contribute to the success of this cause.

(6) It is a matter for congratulation that the number of highly educated Moslems and of those who have

received education in Europe is on the increase. In every province and district and large city we have Moslems of learning and culture, who can put new life in the movement and make it a potent force of great good for the community.

It may be asked, in what manner or form they can be useful in this work. I may be permitted to make the following suggestions :

(*i*) By co-operating in the establishment of a Provincial Conference in each province and a Local Committee in each district.

(*ii*) By co-operating by means of lectures or otherwise, in the work of focussing public attention, in a province or a district, upon the importance and urgency of education.

(*iii*) By co-operating in the work of establishing at least one Moslem College in each province and a Moslem High School in each district and in the erection of Mohammadan Boarding Houses for each Government High School.

(*iv*) By helping Mohammadan students in getting admission in the Government schools and raising funds for the help of poor Mohammadan students who can not afford to pay the fees.

(*v*) By co-operating in the work of improving Maktabs in towns and villages of a district.

(*vi*) By enlisting the patronage and sympathy of the district authorities in the object of establishing Moslem High and Middle Schools where needed.

(*vii*) By taking part in the annual sessions of the Conference and selecting some important educational question for bringing it before the session in the shape of a resolution or lecture.

(7) The problem of education is as vast as it is momentous, and it needs the co-operation of a large number of able and educated Moslems to deal with it in all its various branches and aspects, and I, therefore, respectfully request you to give some portion of your time and attention to this work. The subject may be divided under the following heads :

(*i*) Religious education.

(*ii*) High education, Collegiate and and Post-Graduate

(*iii*) Secondary education.

(*iv*) Primary education.

(*v*) Technical and industrial education.

(*vi*) Training Colleges and Schools ;

(*vii*) Professional education.

(*viii*) Government educational policy with special reference to Mohammadans.

(*ix*) Comparison of our educational system with those prevalent in Europe and other countries of the world.

(*x*) Female education with special reference to those special difficulties which stand in our way.

(*xi*) Urdu literature and its improvement.

(*xii*) Educational requirements of Moslems in various provinces of the country and their special difficulties.

(*xiii*) Proposals and reports about the improvements and conditions of particular Moslem institutions.

The above suggestions are given only to indicate the lines on which we can proceed, but it is not necessary that everyone should deal with all the subjects. It is now time that

different men should specialise in the subject in which they are interested and after study should give the benefit of their mature views to the Conference and the public. I would, therefore, ask you kindly to select any subject for yourself and let me know so that I may send you any material which may be available in the Conference Office. You have several months to prepare for the next session and I shall feel obliged if you will be pleased to make up your mind and undertake some definite work.

(9) I may point out that in order to make this Conference a living and the really useful movement it is essential to have Local Committees in every district and large city well organised and fully representative of the community, and provincial conferences in each province dealing with educational questions of provincial importance. There are at present Local Committees as well as Provincial Conferrences, but with the exception of very few they are only on paper. So long as gentlemen of education and culture do not come forward to take up this work nothing substantial can be achieved. The greatest curse is that, whenever there is such movement it generally gives rise to differences among the workers, which partically stops all work. However, in spite of all the discouraging symptoms and experience something definite and determined must be done to construct national life and unity, and through failures and difficulties our aim is to be achieved.

It is now time that all sections of the community and men of all shades of opinion should have some common platform, and, on the whole, educational cause affords the best and safest ground for the fulfilment of this object. The All-India Mohammadan Educational Conference has great potentiality for good and needs the help of gentlemen like you. The work which it has done so far is known to all and has been acknowledged not only by the public but also the highest officials of the Government. The success of such movements is always in proportion to the awakening in the community; it cannot be achieved by one or a few but by the whole. But it is not my purpose to raise any discussion on this point. If it has been a failure so far, for God's and community's sake try to make it a success now. If those who have been its servants so far are incompetent, let those who are competent come forward and help in the work. I am perfectly sure that there are many in our community far abler and better fitted to do the work than myself. I regard you as one of those, and therefore ask for your help. I hope and trust you will not refuse it. The work is urgent and great, and therefore demands great and united efforts. May God Almighty show us the right path and direct our minds and actions to objects and ideals which may regenerate our people and thus revive the lost glory of Islam.

4

The Haj Pilgrimage

(*Shaukat Ali, Secretary, Khuddam-i-Ka'bah Society, Bombay*)

Since the publication of the report of Dr. Abdur Rahman, the Vice-Consul at Jeddah, it has been discussed all over the country. When I was leaving Delhi for Bombay to arrange on behalf of our Society. 'The Khuddam-i-Ka'bah, to give every possible help to the Hajis, not only our members, who naturally desire a very much larger number of Muslims both rich and poor to perform this great religious function, but many others had also requested me to make full inquiries about the statements made in the said report, as they were not verified by those who had themselves performed the Haj that year.

With an open mind and with the sole idea of finding out the real facts, I have visited officials, ship-owners, pilgrims' brokers, brokers' servants, 'moallmis,' old residents of Jeddah and Mecca and many Hajis who know the affairs of the Hejaz intimately. The information that I have been able to collect, I beg to offer to the public, without exaggeration or varnish, as, in my opinion, the Mussalmans want nothing else but the exact truth to tackle the whole problem and solve it once for all.

Most of the non-officials that I met spoke in strong words about the Vice-Consul and said some ugly things which, having no great bearing on the question, I leave out. They accused him of exaggerating facts so as to discourage the Indian Mussalmans from going to Haj, and of arousing a feeling of disgust against the Turkish authorities; also of insinuating and stating facts in such a way that the ordinary layman, who was not conversant with the real state of affairs, should be led to believe that it was the Turkish Government who were at fault, when actually they were not. Take, for example, the statement about the quarantine at Kamran. If the Turks had full authority in the matter, they would have done away with it long ago. But at present they are powerless. It has been imposed by an International Sanitary Board at Constantinople, on which sit the representatives of all the Powers, and the decisions of this Board have to be carried out by the Turkish authorities. I have repeatedly heard from pilgrims of the brutal treatment meted out to them by the doctors and petty officials, who are mostly Greeks and non-Muslims. The Hajis did not understand why the Turkish authorities could not employ Muslim officials to carry out this delicate task. Of course, they abused the Turks for this, but they did not know that the Turks had to carry out the orders of the International

Sanitary Board, and had absolutely no voice in the matter. To an ordinary mind it would appear from the report of the Vice-Consul that poor pilgrims, besides being face to face with a dire disease like cholera, were being fleeced brutally at Kamran. And Kamran is situated in Turkish territory. The conclusion is so obvious. Take another example. The floods at Hamara, situated between Mecca and Medina, did carry away pilgrims, but not so many as the Vice-Consul mentions. About 400 in all were drowned. Such a thing had not happened in that part of the country for generations. Surely plague, cholera, floods, etc., are visitations of God and cannot be controlled by any Government howsoever powerful and capable.

At the time of the Haj there are about five lakhs of people in Mecca, and those who have seen the religious fairs even in our own country, with its enormous resources and able officials, can realise how absolutely impossible it becomes to make proper sanitary arrangements. I was at Benares as a Government official for three years. I have visited Allahabad during the Magh melas. I have visited Hardwar and also Ajmer and Piran Kaleer during the urs, and I wish Dr. Abdur Rahman were with me to report on the sanitary conditions there. Barely five weeks ago the sanitary conditions round about the Durgah at Ajmer were such as would sicken anybody and the water looked more like thick 'pea-soup.' Nobody complained of this, because on occasions and gatherings like these and with the poor attending them in large numbers, no sanitary arrangements could hold. Because there were heavy floods at Hyderabad and Burdwan; cholera at the Magh melas of Allahabad and other Hindu and Muslim fairs at Benares, Hardwar, Ajmer, Pak Pattan, Piran Kaleer; disasters on the sea like those of the 'Titanic' and the 'Empress of Ireland'; railway collisions like the one near Ghaziabad,—all resulting in fearful loss of life,—therefore Hyderabad and Burdwan were to be boycotted; Allahabad, Benares, Hardwar and Ajmer fairs given up, and no one was to travel either by sea or land. What does the following mean:

'If Indian Moslems decide to come to Arabia, they must do so without any idea save that of resolute performance of religious duty in pursuance of which they must be ready to face certain hardships and not unlikely death.'

I am afraid warnings like the above have no sense in them except that they give the fullest reflection of the innermost feelings of the writer. Mussalmans complain that they are not children, ignorant of the conditions in Arabia. They fully realise the hardships of travelling and they also know fully well that journey in a desert and sparsely populated country like the Hejaz is no picnic. Many of the educated Mussalmans, with whom I discussed this problem, expressed a firm desire to go to the Haj next year, not with the intention of issuing warnings to the people but to remove the difficulties there and make things easier. It is the duty of every Mussalman from every part of the world to do all he can to improve the conditions in the Hejaz, and help the distracted Turkish authorities who have had enough troubles

of their own to worry them. I expect next year a good many of the eminent Mussalmans will go for the Haj with the intention of seeing things for themselves and resolving on a scheme of improvements.

The Vice-Consul is right about the unprotected water supply, which can get tainted very easily. Our Society intends to send out a Mussalman engineer to report on it. The Ain Zubeida gives sufficient water for all requirements, if the spare water supply in the off season is stored up properly. A few storage reservoirs are needed. The water after being purified can be distributed by means of either pipes or bihishties.

As for the monopoly and the compulsory return tickets, the whole community practically unanimously has decided against it. If anyone carefully looked into the history of the Shipping Industry of Bombay, he could find that forty years ago a good deal of this business was being carried on by Mussalmans and the 'Haj Question' did not exist. The question has become acute since the day when the Bombay Persian Steam Navigation Company, owned by Shirazis, the Amin-Uttujar family, was sold to Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. I would like to be perfectly fair to Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. They have come to this country for business and naturally would like to make as much profit out of it as possible. There is absolutely no question of charity or piety, and nobody may reasonably expect anything of the sort from them. They were a powerful and influential firm before, and since the amalgamation of the P. & O. and the British India Steam Navigation Companies, with whom they are associated, their influence has gone up a great deal. They began to raise the fares and the other companies followed suit, with the result that there was a general outcry, and thus the 'Haj Question' was brought into existence. For example, Rs. 40 was the fare advertised. The intending pilgrims, on hearing this, flocked to Bombay from all parts of India. When there were, say, 3,000 pilgrims, and the available accommodation for 1,500 only, there was a rush for tickets, and the fares were quitley raised from Rs. 40 to Rs. 90, Rs. 100 and even Rs. 110. This upset all the calculations of the poor Haji. Having once started and come so far, he would not think of going back and practically spent all the money in Bombay. This gamble was always there, but not to any inconvenient extent. Leaving aside the last few years, when Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. came into the field, the average fare for the previous ten years was Rs. 28-8-0 from Bombay to Jeddah, and Rs. 22-8-0 from Jeddah to Bombay, that is Rs. 51 only for both going and coming back. Last year the poor unfortunate pilgrims had to pay from Rs. 100 to Rs. 110 for going only. The Government of Bombay got alarmed at this, and was anxious to stop this. Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. gallantly came forward and offered a very simple solution. They asked for the grant of sole monopoly for carrying pilgrims, recommending the introduction of compulsory return tickets, and fixed the fares at Rs. 160 for both the voyages. The Bombay Government recommended this arrangement, as

apparently they must have been anxious to wash their hands of this affair; but the Mussalmans naturally would not accept such a simple remedy 'worse than the disease.' I was told that last year the Manager of Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. went to Jeddah himself and ordered that the fares for the return voyage should not be lowered. The poor pilgrims would have suffered a great deal, and Dr. Abdur Rahman would again have written strongly in favour of the monopoly and the compulsory return tickets, if it were not for Mr. Abdullah Mian Khandwani, who would not join the combine, and with his one boat, the 'Lawoe,' brought down the rates. He brought pilgrims back for Rs. 30 or even lower and over 700 pilgrims for absolutely nothing, in fact feeding may of them on the way. He deserves the thanks both of the Mussalmans and the Government. The Arab Company brought 400 destitute Hajis, and Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. also brought 200 for whom they demanded money from the Government but were refused.

I would here like to note the effect which the grant of monopolies has produced elsewhere. The cost of the three days' voyage from Suez to Jeddah and back was under Rs. 20. The present Khedive in a weak moment was prevailed upon to sell his company to a syndicate which was also given a monopoly for the pilgrims traffic. The cost of the same journey now is Rs. 78. A similar monopoly was given for pilgrims from Singapore and the Malay States. The fare from Singapore to Jeddah used to be about Rs. 67 and for a return ticket from Rs. 100 to Rs. 120. Now they charge for the same journey Rs. 267, with the result that pilgrims from Java and the Malay States travelled by the Japanese boats—which are successfully competing with the B. I. S. N. Company—to Calcutta, from there by rail to Bombay where they take boat for Jeddah. They find this much cheaper.

Practically every Mussalman opposed the grant of the monopoly, but some who did know the facts saw no objection in the compulsory return tickets. Now monopoly means nothing but monopoly, while the system of compulsory return tickets means compulsory return tickets plus the grant of a monopoly, for the Arab Company, Abdullah Mian Khandwani and other smaller Companies, who help in keeping the rates down, would disappear as not being able to guarantee the return of the pilgrims who will come back to Jeddah in dribbles. Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. would alone be left in the field. I am afraid the new proposals of the Government are no improvement on the old. They mean practically the same thing, that is, the giving of the monopoly and the introduction of compulsory return tickets, but in an indirect way.

The question of destitute Hajis was always there, but it never caused any great trouble to anybody. The Muslim shipping companies, doing this business, always, towards the end, brought in free a shipload or two of these as a pure act of charity. From Bombay they disappeared to their homes. Last year too they did the same. The Government only in 1912-1913 paid Rs. 20,000 for poor and destitute Hajis, out of which

Rs. 3,000 was contributed by the Bombay Haj Committee. As far as my information goes, Government had never before incurred any expenditure on this account.

The only possible solution under the circumstances appears to be that the Government should make an appeal to the Mussalmans of India, princes, noblemen, zemindars, merchants and the poor alike to start a shipping concern of their own in the interests mainly of the pilgrims. The promoters would get a modest return on their investments and at the same time they will be doing a great act of charity.

5

6th September 1913

Arise, Awake, or Be Ever Fallen

We have received from Beirut letter a from a certain Mohammad Abdus Sattar Kheiri, M.A., in which he tells us how he suddenly disappeared from the M.A.-O. College, Aligarh, in May 1904, and was later on known to be in Bagdad, Cairo and Beirut, respectively. He together with his elder brother, probably Abduj Jabbar by name, took the Degrees of B.A. and M.A. from the American University at Beirut. Impressed by the work of the Christian Mission there, the two brothers established an educational institution named the Darul-Oloom, which during the last four years has grown from two to twelve classes. The Christian Mission has been making stupendous efforts to dislocate Islam from Syria and make room for Christianity, so much so that in Beirut alone there are over thirty or forty educational institutions from Universities down to schools for boys of three or four years old. Then, there are over a dozen girls' schools, some of which are especially meant for Moslem girls. One of these known as Miss Taylor's School for Moslem Girls has over seventy Moslem girls of noble families from 6 or 7 to 18 or 19 years old in its boarding-house alone. The movement of these Christian missionaries has achieved such a marvellous success that their students are quite enamoured of them and are ever ready to replenish the coffers of their institutions in times of emergency. Such an intense attachment to Christian enterprise on the part of boys and girls of pure Moslem parentage angurs ill for the future of Islam in that part of the Turkish Empire. In view of the pregnancy of these facts intimated to us by our friend, is it for us to draw the attention of the Mohammadans to the dire necessity of starting a counter-movement in that land of the prophets? We have told from time and we tell once more that the Christian movement has of late been growing keener and

keener to the absolute detriment of Islam in some purely Moslem lands, and the religion of Allah is at stake. We wonder if this fact cannot serve as an eye-opener to our coreligionists in India and abroad. The signs of the time are eloquent enough to lash us to rise to the situation, but shall we awake in distant future to be mortified by the havoc perpetrated on Islam and its votaries? Well may we say in the eloquent words of Hafidh!

ز حال ما دلت آنگه شود مگر آگاه
که لاله می دمد از خاک کشتگان غمت

(Perhaps thy heart will be aware of our plight only then, when tulip has grown out of the ashes of the martyrs of thy love.)

6

18th October 1913

Moslims and the Indian National Congress

(*By Alay Nar*)

At this moment, when the feelings of Mussalmans all over India are in a state of excitement and unrest, efforts are being made in some quarters to drive the community into the pale of the National Congress. It is pointed out that whereas on the one side there stands the monumental pillar of the Congress victory, in the shape of the annulment of the Partition of Bengal, there is, on the other side, as a reward of the Mohammadan aloofness from the Congress and unflinching loyalty to the Government, the formidable heap of crushed rights and a series of disappointments culminating in the recent demolition of a portion of the Cawnpore Mosque attended by a wholly unwarrantable and most sanguinary attack on an unarmed mob, which resulted not only in considerable loss of life and distress to the families of the dead, but which, by reason of the highly sentimental nature of the tragedy, has also struck a violent blow to the entire Moslem community throughout the length and breadth of the vast Indian continent. Whilst such ideas are worrying the minds of the people the suggestion which accompanies them, viz. that it is high time for Mussalmans to join hands with the Congress and to be one with them in their political action, is very opportune, and considering the present circumstances of our community and the state of high fever it is in, it is believed that the wonderful spell laid on it by the great Sir Syed Ahmad will at last break, and the people who have distinctly held themselves together so long firmly as a rock withstands the waves, will soon fall to pieces.

The question therefore is, should the Mohammadans join the Congress? It is a most momentous question and it behoves the Mussalman leaders of public opinion to give it their most anxious consideration and thought. It is perilous to allow things to drift and an early pronouncement of policy is called for, in order that wreck may be

prevented. I have no doubt that people will have given the question their best consideration when attending the session of the next League at Agra.

I do, however, strongly feel that our urgent need at the present juncture is to strengthen the Muslim League as much as we can by our earnest, well-organised and united efforts. The League so strengthened will be a great power in the land, and I venture to hope with the fullest confidence that it would do for the Mohammadans of the world what the Indian National Congress with the Indian Mussalmans all merged in it cannot do for India.

If the redemption of the honour of Islam is our earnest aim, the Moslem League is the only institution that can achieve it. Let us, therefore, seriously organise our League; let us spread branches of it in all districts and with a unity of aim and purpose worthy of our Holy faith; us set our hearts to the sacred task of restoring Islam to the same lofty pedestal on which it stood erewhile.

7

18th October 1913

An Appeal To The Punjab University

(*By A Moslem Student*)

I will feel much obliged if you extend the courtesy of your columns to the following few lines.

It seems that the Senate of the Punjab University does not take the trouble of going through the books that it prescribes as the courses of instruction. 'The Hero as a Poet,' by Carlyle—a chapter in *The Selected English Essays* by Pecock, a course for the Degree examination for 1914 and 1915, shows that the book was not read at all at least by the Moslem members of the Senate, who must have given their consent before the book was prescribed.

The following few lines will be sufficient to clear my point.

Secclected English Essay by W. Pecock, pages 392, 393.

'He did not feel, like Mahomet, because he saw into those internal splendours, that he specially was the "Prophet of God"; and was he not greater than Mahomet in that? Greater and also, if we compute strictly, as we did in Dante's case more successful. It was intrinsically an error, that Notion of Mahomet, of his supreme prophethood; and has come down to us inextricably involved in error to this day, dragging along with it such a coil of fables, impurities, intolerance, as makes it a questionable step for me here and now to say, as I have done, that Mahomet was a true speaker at

all, and not rather an ambitious charlatan; perversity and simulacrum; no speaker but a Babbler. Even in Arabia, as I compute, Mahomet will have exhausted himself and become obsolete while this Shakespeare—for unlimited periods to come.'

At another place.

'But as for Mahomet, I think it had been better for him not be conscious? Alas, poor Mahomet! all that he was conscious of was a mere error; a futility and triviality—as indeed such ever is. The truly great in him too was the unconscious that he was a wild Arab lion of the desert, and did speak out with that thunder voice of his, not by words which he thought to be great, but by actions, by feelings, by a history which were great. His Koran has become a stupid piece of proli absurdity . . . inarticulate deep.'

It is needless to say that no Moslem can tolerate such a book. It is a pity that such books should be prescribed as contain nothing but the production of prejudice and bias.

Through you columns, sir, I appeal to the Punjab University authorities to withdraw this odious book from the courses of study.

8

7th February 1912

The Forfeiture of the "Zamindar Press"

(*By Zafar Ali Khan, Editor Zamindar from London*)

Reuter cabled the news of the forfeiture of the Zamindar Press on the 14th January and described the suppression as that of a paper which had the widest circulation of any Hindustani organ in India, and the recognised exponent of orthodox Pan-Islamism. Reuter's words probably mirror the attitude of the authorities with regard to the latest step they have taken. Up to this time I do not know why the forfeiture has been ordered by the Punjab Government although I have made two telegraphic inquiries from my people; but Reuter's words furnish the reply. The Press was forfeited because it printed a paper which was Pan-Islamic. Alas! the combined efforts of the Moslems in India to disabuse the mind of the authorities as to any sinister construction that might be put upon the word Pan-Islamism have failed in their effect and we see that the Moslem Presst is being annihilated piecemeal. Bu I do not despair even yet. It is not for a Moslem to say 'die'. I am confident that the black shadow of official mistrust which hangs over the heads of the Indian Moslems will pass away very soon; only we must persevere in our attempts to make our position clear and try to convince the British public, or such sections of it as are not impervious to the

appeals of righteousness and justice, that we are the same old Moslems of two years ago who were prepared to lay down our very lives for upholding the prestige of Britain in every part of the world.

After the last fatal blow that has been dealt at the *Zamindar* I am afraid that the *Comrade,* the *Hamdard* and *Al-Hilal* are the only independent Moslem papers left in India to carry on the vigorous policy of Moslem development under the British flag and if—though Heaven forfend—the same treatment is meted out to them as in the case of the *Zamindar*, the newly awakened Press life in Moslem India will revert to the early toadyism and sychophancy. It is time therefore that the Moslem public made one united effort to shake off the fearsome chain of bondage which is encircling them, and regain the liberty of which they have been so unjustly deprived. I do not know what effect the forfeiture of the Zamindar Press and a host of others has produced on the minds of my compatriots, although I am sure that it must be overwhelming in its indignant amazement and anguish. But it is no time for indignation, amazement, or anguish. Something must be done to bring about the undoing of what has been done. Meetings expressing grief and sympathy, I am sure, must have been held throughout India, but nobody knows anything about them in this country although there are people here who have a warm corner in their hearts for India and everything connected with it.

Like a mote dancing in the Imperial sunbeam, I have been doing what little lay in my power to stir up public opinion in England in the matter of the Press Act ever since my arrival here. I am so fortunate as to have the sympathy of two of the leading newspapers of England, the *Daily News and Leader* and the *Manchester Guardian*. The former has been publishing a number 'of letters contributed by me on the various cases of flagrant injustice which Moslem editors have recently suffered under the Press Act.'

I have also received letters of sympathy from many influential public men. Mr. John Dillon. M.P., writing from Dublin, says: "You can count on my sympathy and my support in the House of Commons if the question of the Press Act in India is raised. I consider the treatment of the Mohammadan Press is most unjust and calculated to seriously injure the position of the British Government in India.'

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., writes: 'I am very much concerned about the suppression of the freedom of the Press alike in India and in Egypt. If that sort of thing is to be tolerated in the case of "subject races" it will soon extend to working class movements. What is now happening in South Africa is its logical outcome. I shall willingly aid in any action which may be taken in the House of Commons as I am sure would the Labour Party as a whole if approached.'

Mr. Josiah Wedgewood, M.P., writes: 'You have my entire sympathy. I am entirely opposed to the Press Laws and the rest of the repressive Acts, and you may count on any service that I can usefully render in Parliament.'

Mr. Herbert Burrows, an eminent

Socialist, in the course of a long letter says: 'With regard to your own case it seems to me that the best course open to you is to have it raised in Parliament, not in a perfunctory manner by a mere question or two but by an adequate debate if at all possible.'

Mr. Phillip Snowdon, M.P., writes a very sympathetic letter and says he will join in any Parliamentary protest.

Professor Brown, writing from Cambridge, says: 'It appears to me first of all necessary to provide a translation of the passage or passages to which the Government took objection and then to make the fact known if possible through one of the few remaining independant liberal papers in this country, for example the *Nation* or the *Manchester Guardian*.'

It is an irony for which the Moslem London League alone could have been responsible, that as soon as the news of the suppression of the Zamindar Press was flashed to this country the British Committee of the Indian National Congress was the first to sympathise with me and to invite me to a meeting to enable me to make a statement. I explained my case and also the case of other Moslem papers and Printing Presses on whom the authorities have laid a heavy hand. Sir Henry Cotton and a number of other eminent English sympathisers decided that a manifesto describing the serious situation created by the arbitrary conduct of the Indian officials in regard to the Press Act must be drawn up and issued to the Press. The manifesto has been prepared and is being signed by a large number of eminent men. I am confident that a debate will be raised in Parliament when it meets next month, and that the whole question of the Press Act will be threshed out.

It will be evident from all this that there is a body of sympathisers here who regard the fearful activities of the Indian Press Laws with disapproval, and I only hope that my countrymen will let these sympathisers know by telegraphic messages the intense dissatisfaction that prevails in India over the Press question. These messages can be sent either to myself, to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress or to the individual Members of Parliament I have mentioned. I am sure that if men 1 like Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. John Dillon, and Mr. Keir Hardie receive copies of the resolutions passed by various bodies of India protesting against the Press Act, something will be done in this country to stay its murderous activities.

A section of the English Press is sympathetic, a body of Englishmen have begun to take interest in the just demands of the Indians, especially of the persecuted Moslems, and it now rests with the Indians alone to approach the newly awakened forces of sympathy in this country in a proper manner.

With regard to the *Zamindar*, I am sure the forfeiture of its Press will not prove fatal to its existence. It survived two very heavy securities, both of which were subscribed by the united enthusiasm of a newly awakened national spirit. I feel convinced that the situation created by the forfeiture of the Zamindar Press will be met in the same heroic and

self-sacrificing spirit. Everybody except a section of the officials who depend for their information upon the grovelling toadies and title-hunters who are the curse of our national life, knows that the free Moslem Press stands ultimately for the supremacy of Britain in India. Everybody is well aware, excepting these officials and their myrmidons, that our criticism on some of their actions, however bold and uncompromising, has for its eventual aim the stability and long life of British rule. It is justice tempered with sympathy that will secure India to England for an indefinite period, and not the doings of the bureaucrats who think that British rule can be prolonged by the strangling of the Press. I am trying to bring home these naked truths to the British public and I want the hearty co-operation of my beloved compatriots in this Herculean task.

ANECDOTAGE

بلائے جاں ھے غالب اس کی ھر بات
عبارت کیا ، اشارت کیا ، ادا کیا

Anecdotage

In a recent sitting of the House of Commons a certain M.P., after elaborating in a speech of two hours a statement that would have been better made in a speech of two minutes concluded :

'And that's the situation in a nutshell'.

'Gracious !' said Winston Churchill, sotto voce. 'What a nut !'

Sir Earnest Shackleton, in New York, said of a piece of geographical ignorance :

It was incredible. It reminded me of a little waiting-maid. As she brought me my tea and toast and bloater one morning, I said to her :

'What a rainy morning, Mary ! It's almost like the Flood.'

'The Flood, sir ?' said the puzzled maid.

'Yes,' said I. 'The Flood-Noah, you know — the Ark — Mount Ararat.'

She shook her head and murmured, apologetically : 'I ain't had no time to read the papers lately, sir.'

Mr. Hardie is noted for the carelessness of his attire. Not long long since, when some repairs were being done to the House of Commons Mr. Hardie was lounging in the library, when he was accosted by a friendly policeman, who quite failed to recognise him in his somewhat shabby clothes. 'Ullo, matey !' said man in blue. 'Are you working the here?' 'Yes,' replied Mr. Hardie, laconically. 'On the roof ?' asked the champion of law and order. 'No,' said the Labour leader, with a quiet smile; 'not on the roof. I work on the floor of this house.'

Mark Twain was taken by a friend to the studio of Whistler who was putting the finishing touches to a picture. When Whistler inquired his guest's opinion of the picture, Mark Twain remarked that tt did very well, but 'he didn't much care for that cloud.' He appeared to be on the point of rubbing the cloud with his gloved finger. In horror Whistler exclaimed: 'Don't touch it, the paint's wet !' ' Oh, that's all right,' replied Mark, with his characteristic drawl, 'these aren't my best gloves, anyhow !'

Lord Haldane's geniality is proverbial. Here is an illustration of his manner of meeting an embarrassing situation. Some time ago he was addressing a meeting, and was remarking that the Army had not been his only love, when a lady made an interruption and another rushed on

to the platform and spoke to him. 'These ladies,' said his lordship, 'really choose a most embarrasing moment in my speech. I had just observed that the Army had not been my only love. Let me therefore free myself from misconception. I was about to admit that I had flirted with the Law.'

A Pris contemporary publishes an interesting anecdote of the late King. At a house party at Hatfield, in honour of the Kaiser, the invited guests included the Prince of Wales, the Portuguese Minister, and M. Waddington, the French Ambassador and his wife. During the evening Madame Waddington's diamond neclace became unfastened, and after vainly attempting to fasten it she called the Portuguese Minister to her assistance, but he was not more successful. Everyone was interested in the little mishap, and then the Kaiser relieved the monotony by abserving, 'There is Portugal trying to strangle France.' The remark was greeted with laughter. The Prince of Wales rose to assist Madame Waddington and then the Kaiser, in a grave tone, added, 'It is really a serious matter : England is mixed up in it.'

Of Lord Houghton, father of the present Earl of Crewe, the following good story is told : He had seen the portrait of an admiral in a shop in Wardour Street, and offered £5 for it. The dealer wanted £10, but ultimately came down to £7. 10s. Lord Houghton would not go beyond the £5, however, and did not get the picture. Soon afterwards, visiting a neighbour in Yorkshire, Lord Houghton caught sight of his friend the admiral hanging in the dining-room. He recognised him at once, and said : 'Halloa ! who's that ? What have you got there ? Something new ? 'Yes,' replied the friend; 'he was a celebrated admiral who fought with Nelson—a fine portrait, too—recently bequeathed to us-an ancestor of my wife's.' 'Ah, was he ?' said Lord Houghton. 'A month ago he was within two pound ten of becoming one of mine !'

A witty saying of Lady Duff Gordon comes from across the Atlantic. Whenever she goes to New York, the pressmen hasten to her to get the latest tips on fashion ; and this time the reporter who encountered her on the Kronprinzessin heard from her that the directoire skirt is coming back.

The directoire skirt, if you recall, is somewhat slit up the side. Lady Duff explained that the real things in Society would not have the directoire cut any higher than so, although some of the lesser ones might let it go to here. At this stage other pressmen joined in. The first reporter was annoyed. 'Here I am,' he said, 'talking to a lady and a lot of perfect strangers come butting in." 'You will find,' said Lady Duff Gordon, 'that the directoire skirt will always have that effect upon perfect strangers.'

An Irish doctor, while enjoying a holiday in the country, took the

opportunity, along with a friend to go fishing. During operations the doctor's sinker came off and was lost. He was in a dilemma—no sinker, no more fishing that day. Happy thought; he had a bottle in his pocket. The bottle was filled with water, carefully corked, and sent down its mission.

After a few minutes' interval the doctor had a bite and pulled up his line at racing speed, finding a fine pair of fish, one on each hook. 'Ha, doctor, twins this time!' exclaimed his companion. 'Yes,' quoth the doctor, 'and brought up on the bottle, too.'

Mr. Lloyd George was speaking at a Liberal Meeting not a hundred miles from Redhill, Surrey, of the unfulfilled prophecies and promises of a certain statesman, and quite accidentally he stretched his arm right over the head of Sir Jeremiah Colman, one of the local pillars of Liberalism, who was sitting close to him on the platform. 'We have had enough of those Political Jeremiahs,' he cried out. The audience rose to the joke and laughed and clapped vociferously. And perhaps for the first time in his life, the little Welshman stood completely nonplussed, for it was not until the meeting was over that he found out where the humour had come in.

Mr. Lloyd Geogre once concluded his speech with these words: 'The Almighty does with you just as a good gardener does with his flowers. He plants geraniums and eliotropesh in the sunshine because he knows they will grow better there, but he looks out for a shady nook for the fuchsias.' On leaving the chapel the statesman was effusively greeted by an old lady. 'Oh, Mr. George,' she cried, 'I want to thank you for your address. It was so practical and so wise.' 'I am delighted to hear it,' Mr. Lloyd George replied, 'and I hope it will prove a help to you.' 'Yes, indeed,' said the old lady, 'it has helped me already for never before have I been able to tell what was the matter with those dratted fuchsias.'

Dr. Whately, when the learned Primate was Archbishop of Dublin, met a young aide-de-camp at a dinner when the latter propounded this singular coundrum:

'Does your Grace know the difference between an archbishop and an ass?'

'Sir, I do not,' answered Dr. Whately.

'One wears the cross on his mitre, and the other wears it on his back,' explained the tactless officer.

'Do you know the difference between an aide-de-camp and an ass?' asked the Archbishop, calmly, in return.

'No, your Grace, I do not,' was the reply.

'Neither do I,' said his Grace.

The late Sir Lewis Morris, author of *The Epic of Hades*, was once complaining bitterly to Oscar Wilde of the attitude of the Press in the matter of his claims to the poet laureateship. 'It is all a complete conspiracy of silence against

me,' he declared—'a conspiracy of silence! What ought I to do?'

'Join it!' replied Wilde.

Michel Casey, a politician in San Francisco who has been in office and on the city payroll for many years, was addressing a meeting of his fellow citizens. It was a labour meeting. 'You men must know,' spouted Casey, 'that you are the great body politic in this city. You are the roots and trunk of our great municipal tree, while we who represent you in office are merely the branches on that magnificent tree.'

'True for you, Mike!' piped a man in the back of the hall. 'But did ye ever notice all the fruit grows on the branches?'

An arrogant little white man sneeringly asked the great Dumas if it was really true that he had negro blood in him. 'Yes, Monsieur,' was the reply. 'My father was a mulatto.' 'And his father?' 'He was a negro.' 'Oh! really! But who was his father, then?' 'His father,' said Dumas, 'was a monkey.' 'A monkey?' said the little white man. 'You don't mean it?' 'Yes, Monsieur, I do. You see, my ancestry began where yours ends.'

During the English tour of the one and only Pavlova, she was desired to write in hotel visitors' book and she obliged with 'I dance because I must.—Anna Pavlova.' Since then the ever merry Joe Coyne has been at this hotel, seen the book, and entered underneath, with his Quaker love of truth, 'I sing because I can't.—Joe Coyne.'

An actor told the following story of the late Kyrle Bellew at the Players' Club, in New York:

Poor Bellew hated a bore. I'll tell you how he once squelched a bore on the way from New York to Chicago.

Bellew was reading in the smoker. The bore flopped down beside him and opened up with:

'Well, who are they going to nominate—Taft or Roosevelt?'

Bellew looked at the bore with a puzzled frown.

'Taft or Roosevelt?' he said. 'Who the deuce are they?'

'Why, man,' exclaimed the bore, 'you don't mean to say you never heard of Bill Taft and Teddy Roosevelt?'

'Never,' said Bellew, calmly, and he buried himself in his book again.

The bore smoked in silence a long while. He kept glancing at Bellew uneasily out of the corner of his eye. At last the said:

'I wonder how John D. likes all this trustbustin?'

'John D.?' said Bellew. 'John D.?'

'John D. Rockefeller.' Richest man on earth. Certainly you've heard of him!' roared the bore.

'No,' said Bellow. 'No, he's a stranger to me.'

'Holy jumpin' Jonah!

'The bore's contempt was beyond words. He glared at Bellew steadily for nearly half

an hour. Then he snorted :

'Say ye fool, did ye ever hear of Adam ?'

Bellew looked up from his novel, yawned, and murmured :

'Adam who ? What's his last name ?'

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In 1874, Mr. Edmund Yates founded the *World*. Mr. Labouchere became associated with the new paper and was understood to be responsible for its startling articles on financial affairs. But after a couple of years differences arose and Mr. Labouchere, parting company with the *World*, established *Truth* on somewhat similar lines at first. Someone asked him what *Truth* was going to be, and Labby, undoubtedly one of the most brilliant conversationalists, promptly answered, '*Truth* is to be another and a better *World*.'

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In 1854 Mr. Labouchere had entered the diplomatic service, and during his diplomatic career when he was once ordered to Russia, he arrived after a delay of six weeks. When asked to explain this, he said that as the Government did not pay railway fares, he had to walk all the way across Europe !

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Sir Charles Russell, when practising at the Bar, was a noted cross-examiner, and it was a shrewd witness who could circumvent him. On one occasion, at least, however, the laugh was turned on him by an innocently intended answer. He was cross-examining a witness in regard to certain hoof-prints left by a horse on sandy soil.

'How large were the prints?' asked Sir Charles. 'Were they as large as my hand ?' holding up his hand for the witness to see it.

'Oh, no,' replied the man in the box : 'they were just ordinary-sized hoofs, sir.'

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Mark Twain did not cherish a fondness for the average office boy. He had an idea that the genus was insufferable, and invariably when the humorist sallied forth into some business office there was immediate armed hostility between him and the boy. One day Mark went to see a friend at his office, and the office boy on guard, in icy tones, said :

'Whom do you wish to see ?'

Mark mentioned his friend's name.

'What do you want to see him about ?' came next from the boy.

Mark Twain immediately froze up, and then with a genial smile he said :

'Tell him, please, I want to ask his hand in holy matrimony.'

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In this entertaining book, *Patrollers of Palestine* the Rev. Haskett Smith tells the story of a Bedawi who was much puzzled by the appearance of a 'New Woman' who, with a rabble of cheap tourists, turned upon the banks of the Red Sea, garbed in a knickerbocker suit and double-peaked cap. The unsophisticated descendant of Ishmael was informed by the dragoman of the author's

party that this apparition was a, female soldier,' and as such he in turn explained the prodigy to his friends. Some of the pictures in the cinematograph display at El Obeid given on the occasion of Lord Kitchener's recent visit gave rise, it appears, to similar doubts in the native mind, which were solved in much the same fashion. The African world films of the King and Queen's visit to Port Sudan and Sinkat were highly appreciated; so were those representing the consecration of Khartum Cathedral. But in regard to the latter pictures the natives could not make up their minds what the surpliced figures were. Were they women, or were they prisoners ? A Sheikh settled the question by declaring that they were representatives of the British Army!

Once at the dinner Henry Ward Beecher told his sister, Mrs. Harriet Beecher-stowe, that her *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had been translated into Italian by a monk; and that a letter full of adulation had been received from him in which he stated that if he could kiss the woman who wrote the book he would die happy. Mr. Beecher then added—'Well, I sent him a portrait of you, Harriet, and nothing has been heard of him since.'

Amongst the many stories told concerning Coventry Patmore the poet, the following, perhaps, is one of most amusing :

When Patmore lived in his beautiful old house at Hastings, a kind of Harold Skimpole contrived to make his acquintance.

'That fellow was one of the cleverest I ever came across,' said Patmore, when speaking about him to a personal friend who relates the story.

'One day in the early part of our acquaintance he came to me for my advice. His wife had purchased a costume at one of the principal local drapers, but when an assistant was sent for to make certain alterations, the latter packed it up and carried it back to the shop. What should he do?

'Go to Z—,' I said, naming my lawyer; and off he started.

"Summon the people, said Z—; 'that is what you had better do. But wait, have you paid for the dress ? If not, send a cheque and summon them afterwards."

"On my word, I never thought of that," exclaimed the other, innocently; "and as I don't happen to have my purse, just oblige me with your cheque for the amount!"

'And I'll be hanged,' added Coventry Patmore, chucking, 'if he didn't bamboozle the lawyer. Instead of stepping over the way he went straight home. The dress was never paid for, and Z—never got back his money.'

The Rev. A. H. Stanton, who has just entered upon his fiftieth year as curate of St. Alban's, Holborn, tells this amusing ancedone :

A visitor to St. Alban's having confessed that he liked the service, but objected to the incense, Father Stanton gravely remarked :

'I am very sorry, my friend.'

'Why ?' asked the stranger.

'Well, you see, there are only two odours in the next world—incense and brimstone—and you will have to choose between them.'

SHORT STORIES

1

1st July 1911

Sushila

'Well, I can tell you quite a different story about a Hindu widow.'

So said one of my friends, when after dinner we were chatting on the terrace at my place in Ballygunge, discussing the Sati system, widows in general and their re-marriage. Satish, to be more explicit, Mr. Satish Chandra Ghose, a distinguished young member of the Calcutta Bar and a zamindar of Noakhali and I had been friends for a long time. We were at College together and for four years shared the same room at the Harrison Hostel in Calcutta. We had graduated in the same year. I had met him to-day after a separation of six years. He had spent the first three of these in England studying for the Bar and I heard of him only a year ago when he made his name in a murder case. He succeeded in getting his client off, in spite of the strong Police evidence and the Government Advocate. He showed such power of cross-examination and brought such an amount of legal acumen to bear on the case, that even without his eloquent address for the defence the case was sure to be his. Calcutta rang with his fame, for the case was a sensational one—a girl charged with the murder of her mother-in-law.

Satish is a handsome man. His tall athletic figure, his quick restless eyes and his debonair face, with a head crowned with soft curly black hair, amply fulfil the promise of a prepossessing personal appearance which he showed when he was a lad of seventeen residing with me in the Harrison Hostel. He distinctly impresses one as a man with a future before him.

This was the story he told me.

The widow—Sushila they called her—was the daughter of a clerk in a District Magistrate's Court in a certain town in Bengal. She was the only child in the family. By her father's cottage was the palatial residence of a rich landholder. Her father was the tenant of this landholder. The zamindar had two children—Sukumar and Sribala—son and daughter. Being neighbours, the daughter of the clerk and the children of the zamindar came to be playmates and friends. Of the three Sukumar was the eldest. He loved his little sister dearly and thus came to look upon her friend Sushila with favour. Together they played their innocent country games with little stones, and tamarind seeds, and often chased one another when playing hide and seek.

Sukumar was twelve then. Every one called him a good-looking and good-natured boy. His sister was seven and Sushila was a year older. But both the girls looked the same age, and both of them were handsome, each in her own way. Many a time when Sukumar was appealed to by the girls to decide which of them was the prettier, he would laughingly say:

'Sirby, thou naughty girl, why dost thou quarrel with Sushy about your faces ? You are both beautiful. Thou art darker than Sushy. Thou hast got finner eyes, but Sushy has longer hair. There, you are quits. Don't you quarrel again. Come, let us go for a romp in the field and then we will play hide and seek in the mango grove beyond.'

So would Sukumar reply trying to be impartial and make them friends again.

Such was their childhood and they grew up to be very fond of each other. Daily the impression of pretty Sushy sank deeper and deeper into the heart of Sukumar and he unconsciously began to love her. As for Sushila, I need not tell you that her feelings towards Sukumar were the same—only stronger. To her he was as a god and as such she worshipped him. Sukumar hoped to marry her when he grew up to be man, though he well knew that his father would never tolerate such a marriage. He would certainly set his face against his son marrying the daughter of a mere clerk. He had higher views of Sukumar's matrimonial future than that.

When Sukumar was seventeen he came to Calcutta to study in some college. A couple of years after he heard of the marriage of Sushila to a young man of a neighbouring town. You can well imagine what this news was to him. It threw Sukumar into a deep gloom. He would shut himself up in his room for days; he would send his meals away untasted; he would not see anyone. Nor would he let his friends share his grief, for he would not tell them of it. Hardly had a month passed, when came the woeful tidings of Sribala's death. His grief was violent and he refused to be consoled. Those were dark days for Sukumar.

Time is a great healer, and in course of time he became his old self again. But not quite his old self. His remarkable good nature turned into peevishness. He became a cynic. Everyone remarked on this change in him, but he did not care. He refused to go back home for his holidays in spite of the repeated orders of his parents. Thus he continued to stay in Calcutta and in a year or two graduated from the Presidency College. His success was brilliant and justified his father in sending him to England to study for the Bar.

While in England a great change came over him. By and by his old cynicism passed away and he began to take a real interest in the world and its doings. He began to mix in society, and while old ideas and fancies lost their force a new enthusiasm was born within him. Gradually all his ideas of orthodox Hindu society melted away before the advance of rationalism. Many a useful scheme of social reform in India began to revolve in his brain. He saw a new path of duty open out before him and he resolved to follow it. He resolved

to try and reform the society of his community when he would go back to India. For the sake of the dear days of childhood spent with Sushila and Sribala, he would do something to justify his education and work in his own quiet way for improving the lot of the women of his own country. Such were the thoughts of Sukumar. But with those thoughts his mind would go back to that simple Indian town where he had loved and lost. And his heart sank within him sometimes because for him there was no sister to train up, and there would be no wife whose life he could make happier.

In the meantime, Sushila went to her husband's home after her wedding. But her married life was not a long one. Three years after he wedding there raged in her district such an epidemic of cholera as had never raged before. Hundreds died. Her husband died then, and she was a widow. She came back to her parental home only to find that her mother had suffered her husband's fate. Soon after her father re-married a rough and harsh-tempered woman. As it was, her life had been a very sorrowful one. She had begun to undergo all the compulsory penance that is the lot of the Hindu widow. From her fellow-beings she had no sympathy. But now there was her step-mother ill-treating her on every occasion. And in this misery she had no friends—no Sribala to console her, to encourage her to meet her dark future with fortitude. Poor girl! Hers indeed was a hard lot.

Two years had slowly rolled over her widowhood when she heard that Sukumar was coming back from England to his old country home. She was no longer the little girl of old—the playmate of Sukumar, but had unfolded into a beautiful woman. Her coarse plain clothes, her hard life could not repress the blossoming womanhood into which she had ripened. Her long raven hair, her high noble forehead, the long narrow eyebrows arching over her large black sparkling eyes, her oval face, her small mouth and pearl-white teeth made her the loveliest girl in the town.

That infant feeling in her heart towards Sukumar had not died, but had only grown stronger with age. She knew it was a sin to think of Sukumar in that way: she a widow. Yet she could not help herself. Often when after some bitter reproaches and insults from her stepmother she ran to her own room to cry and sob her sorrows out, she would catch herself thinking of the old days of her childhood, when everyone was so nice and kind and good, when there was Sukumar and Sribala to play with and care for her. And with the thought of Sukumar she would wonder where he was just then, trying to imagine to herself the land of the Sahibs, and Sukumar, a Sahib amongst them. Then would rise before her eyes what her future life might have been if she had been married to Sukumar! And then she would hastily rise and busy herself about some domestic duties in order to banish her cruel, mocking thoughts—thoughts at once so sweet and yet sinful.

Sukumar came home. People from far and near came to see the Man who had 'crossed,' as they said, 'seven oceans and thirteen rivers' to go to the land of the Sahibs to study and who had come

back a powerful Man of Law. He had stayed at home for a week and was eager to go back to Calcutta ; only he was waiting for her father's permission.

Sukumar did not forget his playmate of old. The scar which Sushila had left on his young heart was yet there. He had been to England and there had come across many a charming young lady. But somehow they failed to make any impression on his heart of the kind he carried of simple Sushila. Even then he had with him locked in his writing case a withered creeper with some wild flowers, which Sushila had once playfully twined round his neck. In his heart he yet cherished a fond remembrance of the Sushila of the past—who he thought was now the wedded wife of another. He never knew that Sushila was a widow, and his father had taken good care that he did not, for that old gentlemen more than suspected something of his son's feelings in that quarter, and did not feel sure of his orthodoxy.

So when Sukumar came to know for the first time that Sushila was a widow—and he well knew what that meant in the case of a Hindu girl—and that she was at that moment within a stone's throw of his house, he gave up at once the idea of going to Calcutta. An overwhelming desire possessed him—that of seeing her once again before he went. His old nurse was yet a servant in his father's house-hold. He commissioned her that day to carry a message from him to Sushila to come and see him once again for old sake's sake. The meeting place was to be the mango grove to the east of the field by his father's garden—the favourite haunt of their childhood. The time of meeting war to be evening.

Sukumar went out that evening to meet Sushila. Sushila also, true to her appointment, went out to meet Sukumar. No one saw them go. In the dim twilight under the tall mango trees they met—after a separation of many years. The went out, but never came back to their homes. Late at night a search party issued out of the zamindar's house to search for his son—the son who went out in the evening for a walk, but never came back. Poul play was suspected and the Police were informed in the morning. But the Police could find no trace of him.

No one suspected anything at Sushila's home. Her step-mother did not care to see whether Sushila had had her dinner. She thought Sushila was in her room, sleeping. Sushila's father was away from home; he had gone to a distant village on some business. Her absence was detected on the next morning. Search was made in all directions, but to no effect. That day the village gossips talked. They made a scandal out of the disappearance of the two. The old zamindar was wild with rage. He made inquiries at Culcutta but no trace was to be found of them. A month later he received a letter from his son informing him of his legal marriage with the widow Sushila. Sukumar wrote for parental forgiveness and parental blessings. I am not quite sure whether he received any. Sukumar's father had no reply to

that letter of his son.

After two years passed in a remote town in Northern India where Sukumar had obtained a post, they appeared in Calcutta—Sukumar and Sushila, man and wife. Sukumar began his legal practice. They have a little baby, a girl. They call her Sribala. Of course no one knows except a few of his very close friends that Sukumar's beautiful and happy wife was once a widow.

Sukumar is now the zamindar of his district, his father suddenly dying of heart failure. Once a year Sukumar and his wife go to their country home and live there for a month only. For Sukumar prefers his Calcutta residence to his country place and so does his wife. But the little Sribala evidently thinks otherwise, for she is very happy when she goes to her father's country home once a year.

All the while Satish was telling me the story, I sat quietly listening to him with attention. He concluded with a particularly happy smile upon his face. Somehow I felt that he himself was an actor in the story he had just narrated. I taxed him with it.

'Satish,' said I, 'I am sure you are the Sukumar of your story. Now confess it ; you cannot deny it.'

He laughed aloud at this said : 'Nothing of the sort, my dear fellow. I don't see any reason why you should pounce upon me to make a Sukumar of me.'

But something in his eyes and his laughter told me that I was right.

'That won't do,' said I, 'you cannot escape me in that way. Now tell me, Satish, when may I see the little Sribala and her monther ?'

'Come to-morrow,' he said with a smile, and then we heartily shook hands on it. In that hand-shake there was my sympathy and in the pressure of his fingers I felt his gratitude for it.

2

22nd July 1911

A Bunch of Immortelles

Oh! that soft white robe clinging to a tender form! The stranger wonders why this maiden is dressed so strangely, without a ribbon or border to relieve the deadly whiteness of her attire. Why no ornament on wrist or neck? Why stands she so shyly aside from the happy crowd? Ah! stranger, know she is a widow and hers is the garb of death, the shroud. Only a soft white robe, and yet what a world of sorrow, of sacrifice, of bitter agony it enfolds! What tears does it not absorb in the sleepless nights of suffering when thoughts crowd in on her husband gone to

that unknown land where she may now follow him no more, as she could in the days of yore. She is left to pray for him, to spend her days in humble service for his weal. She receives much sympathy in her sad lot; her people, friends and neighbours come to her in her sorrow, to mourn with her, to comfort her. But time-honoured traditions may not be attacked, and iron custom holds full sway.

This is my lot, too, a widow since my childhood! Scarcely had I put off my bridal robes, when the widow's white took their place. I was then but a child, just twelve years old. The husband whom I mourn, for whom I send my prayers heavenward, his very image is faded from my memory and my marriage seems to me like a far-off dream. But I hold a relic of the past, one link that binds me to the days that might have been—a faded photograph. A sacred relic this; I keep it in a sandalwood box, and this box must be near me always. And when at times my heart grows faint, when my faith in the justice of God weakens,—when life itself becomes agony and the future lies before me dark and gloomy, then in the loneliness I bring forth this picture, and gaze at it long and intently. The thought of another even for a moment would be a deadly sin, and I must but think of him, and cherish his memory.

It has magic power, this little photograph. It sends strength back to my heart; hope revives, and the promise of a happier future, fills me with a strange joy. Once only I put into the sandalwood box something besides this picture. It was a bunch of immortelles, gathered from the top of a steep hill by the daring hand of one who by this gift had hoped to give me pleasure. I was a girl then, seventeen years old, and staying with my only brother, an Indian Civil Servant, in the North-Western Provinces. He was on leave and spending his vacation at the hill station of Naini Tal.

My brother had adopted the English mode of living while abroad and kept it up since his return. So while with him I did not observe the rules of the zenana strictly. I did not dine with English people, but I received them in my home. However, I kept my purdah with the visitors of my own race.

It was a Sunday morning; we were sitting in the verandah, my brother and I. His gurguri was ready for him; so he lay down leisurely in an easy chair, and began to smoke it, holding an illustrated paper in his hand. I sat on a cushion at his feet and amused myself by watching the tiny clouds of smoke he puffed upwards.

A servant came in with a card-tray. My brother looked at the card and exclaimed joyfully, 'Hallo! who do you think has come? My old friend, the Angel! Show him the way here, sepoy.'

'Mr. Chatterjee?' I asked. I had heard much about this gentleman from my brother. I rose to go away, but my brother stopped me, saying, 'That won't do. He is a great friend of mine, and when he comes to know that you receive English people here and will not appear before him, he will feel hurt. My position will then be so awkward you must not go away!' So I remained, and we met.

He stayed with us as our guest for

about a week. We met often but spoke little. Strange and unknown feelings came upon me. I felt myself moving in a new world. He was a handsome man, and he seemed to me like the evening star, outshining everyone else. Whenever I saw him, I could not lift my eyes from the ground. Still I was so happy to be near him. At times I ventured to cast timid glances at him, and if at such moments our eyes happened to meet, how strangely shy I felt, how quickly I dropped my eyelids. Yet I knew not why I tried so hard to speak. When away from him I would gather strength. Surely I must say something the next time I saw him. I prepared ' little speeche's which I resolved I would repeat the next time we met. But, alas! for all my courage, as soon as I heard his footstep my speeches were forgotten; my heart began to beat so rapidly I could not understand myself any more. And all that our visitor ever saw of me was a little shy girl with downcast eyes and flushed cheeks. Thus passed a week, a week so happy, so filled with new and beautiful experience. But alas! it went all too soon. And I must confess to my shame, I forgot to look at my relic the whole of that week!

Our guest was to leave the next day. That day was still ours, and we were to spend it on the hills. My brother had arranged a quiet picnic for us on Tiger Hill, the highest peak at Naini Tal.

How beautiful the air was, how laden with fragrance and light and happiness! The road in many places was steep and narrow. The gentlemen rode on horseback and I was carried in a 'dandy'. They went before me, now keeping near and again far ahead, and at the turnings disappearing altogether. Yet I felt this presence all the while, even as I received the fragrance of the wild roses from afar.

O beautiful summer! The hills were green with foliage, wild roses lending their delicate hue to heighten the beauty of it all. The enchanting scenery, the fragrance that filled the air, and—and I know not what else, made me quite giddy with joy. I wished to gather roses, as I had never wished it before. I told my 'dandy' bearers to halt. But thay did not live in a rose garden. They wanted to relieve themselves of their burden and reach their destination as soon as possible. I would get flowers in abundance when I reached the top, they replied grumblingly, and trudged on. So there was naught for me to do but to wait patiently, as women must always wait.

Slowly the top was reached. Her beauty revealed itself in all its glory. As if touched by the wand of magic, the mountains seemed suddenly transferred beneath our feet. Tiger Hill, the loftiest of them all, afforded us a view into the outstretched open world of space, that made the heart leap high. The glorious snowy range was revealed in its full grandeur. To me it seemed all like a dream, which, alas! would vanish only too soon.

The servants had pitched a small tent for us and were waiting to serve refreshments. We spent but a short time in the tent. I wanted flowers and went in search of them. But flowers there were none on that high altitude, no vegetation excepting a few small patches of sickly grass. This was a great disappointment to me. Those annoying 'dandy'

bearers were to blame for it all; why had I listened to them and not gathered my roses by the wayside? Nor was this the only annoyance they caused me. At 4 o'clock, when the sun was still high, when all seemed so bright and pleasant and happy, they insisted on going home, arguing that the homeward journey would be dangerous after sunset. My heart had been filled with joy, and being young and thoughtless I could not realise danger. I only knew the hour was passing sweet, and lived but for the bliss of the moment. Of course, I dared not express my desire, but only timidly suggested, 'Let us walk part of the way down. I may enter my "dandy" later on. So we walked on, the 'dandy' bearers and the groom following us.

We had walked perhaps a hundred paces down the hill,when to my joy I espied a profusion of beautiful flowers growing in a cluster on the top of a detached elevation to the left.

'How beautiful they are!' I exclaimed in my childish delights, almost forgetting myself in the excitement. 'How I wish I could get a bunch of them! What a pity they are not within reach!'

'They are within reach. Let me gather a few for you,' and Mr. Chatterjee, without losing a minute, hastened on his expedition.

The flowers seemed near enough, but between us and the hill on which they grew loose boulders lay scattered, and there was no trace of any footpath. The attempt was rash and full of danger. Yet he went on, up and down, now precipitating himself swiftly, now climbing with a firm step, sometimes holding on to a branch, at other times steadying his foot on a firm rock. Thus he reached the top at last, my brother all the time cheering me, while I stood speeechlss.

Watching him from afar, strange and inexplicable feelings came upon me. I was not sorry that he took this rash act on my account. As my eye followed him leaping from rock to rock, I felt not fear but fascination. I admired his daring, I was charmed by it! I felt the woman's power in me for the first time in my life, and I saw a new and delightful world opening out before me. Still, when at last he reached our hill again safely, a sigh of relief involuntarily passed my lips. The sun was sinking low, and I had to enter my 'dandy' immediately, and was carried off before he could come to me with his hard-earned offering.

It was late before we reached our bungalow. The light of the full moon seemed unusually bright and beautiful. I hastened inside to order dinner and then went into the drawing-room. He entered almost immediately after me, holding the flowers in his hand.

'May I offer you these flowers? They are not roses, but immortelles.'

He looked so happy and brave and handsome, I thought I saw a revelation of the divine in his face. As I took the flowers, his hand touched mine. I trembled and could not even utter a word of thanks. We looked into each other's eyes in silence. The spell was, however, soon broken. The bell rang for dinner, my brother entered, and together we went in to the dining-room. The gentlemen sat down to dine, but I, being a widow, could not join them. So I sat by silently.

There was but little conversation during dinner. Whenever my brother spoke to him, he answered in mono-

syllables, and as soon as dinner was over he bid us a hurried good-bye and left the table abruptly. Early the next morning he went away.

In the dead silence of that night, when my sorrow gave way to a flood of tears, when my poor heart seemed breaking, I remembered my old friend, the photograph. I took the picture out of the box and placed it on a table. Like a penitent Roman Catholic before his Santa Maria, I prostrated myself before this holy relic and confessed and asked forgiveness for the sin I had committed. Did consolation come? Yes, it came. But the tree grows many years ere it bears furit, the river must travel its length before it reaches the sea; and human sorrow must course through its cycle ere the sufferer finds rest.

When again I put the photograph into its box I placed those flowers on it. They were my heart's offering at that holy shrine.

I saw him only once again. It was some months later and quite unexpectedly. We were going home and at the Bankipore Railway Station my brother was delighted to meet his friend. He was not alone this time; his bride was with him. There were still five minutes left for the train to start, so they came into our compartment and the time passed pleasantly.

The conversation was naturally light and cheerful. My brother complained jokingly of the fact that he had not been invited to the wedding.

'You cheated me out of a wedding feast,' he said laughingly.

'I have a similar complaint against him, Mr. Ganguli,' added his wife. 'I have been cheated out of at least one wedding present.'

Both were ready to pronounce severe sentence on Mr. Chatterji for his neglect.

'But I have a wedding present for you, Mrs. Chatterji.' With these words I offered her the immortelles, taking them out of the box I always carry with me. She took them smilingly, thanked me and said, 'What perfect imitation. They look quite real.' 'They are real.' 'Are they really?' The lady looked surpised. 'Yes, I see now. I had made a mistake. I never saw those flowers before. What are they called?'

'Immortelles! They do not grow in the plains; they are natives of the higher regions, and keep fresh for a long time if carefully preserved.'

'When did you gather them?'

'About six months ago.'

'And yet so fresh! Isn't it wonderful? Look, how beautiful they are.'

Mr. Chatterjee looked at the flowers. 'Yes,' he replied, his voice barely audible.

And now the bell rang, once, twice, three times. They bid us a hurried farewell and were gone.

That night I dreamt a beautiful dream. I saw in my vision an angel coming towards me. He took me with him and soared aloft—higher and higher till we reached the top of the holy mountain Kailash, the abode of the gods. There was a glorious soft light surrounding us. The face of my angel guide shone with a celestial light. When I looked up I recognised in him the original of my faded photograph—my husband.

An unknown bliss came upon me. A heavenly joy filled my soul. Then I awoke, and the tears were heavy on

my lashes—tears of joy or tears of sorrow—I leave it, dear readers, to you to judge.

—*Srimati Swarna Kumari Devi.*

3

26th August 1911

The Queen's Quarrel

Five days after the celebration of the Ramadan 'Id, seven hundred years ago, the white towers and golden domes of Delhi blushed under the crimson canopy of evening. In the narrow streets humanity bustled hither and thither, checked only in its progress by groups of talkers who gesticulated eloquently. Eager curiosity was depicted on every face, and one subject only seemed to quiver on every lip.

The wife of the Grand Vizier was holding a reception. Many such festivals had preceded this one, but none could equal it in splendour. It was even whispered that the Nautch girls were vested in robes of filmy silver, and, as they handed round the refreshing drinks, they sprinkled the guests with golden dust.

Outside the palace gates thousands of spectators had gathered to witness the entry of the ladies' gaudily coloured palanquins. Within, the great banquet hall blazed with a thousand lamps. They reflected its frescoed walls, its massive embroidered curtains, its gilded ornaments, and threw into relief the vista of Gothic arches, which supported its vaulted roof, and seemed to guard its lovely mistress. Young, beautiful, she sat on her crimson cushion: the long black hair parted from her forehead coiled like a sleeping snake behind her head, and vying with the jewelled diadem which wreathed her brow, her eyes flashed diamonds, and parted lips betrayed a string of pearls. Clouds of deep yellow silk, girdled with a zone of sapphire, draped her figure, and almost hidden amid the silky billows, peeped the golden hilt of a dagger.

Although veiled in smiles, on closer observation, it might be seen that a cloud rested beneath the jewelled brow of the hostess. Amid this garden of the choicest flowers of Delhi, the Queen of all was missing. The mighty Empress had promised to grace this gathering with her lovely presence, but time crept steadily on and brought no tidings from her.

The anxious cloud of the hostess had thickened and spread itself over her face, when a cry 'The Queen! the Queen! Make way for the Queen' dispelled it, and the sunny looks returned. But only for a moment; for immediately after they changed to dismay. Ushered by

bowing slaves the Queen glided into the apartment and greeted the hostess. Unjewelled and robed in a training gown of milky-muslin, her forehead carried no regal diadem but the crown of flowing hair. Like a pure white lily, amid the forced flowers of the horticulturist's art, she received the homage of the glittering throng, then raising one hand to command silence, her voice rang through the massive hall, and was chorused by a thousand echoes in the vaulted roof.

'In a garb more beseeming a house of mourning than a festival, I am here amongst you. But if I carry no jewel on my person, I have yet brought with me a gem of priceless worth.'

She beckoned to one of her attendants, who disappeared, then led into the apartment a little frightened child. Visibly he trembled in every limb. Naked, but for a white cloth which bound his loins, he lifted his great dark eyes to his Queen, and prostrated himself at her feet. She stooped and raised him.

'What mother would suck the ruby from her baby's lips, or steal the sparkle from its eyes, or the pearls from its mouth, to bedeck and bejewel her person? But ye ask me to do this. The nation are my children, and if I take their bread to buy my treasures, surely I rob them of their rightful sustenance?'

While the Queen was speaking, the Vizier's lady trembled with pent-up passion. Her hand gripped the hilt of her dagger. She had risen. One golden-slippered foot rested on the cushion, the other supported the weight of her leaning frame. Her attention was riveted on the Queen.

Conscious of the storm which was gathering behind her, the Empress turned and laid her hands on the other's shoulders.

'Sekina! thou art also one of my children, and I disadorn my person that thou may be richer clad. But, shapely as that neck is, could it not be fairer gemmed with a circlet of love from the poor, and however majestic that brow, would it not be more queenly with a diadem of their blessings?'

These tender words dispelled the rage from Sekina's heart, and the tears rose to her eyes. She caught the bracelets from her arms, and hurled them from her, then seizing the circlet on her forehead, she threw herself at her Mistress's feet.

'Take them, take them,' she cried, 'where thou leadest I follow.'

On the evening of the twelfth anniversary of this celebrated banquet, the crimson tipped towers of Delhi looked on a sadder scene.

A cry of mourning, of sorrow, of despair came from the teeming populace, as a solemn cortege passed to the Acre of God.

'Give us back our Queen! Oh, give us back our Queen!' rose the cry of her people to the blood-red heavens. But the cortege continued slowly onwards.

—Mrs. Musharral-ul-Hukk

4

23rd September 1911

The Smart Woman in the Station

Mrs. Rossiter was not a beauty. She was not even good-looking, if one studied her face only ; but she had a perfect figure, extremely good eyes and a way of putting on her clothes that had won for her the name of the smartest woman in the station—no matter where she happened to find herself.

It's a well-known fact, clothes work wonders for some women, and Mrs. Rossiter proved the truth of that statement.

It was generally understood that her father was a very wealthy man and that she received a handsome allowance from him. She certainly could not have dressed as she did, had they been obliged to live on her husband's pay. For he was a captain in a line Regiment.

The season was nearing its close. It had been a splendid one from most people's point of view. That section which had been seeking amusement—and that section averaged a very fair percentage of the whole—pronounced it the very best year they had ever known. The Amateur Dramatic Club had surpassed itself, and their entertainments had gone with a stirring swing.

Evelyn Rossiter was a great acquisition to them. Her voice alone would have been sufficient to draw a good audience, but she was also a clever actress, and the two combined won her the leading part in every musical piece that was staged, and her frocks did credit to the various parts she played.

Her sister-in-law, little Ruth Rossiter, was living with her. She was almost always spoken of as 'little' Ruth, for Mrs. Rossiter was so essentially big in every way. They were as different from one another as is the river from the sea. Evelyn could be all things to all people as occasion called. Tempestuous, calm, alluring, dangerous. A clever woman of the world. There were some who did not like her at all, and she did not go out of her way to cultivate their liking, but there were very few who did not credit her with being an extremely clever woman.

Ruth was a gentle, rather retiring, clinging nature. Everybody spoke nicely of her and those who did not like Mrs. Rossiter felt sorry for the girl.

Now, that year there was a young subaltern—Woolerton by name—on sick leave, and he and Ruth Rossiter had struck up a keen friendship.

Mrs. Rossiter did not encourage the affair. She wished otherwise for Ruth, who was an orphan and left entirely on her husband's hands.

He—good-hearted fellow that he was—was only too pleased to have his sister; but his wife had a spark of jealousy in her composition and did not relish the idea of keeping Ruth indefinitely. Neither did she wish her to engage herself to a young fellow with no prospects. A civilian was what she secretly desired.

So Woolerton received no encouragement and was rarely invited to the house; therefore he had to make the most of the Club and chance meetings elsewhere.

But hill stations are wonderful places for continually running up against the people one wishes to meet. And not a day passed but they saw one another.

Woolerton's leave was almost over: and still the all-important question had not been asked. He was head over ears in love, but he knew Mrs. Rossiter would do everything in her power to oppose him, and he did not feel at all confident that his feelings were reciprocated. So he dallied, forgetful of the warning, 'He who hesitates is lost.'

Ruth was always the same to him. No girl could have been nicer; but he had knocked about a fair amount one way and another and come into contact with a good many of the frivolous sort of womankind. The absolute naturalness of Ruth—although fascinated him—was rather difficult to understand from his point of view; and day by day he put off asking the question that he thought might possibly terminate their friendship until the very night before his departure.

That evening there was a musical comedy given by the Amateurs. Mrs. Rossiter's name was the most prominent on the programme. She was taking the title role.

Ruth and young Woolerton were sitting side by side in the front row. She had to be near the stage, for between each act she had to rush out and help Evelyn change for the next. In many ways she was a regular little hadmaid to her sister-in-law.

But even supposing she had remained beside him from beginning to end, what man could have proposed surrounded by a crowd; and not even a strange crowd, but with dozens of people with whom he had been associating for weeks past.

No; it was a hopeless situation.

As the play proceeded and Woolerton saw his chance of speaking growing less and less, he became more and more silent. He hated the thought of a written proposal; besides, he argued, she might never get his letter. With the final chorus he felt every opportunity had gone and, as the curtain was being lowered, Ruth slipped out for the last time to the green room.

Then it was that he took a pencil from his pocket and hastily wrote across the lower half of his programme—

'Will you come to the station to see me off to-morrow? I want to speak to you particularly and will be there half an hour before the train starts.'

Then he tore off the top half, returned the pencil and the note to his pocket, and went out to be in readiness to see Ruth into her dandy when the green room supper party should be over.

Amidst much mirth and merriment the party eventually emerged, and hemmed quite in the thickest of the crowd were Mrs. Rossiter and Ruth.

Woolerton succeeded in calling up

Ruth's dandy for her and then slipped the note—as he thought—unnoticed into her hand. But Evelyn had caught sight of that little slip of paper as it passed from one to the other.

The next moment the dandies were raised and had started off on that curious half-trot, swinging moment that the dandy-wallahs seem to habitually contract, and Woolerton turned towards his own quarters to tumble into bed and lie there and wonder if Ruth would meet him on the morrow, and if she would say 'Yes' to the question he intended asking her.

As for Ruth, although she was anxious to know the contents of the note, she could not possibly read it whilst they were moving but when the dandy-wallahs paused near a lamp to change from one shoulder to the other she managed to make out what was written and then tucked it inside here frock.

When they arrived at their own door it was Ruth's dandy which was the first to be put down, and she jumped out quickly, to make room for Evelyn to come into the porch : and then it was that the little slip of paper fell to the ground.

Having had refreshments at the Club they at once went into their respective rooms, and Ruth was glad to close the door and knew she was alone with her thoughts and would be undisturbed.

Not until she was about to get into bed did she realise she had lost the note. She felt very annoyed with herself for not putting it in more securely, but concluded it must have fallen in the dandy.

And at that moment Evelyn was congratulating herself that she had seen it drop, and had been able to secure it and make herself acquainted with the contents. Her first thought was to plan to frustrate that meeting. She felt she could hardly forbid it, therefore it must be done by strategy.

For some time she set in contemplation.

The ayah had finished brushing her hair and had retired to where her little charge was peacefully sleeping in his cradle.

Still Evelyn sat on, with her elbows resting on the dressing table and her chin leading on her hands, staring at her reflexion in the mirror—evidently deep in thought. Then she arose with a smile of triumph in her eyes, having devised a plan which she thought was sure of success.

And as she bent to kiss her little son—not quite twelve months old—she murmured into his ear :

'Yes, auntie Ruth loves you very dearly, baby boy.'

The usual tiffin hour at the Rossiter's was 1 o'clock, so Ruth thought that by hurrying she would reach the station by the short-cut just about half an hour before the train was due to start.

She was feeling particularly happy that morning : singing sentences of song every now and again to herself.

Little did she dream that her sister-in-law was planning to keep her away from that appointment—and planning with a good deal of forethought.

Evelyn did not do things by halves, and she had laid out a plan of action for herself studying it from every standpoint. She did not mean to be foiled.

The ayah—in consideration for staying at night—had three hours off in

the middle of the day and went away to her own home, the bearer taking charge of the child during her absence. Evelyn had given the bearer a note to take to a house the other side of the station—so that he should be well out of the way—saying that she or the Miss Sahib would take charge of the baby until the ayah's ruturn. Tiffin done, Ruth was all eagerness to be off; she ran into her room to put on her hat and pick up her gloves, and was passing through the hall when Evelyn called out :

'Oh! Ruth, do come and take Boysie for a moment.'

She came back into the room. All the happy light that had been in her eyes during tiffin was dying down visibly as she said :

'But I wanted to go out now.'

'To which Evelyn replied almost crossly, 'It's not like you to be disagreeable. Boysie can't be left alone and the bearer has had to go out.'

Then she added in a more appealing tone : 'Just for a few minutes, Ruth.'

That time she did not give her time to answer. She had left the room before Ruth realised her intention of doing so.

Evelyn, with her back turned on the door she had just passed through, was smiling with satisfaction, knowing full well that there was no one within call, that the ayah would not return until the train was puffing way down the hill, and that Ruth was far too conscientious and fond of Boysie to leave him alone.

For some minutes Ruth stood looking despondently at the baby playing happily on the floor, expecting momentarily to see her sister-in-law return.

But Evelyn's plan was not quite completed : her dandy-wallahs were waiting for her and it was she who arrived at the station shortly before the mail started.

With a smile she walked up tc Woolerton, her hand outstretched to say good-bye.

He was still looking with expectancy towards the short-cut from the Rossiter's house, and when he saw who was standing before him he stammered out :

'And your sister-in-law! Isn't Miss Rossiter with you ?'

To which the smartest women in the station unflinchingly replied :

'She's awfully tired to-day, so she elected to stay and mind the baby.'

W.K.C.

5

30th September 1911

Saved by Tradition

A women stood gazing far out over the river where the evening shadows deepened and the streaks of long grass lay like phantoms along the low bank opposite. The cry of the muezzin had died away, soft twinkling lights

began to awaken. She sighed and sank wearily on to the floor of the terrace. It was a roof terrace overlooking the river. Gunga Mai swirling in sullen leaden waves flowed on majestically. Human problems left her unmoved, her mood seemed apathetic. She had no sympathy, no help to-night for the desolate heart and restless brain that sought blindly to define right and wrong in her dark depths.

The women turned her mournful eyes away from the mother of all, far over the roofs of the city towards the faint lights of the English Cantonments. She was a widow, a childless Hindu widow, a thing accursed of gods and men. She belonged to a fairly enlightened family, but the stigma still clung to her. No one cared whence she came, or whither she went, as long as she did the tasks allotted her. They were numerous and hard, but that troubled her little, for they helped to fill her lonely life. The other women of the household, mostly young, did not speak to her much for fear of a similar curse on themselves. The evening before Fate thrust her blindly into a bigger trouble. On her way to the temple at dusk, where the path was narrow and the crowd great, her small hand holding her veil close had touched another hand. Involuntarily she had opened the veil and looked up, the man she had been crushed against was an Englishman. Brown eyes gaped straight into blue eyes, it was the matter of a moment, but that moment sprang heavenwards on wings of flame. She went into the temple shaken and disturbed, faltered her repetitions, offered her garlands with trembling hands and came away. Had she hoped it she scarcely knew, but further on where the stony street narrowed even more and a low archway threw a dark shadow across it, she felt rather than saw him again. She had almost passed him, there was no one in sight. He had suddenly caught her with one strong sweep of his arm and covered her face and neck left bare by the falling of the veil with short passionate kisses. His breath tore through his lips with a harsh sound, she did not breathe at all. 'Come an hour later to-morrow down to the river by the path on the left, I will take you away.' Next moment she glided on decorously veiled from head to foot.

It had all been so startling, so unlike the routine of her life. A vista of golden days to come stretched before her. It was the same hour now, and she longed to go to him. So intense was this longing that it brought her to her feet. It should have horrified and shocked her but it did neither. What did it matter to her that he was English, even though she knew well what would come of it. He could never marry her. In a few years, even if it lasted as long, he would go 'home.' That mysterious 'home' which, so she heard, claimed all Sahibs. She would then drown herself or become a woman of the bazaars. Even this idea seemed to lose its horror in proportion to the horror of a life alone now. The normal argument was obscure and indefinite in her mind. What held her back? The traditions and teachings of her youth and perhaps the inherent purity of generations. Gunga Mai was sullen, the moon rose slowly reflected in her dark waters, the woman still stood

there. Time seemed endless, the moonlight seared her soul, she shivered and with a little moan sank to her knees. The night breeze blew chill over the terrace, a white rag fluttered over the edge of the adjoining roof and flitted like a live thing into the dark. The sobbing, throbbing sound of a tom-tom mingled its insistent beat with the weird melody of shriller instruments. The hour had come, the woman pressed her lowered head hard against the stone railing. Her wild thoughts raced tumbling over each other in aimless repetitions. There was so short a time in which to decide, and so long a time to abide by that decision. She was unaccustomed to control great issues, but her widowhood had been a good school in which to learn self-discipline.

The hour was past; was he there? She rose to her feet and ran to the edge of the terrace, but alas! it did not command a view of the pathway. There was still time; should she go to him? Oh! his kisses, oh! his voice, oh! his strong, strong arms! his hot breath on her face and his cool searching lips! Locking her hands across her forehead she swayed to and fro, the agony of the thought that each moment put him further from her was driving her mad. 'Help me, help me,' she moaned almost unconsciously appealing to greater powers. The soft splash of oars below stopped the riot of her thoughts, her lips ceased their whispered prayer, body and soul waited in suspense. Bending breathlessly forward she saw quite clearly her lover's figure on the boat below, as it went slowly out of sight down the river. Then it was too late to change. She did not realise she had won a great victory. To her it seemed but the workings of Karma. She was not even sure she had done right. Of one thing alone was she certain, she had denied self, and by her standards that at least was right. Gathering together her strength and her endurance she went back to the old life. If there were new lines in her sweet face, mournful depths in her soft eyes; if she spent more nights in tears than sleep; there was no one to notice or care.

—A.T.O

6

16th August 1913

The Judge

Khiroda, at the fag end of her youth, woke up one morning to find that her lover had departed in the night, leaving her destitute. She found that in all the thirty-eight years of her life, she had not corner of a home in which to live and die. She realised that life had no pity upon her, and

would relax none of its claims, which must be attended to down to the smallest detail, and she rolled on the floor, smiting its hardness with her forehead in an agony of despair.

Evening came, and it grew dark. Khiroda had not the heart to tidy the room, or to light the lamp. Her hungry child cried till it could cry no longer, and fell asleep. tired, under the bedstead. A knock came to the door, and a man's voice called out, 'Khiro, Khiro.' Khiroda flung open the door, and rushed out at him who stood there, with her broom putting the amorous youth to precipitate flight. Then, convulsively clutching the child to her bosom, she went out of the house and jumped into the well.

The splash brought the neighbours hurrying to the spot, and the bodies were fished out. The mother was unconscious, but the child was dead. Khiroda was brought round in the hospital, and was committed to the sessions by the magistrate.

Mohit Datta was the Sessions Judge. He sentenced Khiroda to death. Her advocates tried their utmost to get some mitigation of the sentence, but with no success.

There was some reason for the severity of his attitude towards feminine frailty, as a glimpse into his earlier history will disclose.

Mohit in his undergraduate days lived near the house of an elderly couple with a young widowed daughter, Sasi. What little of the world Sasi used to see from behind the barrier of her lonely widowhood seemed to her like some golden land of mystery, where happiness stalked abroad. Unsatisfied longing seemed to belong only to the interior of her bosom, which cribbed and cramped the beatings of her heart.

In the intervals of her domestic duties, Sasi sat at the window, watching the crowd on the public road. She thought to herself how happy were the passersby, how free the tramps, what gay characters were the hawkers in the comedy of life. And morning and evening she saw the well-ground Mohit strutting past in the fullness of his self-conceit. To her he was a demi-god, far above the mortals she saw around her.

Perhaps Sasi could have cheerfully spent all her life playing with her demi-god in the heaven of her fancy, had not her evil star made the demi-god smile upon her and materialise the heaven within her reach. It is needless to relate at length when Mohit's covetous glance first fell upon Sasi, how he began to write to her under the false name of Binode; when the first trembling, ill-spelt reply reached him; how, at last, the whole of the poor little widow's world was turned topsy-turvy in the whirlwind of ecstatic surrender.

Late one night Sasi left her father and mother, and got into a carriage brought by Mohit, alias Binode. When her demi-god, with all his tinsel showing, got inside and sat close beside her, a sudden inrush of remorse bowed her to the dust. And when the carriage actually began to move, she fell at his feet, crying. 'For pity's sake let me go back home.' But the carriage rapidly drove away.

To narrate all the episodes of Mohit's early career would grow monotonous. This will serve as a sample.

To-day there was no one to remember the escapades of young 'Binode,' Mohit Datta was quite a reformed character. His reading of the sacred books was incessant; he even practised austerities.

A few days after passing sentence on Khiroda, Mohit happened to be in the gaol garden, with a view to securing some nice, fresh vegetables for his own table. He heard from inside the gaol the sound of high words, and, entering, found Khiroda in the midst of a vigorous bickering with the warder. Mohit smiled a superior smile. This is what woman is: Death at her door, and yet she must quarrel. She would dispute, thought he, amused at his conceit, even with the doorkeepers of Hades.

As he drew nearer, Khiroda, with clasped hands, addressed him, saying, 'O, Mr. Judge, for mercy's sake, tell him to give me back my ring.'

On inquiry, he found that a ring had been hidden in the loops of Khiroda's hair, which the warder, discovering, had appropriated. Mohit was again amused. This desire for a bauble on the steps of the gallows! Oh, woman, woman!

'Let me see the ring,' said he to the warder, who handed it over to him.

Mohit started as if it had been a piece of live coal. In the ring was set a miniature portrait on ivory of a young, beardless youth. In its gold rim was engraved the name 'Binode.' He raised his eyes from the ring, and for the first time looked Khiroda keenly in the face. He seemed to see there the fresh, fond, tear-bedewed countenance of twenty-four years ago. But, ah! what a difference!

(*Translated from the Bengali of Rabindranath Tagore*).

7

10th July 1914

Syed Rahman

Bhundi was quiet little station in Bengal. Its yearly excitement was a four days' meet at Christmas. This giddy period and the occasional change of its officials were the only things that kept the European inhabitants from falling into a state of coma. They prided themselves, without rancour, but with a quiet conscious feeling of merit, on the fact that never had an Indian been posted among them in any of the Government offices, and that their small club house showed an uninterrupted row of white faces. So it was with no little consternation and a hasty seeking of reasons that they heard their next Assistant Magistrate was a young Mohammadan just appointed. Syed Rahman was a boy, just a nice fresh boy, a very good specimen of English Public School and 'Varsity

training. He played most games well, cricket and racquets enthusiastically, rode to hound, danced well, bridged better, sang college choruses in a boyish baritone; and I don't believe had ever paused to consider whether there was any difference between himself and his many English chums. In fact there was none because none had ever been made.

His chums had deeply bemoaned the fact that Bengal was to be the scene of his official career. They solemnly advised him to work the powers that-be and get out of it. He heard various reports of hideous unhealthy districts with but one or two wretched officials living in solitary state. So when he heard that Bhundi was healthy, had a Club, boasted a race-course and a four days meet, he mentally shook hands with fate and took there two ponies and complete social equipment.

He hastened to call and had no luck, finding everyone out. But in court the next day he came across the kind old Judge. Campbell was of a fast dying type of Civilian, a Sahib and as good a judge of men as of horses. He summed up the well-mannered lad and found him very similar in ideas and conversation to his own son in a British regiment. Thereupon he pitied him greatly and, with large-hearted hospitality, invited him to share his batchelor abode. Rahman accepted gladly and gratefully. 'Are you sure I shan't be putting you out, sir, I should like it. Tents are very jolly, but I really believe one can have too much of them.' He arrived next day and Campbell surveyed his traps with approval. Neat, useful trunks, backed by gun cases, a cue case, bats, polo sticks, golf clubs. It pleased the old man to see that he looked after his ponies before even inquiring which room he was to occupy, and that at dinner he gently, respectfully, but firmly, lectured his host on the condition of his stable; just as his son had done. He spent his first three evenings in putting them right with his own hands. By this time Campbell realised that he had done himself a good turn; Rahman was young, enthusiastic and amusing, and added to these quailities a truly oriental tact which made him a delightful companion. When the strenuous settling-in was finally accomplished, he began to take an interest in social life, inquired particulars as to the Club, etc., and wondered briefly whether there were any men of his own age in the place. It was at this juncture that Campbell took upon himself a father's duty. He began by taking Rahman to the Club hoping that the boy's youthful charm would soften the ladies and his sporting instincts interest the men. In some measure he was successful with the latter, but the former were strongly aloof. Rahman jumped to this at once and inquired the reason. Over the after-dinner cigar Campbell very kindly told the boy of race prejudice, Anglo-Indian susceptibilities, and numerous other delicate matters. Told to this lad they seemed, even in the old man's ear, ridiculous, though many a time the bumptiousness of some 'England-returned' student had made the arguments seem sound, the prejudices right. The boy's proud eyes never wavered, they held Campbell's right through, surprised, hurt, then

a little savage, till the old man, leaning forward, held out his hand with a final word. 'To me,' he said, 'you are as my own son, in no way different.' 'You are very good, sir,' said the boy. 'I realise now how good,' and the brown eyes softened gently. 'Are there no men of my own race sufficiently advanced to receive me and understand my ways?' he added. 'Of course, lad, many, fine fellows too some of them ; but—not exactly here ; still there are one or two delightful men, orthdox, who I'm sure would gladly see you in their houses.' Here the matter dropped. Rahman did not give up the Club ; that, he felt, was unsporting. But he avoided the society of the ladies entirely. He was rewarded, for the men liked him better and better, and very soon there was not one who remembered at any time when talking to Rahman that he was addressing an alien. The ladies, too, would gladly now have been friendly, but the lad's pride forbade any intercourse there. There was no sporting ground on which they were equal, and other terms he rejected. He lived on with Campbell perfectly happy, content to have spent his life thus. This, of course, could not be. Repeated invitations from his dead father's people made him journey off up to Lahore the first month's leave he got. When he returned, Campbell felt instinctively that all was not well. He seemed to have grown older and the Judge wondered what had done it. Not disillusionment, he knew, for Rahman told his friend the first evening of his return how agreeably surprised he had been. His people were orthodox, but advanced. The men were sportsmen and Sahibs. They kept a bobbery pack of Rampur hounds, they preserved their jungles, they made him look a baby at polo. They were jolly fellows too, full of anecdotes and puns. The ladies also he found charming, though a good deal more orthodox than the men. He repeated this slowly twice, and the Judge wondered if here lay the rub. Everyone had been most kind to him and he was very glad he had studied Urdu and Persian as extra languages. His father had wished it. But trouble lay at the back of his eyes and he rode too hard at all hours. It worried Campbell. He more than liked the boy—their year together had consolidated their friendship. One morning upon the pile of letters on the tray was one for Rahman addressed in Urdu character of a distinctly feminine type and still smelling of atar. The boy took it up first, looked surprised, opened and began to read it. To Campbell watching him closely his eyes were always an index. The surprise faded into delighted consternation, which gave place to perfect tenderness ; but at the close of the letter the trouble came back doubled and perplexity seemed to take a share. Without any remark Rahman went off to office ; but during lunch hour he tried raw country breads in the hot sun, and he was riding instead of playing racquets in the evening. When Seaforth, one of the boy's special friends, came into the Club for bridge, he answered the Judge's inquiry with, 'I left Chips still timing his ponies to do furlongs in impossibly quick times. I retired defeated and weary. Campbell

brought the rubber to an abrupt close by declaring three in 'no trumps,' instead of doubling his opponents, and hurried off home.

In a long chair in the verandah sat Rahman, moody and stormy. He did not see Campbell till the latter was standing beside him. Then he jumped to his feet, and with his usual politeness, offered the older man his chair, which was accepted.

They both puffed in silence for a bit, then as it grew dark Rahman suddenly burst forth, 'I think the Mohammadan custom of purdah is ridiculous. It leads to all sorts of deception and intrigue. Besides, it's barbaric.' 'Do you think so?' said Campbell, flicking the ash off his cigar with his little finger; 'I personally find as much deceit among the women in Europe. Take a suburban or a country town in England. Until education fits them to take their place and hold it I think the purdah is as good a sphere as any. The mere breaking through purdah shows no real advancement and does not, so far as I can see, broaden their outlook. We have plenty of judging specially in Bengal. It is when education and the right sort of upbringing is conjoined with the coming out, that we see a very fine example of womanhood.' 'But surely if they do not start by breaking down this ridiculous system there can be no advance.' 'What makes you think that a woman brought up in purdah is not fitted to take her right place in the world, and why force her into a false position, and thus create a whole generation of beings such as I alluded to?' 'But—but,' broke in the younger man. 'Let me finish,' said Campbell, 'I consider the Mohammadan community in a very strong position. They can see the error of both the purdah system and the freedom of women with ill-regulated minds. This being the case the younger generation of daughters must surely score. They can from their youths be trained properly, given the wide education of men and some profession to occupy their minds when household duties are done. An intelligent woman, I speak of our class, has finished all her domestic duties in a couple of hours. Then, again, marriage is not a profession and never while it is so looked upon will it be a success. You must have heard in England of the great demand for divorce to be made easier; you must have noticed the disturbed state of very many married couples. Do you want your people to go through this, or to avoid it wisely? If your women are domestic dolls now, which assertion I rather doubt, is it better to let them remain such in character expecting more from them or to wait till they can take their rightful place as women; beings with a mind, a soul, an intellect as sound as any man's?' A long silence ensued during which Rahman paced up and down the verandah, and in the dusk it was not possible for Campbell to see what effect his words were having. Suddenly the boy stopped. 'I believe,' he said, 'that I agree; still don't you think a girl of 15 or 16, if taken out of purdah and really well educated for four or five years, would not remain a doll in mind? I speak of a superior sort of girl, one whose mind, even at that age, might be filled with some sense of what a great sphere a woman's is.' He

paused questioningly. 'I spoke in generalities,' said the Judge. 'No doubt there are individual cases and of course a lot would depend on the sort of society that the girl had after her training was finished. If she is to be associated with a very ordinary circle of people, let us take this station for example, I should think it very probable that her five year's training would not be enough. Her only companions of her own sex would be women whose minds do not rise above the petty domestic details of their own and each other's affairs, social, moral and physical. Their reading is limited to sensational novels and fashion papers. The height of their ambition is to end as the wife of a Lieutenant-Governor. You understand, of course, that I speak in generalities and take my examples from the social life in India as I have found it. Then there is another point of view : might not her example be followed by many who did not even have this special five year's training and might not the community be led to emerge half-fledged ? Is it right that one individual should for an uncertain experiment chance injuring many others ? Say, this woman had a daughter and from earliest youth brought her up to freedom. In this she would be justified, for the example set would be an excellent one.'

The Judge's quite convincing voice fell to silence. He rose to his feet, laid his hands on the shoulders of the boy, who stood silently before him, and then spoke again. 'Marry her, my son, in the way her mother would wish ; train her yourself and then together bring up your daughters as fearlessly, broadly and carefully as your sons.' Rahman's puzzled eyes rested on Campbell and then he laughted : 'I knew you'd guess, sir. I'll think over every word you've said.' The outcome of this conversation was a hurried visit to Lahore which obviated all chances of another epistolary indiscretion. The old man guessed that, though he was only told that the boy's uncle, delighted, was arranging a marriage for him with the daughter of a neighbour whom of course Rahman had only seen in photos, but of whom he had heard much. Rahman's boyish laugh rang delightedly once more through the rooms and Campbell hid the tears in his eyes behind a law report. He knew he soon would loose another son. But that was nature, and the way of the loosing was well.

—*Spero*

VERSES

آتے ہیں غیب سے یہ مضامیں خیال میں
غالب صریر خامہ نوائے سروش ہے

1

15th July 1911

Parted

Can you forget the days we spent together,
        Days now gone by :
When all the world was bright with youth and laughter
        To you and I ?
Oh happy days ! ne'er thinking of the morrow,
        Content were we.
No thoughts of parting ever even whispered
        Of what should be.
We never dreamed that there would come a closing
        Of friendship's door.
We pictured life each in the other's presence
        For evermore.
Time's healing power, they say, will help my sorrow,
        Maybe' 'its true ;
Yet sorrow is outweighed by joy I've tasted
        In loving you.

—W. K. G.

2

22nd July 1911

To Fate

Why will you vex me with your futile combat ;
Why will you strive with me, O foolish Fate ?
You cannot stay me with your subtle hate . . .
For all the cruel folly you pursue,
I will not cry with suppliant hands to you.
You may, perchance, wreck in your bitter malice

That radiant empire of mine eager eyes . . .
Say, can you rob my memory's dear dominion
O'er sunlit mountains and sidereal skies ?
In my enduring treasuries I hold
Their ageless splendour of undying gold.
You may usurp the kingdoms of my hearing . . .
Say, shall my listening spirit cease to hear
The bridal rapture of the blowing valley,
The lyric pageant of the passing year ?
The sounding odes and surging harmonies
Of battling tempests and unconquered seas ?
Yea, you may smite my mouth to throbbing silence,
Pluck from my lips power of articulate words . . .
Say, shall my heart lack its familiar language,
While earth has bowers for her mellifluous birds ?
Shall my impassioned heart forget to sing
With the ten thousand voices of the spring ?
Or you may quell my blood with sudden anguish,
And daunt my limbs with some compelling pain . . .
How will you stay my free far-journeying fancy
That rides upon the pinions of the rain ?
How will you tether my triumphant mind,
Rival and fearless comrade of the wind ?
Though you deny the hope of all my being,
Betray my love, my sweetest dream destroy,
Yet will I slake my individual sorrow
At the deep source of universal joy . . .
O Fate, in vain you hanker to control
My proud, serene, indomitable soul.

—Sarojini Naidu

———

3

23rd September 1911

Uncertain Harmonies

There is a charm that silence wields
In sylvan solitudes,
Where twilight dwells enthroned in leafy powers,
And blossoms drop like dew in golden showers,
A mise that preludes

Sweet songs, perchance rehearsed in fair Elysian fields.
By far-off weeps of yonder stream
And reaches verdurous,
Where trees foregather round a pool embrayed,
While at their feet is oft a breeze delayed
For frolics venturous,
In the cool depth below where shadows lie and dream
Or in some Himalayan grove,
Of redolent deodar,
An gnarled oak and rhododendron red,
With tawny moss and fern well garmented,
While marshalled not afar
Watch veteran peaks of snow that seem to live and move.
And on the velvet, piled beneath
By many an autumn's spoil,
Empurpled shadows glancing to and fro,
Hold in the glinting sun a fairy show,
Wherein a living coil
Of teaming gems is disentangled on the health.
Here haply once a Rishi dwelt
Favoured of mighty Brahm,
Close comrade long of rock and snow and storm,
Familiar friend of every forest form,
In contemplation calm
Of God's pervading sense in all he saw or felt.
And haply many an autumn night
Ere winter storms began,
Behind you comes he watched the eastern skies,
And darking saw the lambent planet rise,
Beheld her fingers wan
Transfuse a dismal world with circumambient light.
Or where in faint remembrance of
A half-forgotten dream,
With borrowed blooms and skill of light and shade,
Man has, perchance, a feigned Eden made
By some still lake or stream,
Where spring may dwell a passing day and waste his love.
Here in such spots of God's fair earth
Away from jarring strife,
Some favoured soul, though prisoned, still may hear
Faint far-off echoes of another sphere,
Where spirits sing of life,
Informed with love divine of pure celestial birth.
As erst the broad-browed Grecian knew ;
Or he that heard the stars

Sing like an angel, in their orbits dim
'Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubim ";
Or the blind bard of Mars;
Or Nature's pontiff-priest who wore the laurelled brow.
These heard it—these and other seers
And singers of all time,
And steeped their souls in harmony divine,
And drinking deep of that ethereal wine,
Broke forth in strains sublime
Of prayer or praise or love to bless unending years.
It hath uncertain harmonies
Tuned to the listener's mood;
Now sad as is the sigh of dying wave,
And now with joy's omnipotence to save
Despairing souls that brood
In darkening hours of life o'er Fate's funeral seas.

—*Wasiti*[1]

1 [think that 'Wasti' was the pen-name of Nawab Imadul Mulk Syed Husain Bilgrami —*Rais Ahmad Jofri*.]

4

30th September 1911

Dawn

When my Queen was first garlanded with light
Of luscious womanhood and harmony
Of soft, down curving lineaments, her eye
Uet lacked the gleam of lurking fire ; the fright
Of vague desire was yet unknown delight ;
And eyelids drooped not yet with hesitancy.
But when love came at last with conscious might,
She stood a goddess in her majesty.
Love came at last, the crown of all her grace
And loveliness. I knew it by the gleam
Of a strange light in her eye, and in her face
The flush as of some happy waking dream :
A most bewitching shyness come apace'
To be my agony and joy supreme,

—*Wasiti.*

5

21st October 1911

England and India

(I)

England : 'tis meet that or for weel or woe,
In calm or storm, our chosen place should be
Where honour calls us by the side of thee,
Thy friend be friend to us, our bitt'rest foe
The trait'rous knave who schemes thy overthrow
For like to Israel in captivity,
We once were thralls till thou didst set us free
And give us peace unknown from long ego.

Aye, reace unknown : when we were sore bestead,
And grievous were the burdens that we bore ;
But now if peace there be and rest divine,
Goodwill 'tween men and peace, and all that's bred
Thereof when lawless might is feared no more,
To thee we owe them all, these gifts are thine.

(II)

And we have shared thy travail and thy toil,
And followed thee to feast and fray, and done
Thy bidding, and our stalwart have gone
Death-ward for thee in many an evil broil,
And with their blood have moistened many a soil,
Rearing thy dauntless banner in the sun,
And flank to flank with thee much glory won,
To thy bright crown a not unworthy foil.

Nay judge not harshly, England : if there be
That think not coward shame to rend their troth
With treason's bodkin, an unworthy crew
Shackled in heart, though thou hast set them free,
Whose valour weareth out in wordy froth :
Forgive them all, they know not what they do.

—*Wasiti.*

6

28th October 1911

A Soliloquy

(On the Down Darjeeling Mail)

Alas : the Puja's over :
Calcutta calls me back
Once more to work I fain would shirk
Did I not fear the sack.
I think of happy mornings
I spent along the Mall
With Meme, sweetest girl of girls,
A fellow's perfect pall.
Then I remember Gladys.
Ah ! how she loved the Park.
I think of happy afternoons
As twilight turned to dark.
I dream of erstwhile evenings
I spent with Margaret,
Most perfect dancer in the Hills
That I have ever met.
And now the good time's over
And I am all alone ;
But friendships in the Puja time
For bachelorhood atone.

—*W. K. G.*

7

11th November 1911

Solitude

Let us rise, O my heart, let us go where the twilight is falling
Far away from the sound of the lonely and menacing crowd,
To the glens, to the glades, where the magical darkness is falling
In rivers of gold from the breast of a luminous cloud.

Come away, come away, from the throng and its tumult of sorrow,
There is rest, there is peace from the pang of its manifold strife,
Where the halcyon night holds in trust the dear songs of the morrow,
And th' silence is but a rich pause in the music of life.
Let us climb where the eagles keep guard on the rocky gray ledges,
Let us lie 'neath the palms, where perchance we may listen and reach
A delicate dream from the lips of the slumbering sedge,
That catch from the stars some high tone of their mystical speech.
Or perchance we may gain a far glimpse of the Infinite Bosom
In whose glorious shadow all life is unfolded or furled,
Tho' the radiant hours, till the lotus of dawn shall re-blossom
In petals of splendour to worship the Law of the Ward.

—Sarojini Naidu

8

2nd December 1911

Not All Alone

Not all alone we think and work and pray,
Not all alone we sorrow and rejoice.
What tho' in vaiu we listen for the voice
Which made of old the sunshine of our day
And, silenced, plunged us in a darkened way?
Yet is a presence near, obscurely bright,
Dimly perceived. Oh thou who dwell'st ia light,
Thou dartest on my sombre hours a ray.
When all is hushed my quickened spirit hears
The whispered word that bids me not despair ;
I know thy gladness, if labourious years
Have crowned my toil with aught of good or fair ;
I know thine answer to my stricken call,
But most I feel thy sorrow when I fall.

—H. C. M.

9

23rd December 1911

Storm

And with the dawn of love there came the time,
When lives thus intertwined are lived in fierce
Relation momently. Unskilled to pierce
The crust of strange emotion, or to climb
The scatheless steps up the huge steeps sublime
Of passion, doubts would come to us, and tears
Of jealous rage to sink us in the slime
Of dark despair, and slough of secret fears.

Not often. Love had days informed with life
Intense. World-ignorant, in sooth, we were ;
Haply heart-ignorant ; we dared explore
Love's utmost reaches, guideless in the strife
With new desires ; nor feared to breve the stir
Of rolling waves on passion's restless shore.

—*Wasiti.*

10

3rd February 1912

A Dream of Youth

Metho ught I dreamt a dream,
Delicious, sense-enthralling,
That one. forsooth may deem
Was come of Heaven's own calling.
The joys of life were there,
Such joys as never pall,
And all of earth or air
Seemed beautiful withal.

The joy that beamed within me
Shone mirrored all about,
And my notes of ecastasy
Were echoed with a shout.
Each phase of smiling nature
To me was full of glee :
With every living creature
My heart had sympathy.
Each tiny little flower
In garden, sward or health,
Aye ! every blade of clover
With nought but joy did breathe.
In every rustic maiden
I saw a thousand charms,
With homely virtues laden
Worthy my loving arms.
And nought of vice or failing
Peopled my vision world :
No sorrow, no bewailing
Was ever seen or heard.
And 'always to be blessed'
Was not the lot of man,
For blessing I confessed
O'erflowed our mortal span.
In such a world methought
I lived and had my being,
Where faith was sold nor bought,
Where seeing was believing.
And then there came a waking,
My happy dream was gone ;
The shadows of my making
All vanished one by one.
Alas ! it was no dream
But stern reality,
The type of what I deem
Youth's ideality.
On lightning wings it came
On lightning wings 'twas gone :
Youth is an empty name
The blushes of a dawn.

—*Wasiti.*

11

13th January 1912

After Hafiz

The Nightingale in verdant bowers
My soul with song of Love inspires ;
The Roses bloom with vernal showers ;
My Heart with Passion Flora fires.
Then let you liquid ruby flow,
Taza ba taza, nau ba nau.
What gladness whispering Love can bring !
What bliss can Beauty's charms unfold !
Then seek at once the bowers of spring,
And think no more of sordid Gold.
In sparkling Goblet drown thy woe,
Taza ba taza, nau ba nau.
What Casuists preach and Zealots pray
Ah! none but Fools and Clowns admire.
When Roses bloom, the Bulbuls lay
Is all that can the soul inspire.
Thy ears to whispering Love bestow,
Taza ba taza, nau ba nau.
I love and I must die for Love ;
This passion I can ne'er forgo.
My fate's decreed by One above.
It cannot change. Let Mentors know
The One above is friend, not foe,
Taza ba taza, nau ba nau.
All, all must yield to Beauty's power ;
No Hermit can resist its charms.
Observe Zuleikha's fatal hour,
When first she flew to Yousuf's arms.
How Beauty rules the Heart all know,
Taza ba taza, nau ba nau.
The lays of Hafiz are so sweet,
But those of Imdad sweeter still.
Then Ministrel sing his notes and greet
My ears with all thy songster's skill.
In cadence sweet let music flow,
Taza ba taza, nan ba nau.

—[1]*Imdad Imam.*

[Imdad Imam was a great poet, great writer, great orater, a great "father', his sons Sir Ali Imam and Hasan Imam were genius lawyers and politicians of India (R.A.J.)]

16th March 1912

Triplets

Even as the flowers are, so art thou,
Bright and sweet and joyous,
Maiden of the sunny brow !
Even as the morn is, so art thou,
Fresh is the virgin dew
Upon thy golden brow.
Even as the stars are, so art thou,
The poetry of heaven is
Under thy arched brow.
Even as the soul is, so art thou,
And love and life and light
Are circled round by brow.
Green bank of grass and maiden hair
Wound round a pouring brook
In summer, is passing fair :
Where roses climb half way
To trellised jessamine.
Soothing the sultry day ;
And showered blooms of Vakul spread
Beneath, and yellow Champs,
Blithe Spring's own bridal bed,
'Tis ever sweet ; but sweeter thou
And fairer, aye, and rarer,
Maiden of the golden brow !
Do I love thee ? Ask not again :
The stars above thee answer yes,
And the flowerful plain.

—*Wasiti.*

13

20th April 1912

In Praise of Gul Mohurs

What can rival your lovely hue
O gorgeous boon of the spring ?
The glimmering red of a bridal robe,
Rich red of a wild bird's swing ?
Or the mystric blaze of the gem that burns
On the brow of a serpent king ?
What can rival the valiant joy
Of your dazzling, fugitive sheen ?
The limpid clouds of the lustrous dawn
That colours the ocean's mien ?
Or the blood that poured from a thousand breasts
To succour a Rajput Queen ?
What can rival the radiant pride
Of your frail victorious fire ?
The flame of hope or the flame of hate,
Quick flame of my heart's desire ?
Or the rapturous light that leaps to heaven
From a true wife's funeral pyre ?

—Sarojini Naidu.

14

11th May 1912

Sonnet

I doubt if Heav'n has anything more fair,
Nothing on earth is half so fair as she,
Or sweet, or half so warm, or womanly.
Not in Sicilian plains, or far Cashmere,
Hesperian fields, or blue-viewed Nilgiri,
Bloomed bud, or ripened fruit of richer

Than on her sunny face and forehead free.
No lethal weapons in her armoury
She keeps, or barbed words of gall and rue ;
But kindly wit, and eyes of heav'nly blue
For winged glances ; witching smiles for friends,
With many a nameless way of winning them,
On her chaste bosom glistens not a gem,
Her precious woman's heart makes rare amends.

—Wasiti.

15

18th May 1912

Love's Sadness

There is in love a gentle sadness
Which only lovers know,
A sorrow much akin to gladness
In its supernal glow.
True love is truly complemental
Completing soul to soul,
And so the sepal and the petal
Of flowers make the whole.
But still in giving all it giveth
The heart is not content,
For love's a trade that ever thriveth
On lavish gifts intent.
Beside the meed of love it needeth,
Its own great gifts untold
The heart that loveth no more heedeth
Than dross to purest gold.
It giveth all its wealth of feeling,
All that it has and more,
Never stinting naught concealing,
Yet oweth as before.
Thereof is born a gentle sadness
Not deepened into pain,
A sorrow much skin to gladness
Like sunshine blurred with rain.

—Wasiti.

16

23rd May 1913

A Vision

From out the golden dawn of vanished years
She glides into my dreams, a form divine
Of light and love, to soothe the thoughts that pine
For what has been, to stem the tide of tears
That inward flows upon the heart and sears
Its inmost core. Her countenance benign,
Where chastened Pity's softest graces shine,
Reflects the hallowed light of other spheres.
Then to my yearning soul, with care outworn,
Comes, like a strain on aerial wings upborne,
This message from her soul—'Bid sorrow cease ;
Love dies not ; 'tis the immortal life above ;
And chastened souls, that win eternal peace
Through earthly suffering, know that Heaven is Love'.

—*Nizamat Jang.*

17

19th *August* 1913

Truth

Truth needs no armour ; her unshielded breast
May be exposed to calumny and wrong
By the mean malice of the ignoble throng—
Bondmen of Vice, who Virtue's power detest—
But, pierced and bleeding, it will yet attest
Her pow'r to triumph though she suffer long :
For 'tis the wounded heart that grows more strong
Through pain, to accomplish Virtue's high behest ;

Midst Slander's venomed darts fill the air,
And all unmoved by Falsehood's hideous cries,
And scorning dastard blows from hends unseen—
Unarmed, unaided and with bosom bare
She stands defiant, and her faith-lit eyes
She turns to Heaven—unconquered and serene !

—Nizamat Jang.

18

13th June 1914

On Reading the History of Nepoleon

I ask of Heaven nor regal pomp nor power ;
Nor conquered realms subservient to my will;
Nor vassal kings, with vassal hordes, to fill
My yawning coffers with a gorgeous shower
Of gold and gems ; nor legions that devour
Fair Nature's bounty and, insatiate still,
Prey on her heart, and, with the blood they spill
Pollute God's Earth and blast Life's fruit and flower.
I ask of Heaven that purer, holier pride
Which soars above the blood stained pomp of kings;
A soul contented, whose unerring guide
Is that divine Philosophy which flings
The radiant garb of Truth and Beauty wide
To adorn the humblest of created things !

—Nizamat Jang.

19

12th September 1914

War and Peace

A hundred toilsome years have rolled in vain
Since one proud eagle drooped his shattered wings !
Another rises—and the welkin rings
With the mad cry 'For Glory' once again !

And legions rush through carnage to attain
Some fancied good that bloodstained Conquest brings.
Is this the boast of Councils and of Kings,
O God ! to triumph over millions' pain ?
Guardians of Good ! Ye Nations of the West !
Shall mind still worship brute Force deified ?
'Tis Mind not Force doth Nations' worth attest !
Force died with Rome—high Thought hath outlived Greece !
Be thine O England ! thine the nobler pride
To win true Glory with the arts of Peace !

—*Nizamat Jang*.

20

20th June 1914

Nepoleon

Methought I heard a mighty voice proclaim,
    In tones that taught my wavering heart to deem
Man's sacred life a pure and silent stream
    That glides through shine and shadow still the same—
'Wealth, Rank and Power, Grandeur, Glory, Fame,
    Whose charms allure, are seldom what they seem ;
They're but the phantoms of a feverish dream—
    A gorgeous semblance with pompous name.'
I turned and saw a shadowy spectre glide
    With folded arms, bent brow, and aspect grim ;
It pointed—thus I knew the shade of him
    Who played in mortal life a Titan's part—
Far to a bleak rock's billow-beaten side,
    Where a chained eagle preyed on its own heart.

—*Nizamat Jang*.

CARTOON



The Bear's Opportunity. [Bomba,

December 1911.



Punch.] [London.

AS BETWEEN FRIENDS.

British Lion *(to Russian Bear)*: "If we hadn't such a thorough understanding I might almost be tempted to ask what you are doing there with our little Playfellow."

January 1912.



Punch.] [London.

THE HELPERS' LEAGUE.

British Lion *(to Russian Bear)*: "I join you, though under Protest. After all, we undertook to act together."

Persian Cat *(diminuendo)*: "If I may quote from the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, this understanding 'can only serve to further and promote Persian interests, for henceforth Persia, aided and assisted by these two powerful neighbouring States, can employ all her strength in internal reforms'."



Changing the Guards.
Exit Afghan! Enter Cossack!!



FED UP!

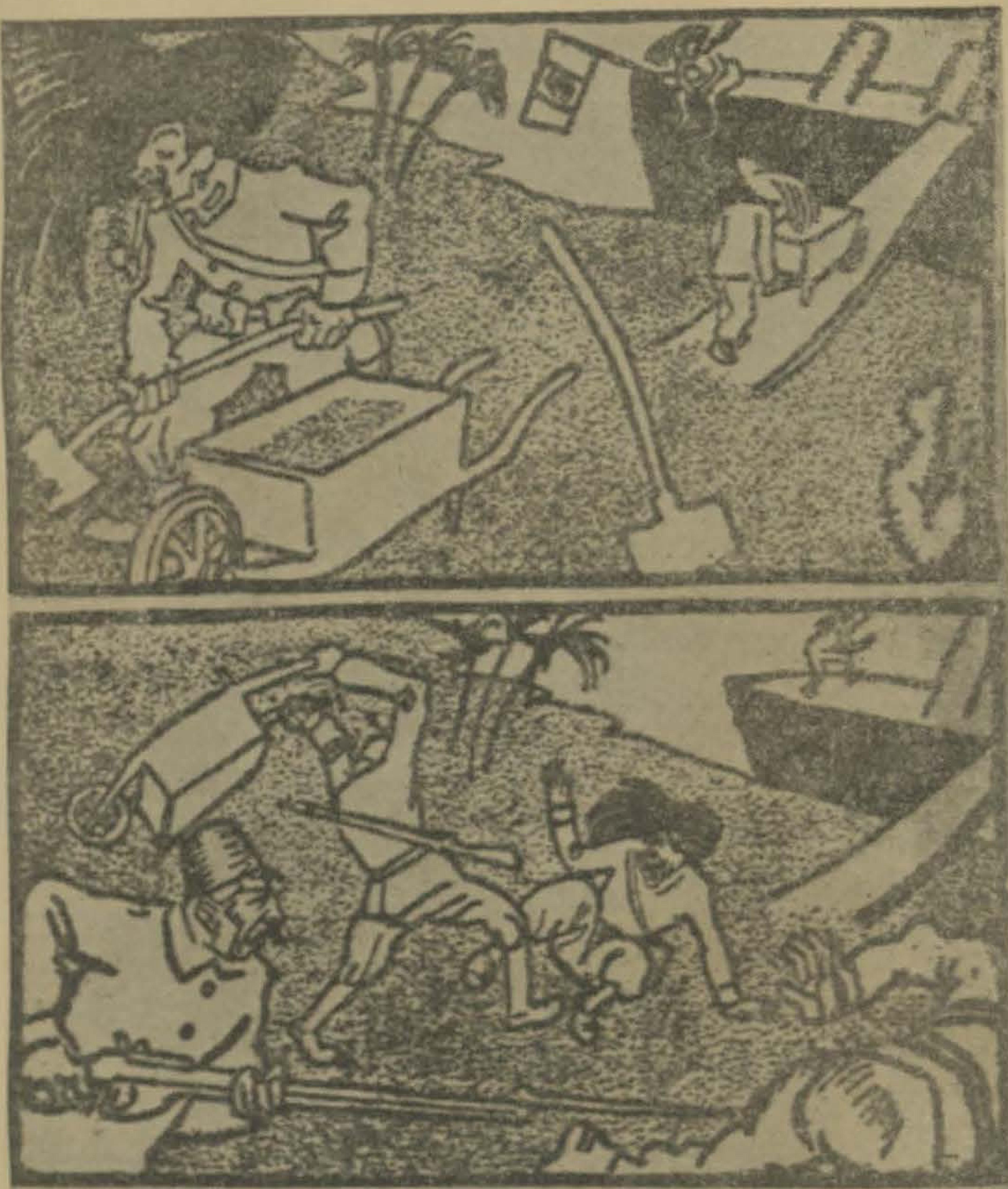
Italy (to the Powers): "This is a much longer macaroni than I ever thought of swallowing. Will none of you share it with me?"



La Silhouette. Paris.

France, Spain and Morocco

France : " Be careful, Alphonso, it is pretty hard, and your teeth might be broken.



Glühlichter.] [Vienna.

A Disturbed Idyll.

1. The Italians begin peacefully to load sand in Tripoli to send to Italy.
2. Suddenly some interfering Turks interrupt this happy occupation, and the Italians are obliged to retire.



London.] [Daily News.

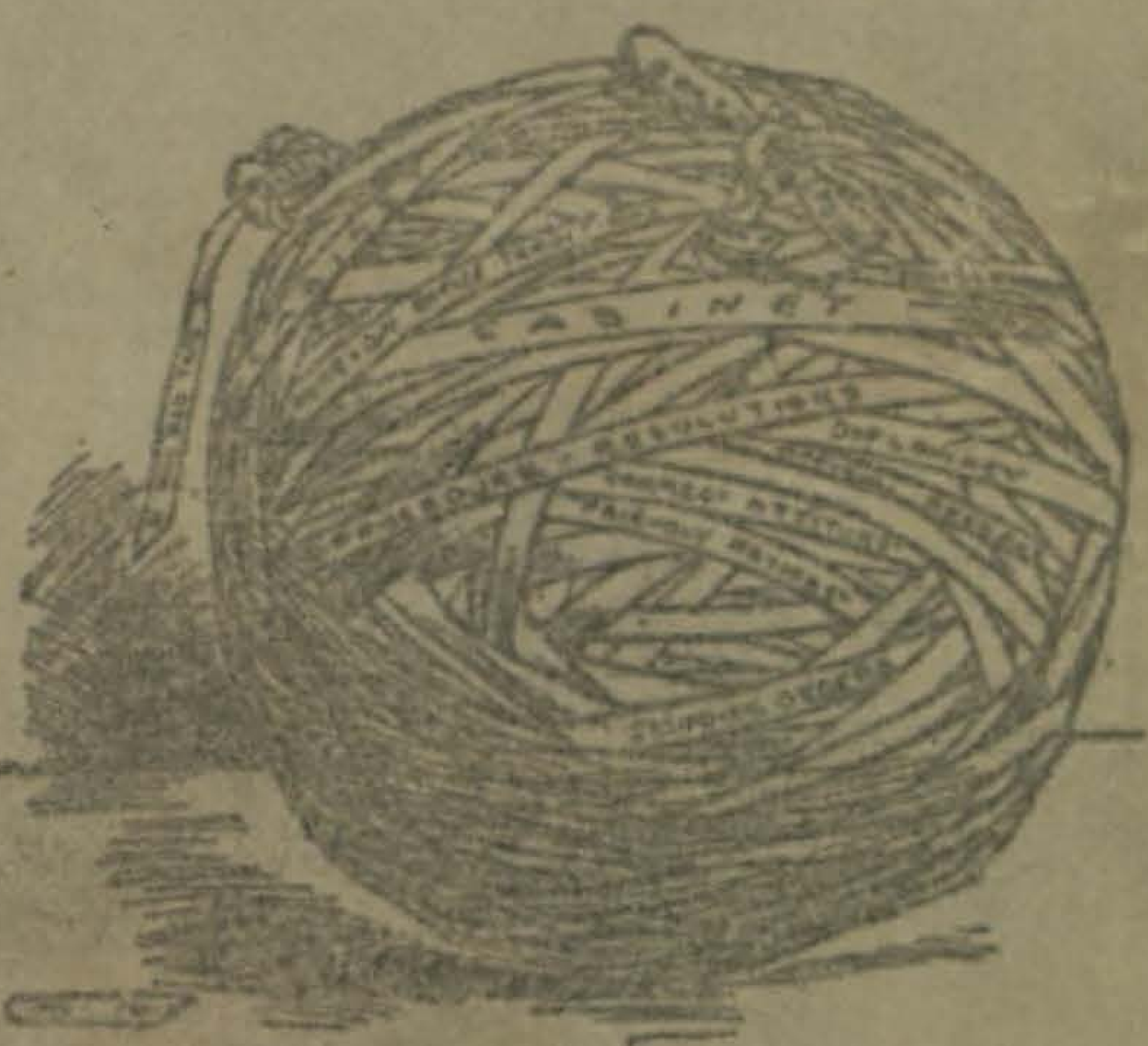
CERTAINLY !!

Russia to John Bull : "Thanks very much for your help in that last affair. I presume I may rely upon your passive assistance in *this* case."



Nebelspalter.] Will It Come to This? [Zurich.

Tied with Red Tape



Morning Leader.

Suggested by some recent attempts to secure a discussion in the House of Commons on foreign policy.